ABSTRACT

PARENTING AND DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES OF IRANIAN MOTHERS:

A QUANTITATIVE STUDY

By

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The purpose of this study was to examine the parenting style and disciplinary practices among Iranian mothers in California. This was done by completing quantitative cross sectional research. The results revealed that Iranian mothers in the lower socioeconomic class used authoritarian parenting and harsher discipline than mothers with a higher educational attainment and higher income. Unemployment was found to be associated with authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary practices. Iranian-born mothers also reported using authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary practices. Lastly, mothers who reported having boys used harsher disciplinary practices. The results may be beneficial to families, healthcare providers, and the child welfare system so that they may better understand the well-being of Iranian children and work to implement programs that will benefit this specific population.

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To all the people who have gifted me with their time, knowledge, and laughter throughout this journey, I hope we cross paths on the journey that awaits us all.

Join me in the pure atmosphere of gratitude for life.—Hafiz

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

<u>Problem Statement</u>

Iran is historically known as Persia and also as the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran

is the second largest country in the Middle East and is considered one of the oldest

civilizations (Mobasher, 2006; Mostofi, 2003). Iran is a patriarchal collective culture in

the Middle East that is distinctive from its surrounding neighbors because it is the only

non-Arab country in the region. However, there are commonalities that Iran shares with

its Arab neighbors, such as incorporating *Shari'a*, Islamic teachings and laws, into

governing the nation (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003;

Moghadam, 2004; Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, & Chinichian, 2007; Treacher, 2003).

According to Shirpak et al. (2007), Iranians' views and beliefs are formed and guided by

Islamic teachings, as well as Islamic laws and policies that ensure cultural norms and

values based on religious ideology. In order to prevent retaliation from the masses

against the oppressive regime, the authoritarian and ideological regime utilizes the

military, consisting of the regular forces and the revolutionary forces. Basij militia is

synonymous with strict punishment and instills fear and respect for authority (Ostovar,

2013; Pourzand, 2010). Fear and respect for authority are cultivated at the government

level, ensuring conformity among the Iranian population (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003;

Ostovar, 2013; Pourzand, 2010). Fear and respect is then transcended from the state into the structure of a patriarchal family unit (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008).

A large number of women in Iran have been fiercely battling the patriarchal status quo embedded deeply in the laws and regulations that discriminate on the basis of gender. However, the construct of gender subordination is deeply ingrained in the state's legal framework in conjunction with religious traditions (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Treacher, 2003).

The onset of the Islamic Revolution and the years following the event (1978-1985) contributed to the large migration pattern of Iranians to the United States (Haberfeld & Lundh, 2014). Trying to determine an exact number of Iranians living in the United States is difficult due to the underreporting of Iranians, because of the stigma associated with identifying as an Iranian. According to Tsubakihara (2013), there are roughly 600,000 Iranians living in the United States, with one third residing in Los Angeles. However, the 1990 census reflected a higher number of Iranians in the United States; 1.8 million Iranian-born immigrants were estimated to live in the United States with 40% residing in California (Hojat, Shapurian, Foroughi, & Nayerahmadi., 2000). Iranians worldwide have coined the term *Tehrangeles* to refer to Los Angeles because it has the highest percentage of Iranians outside of Tehran. In March 2010, the city council voted to name the Westwood Boulevard area of Los Angeles as Persian Square (Tsubakihara, 2013).

Persia was officially renamed as Iran in 1935; Iranians interchangeably use Persian as another word to describe their identity. Identifying as Persian represents the

glory of a culture linked to a historical past, while being Iranian is construed as negative due to Islamic influence (Mobasher, 2006; Mostofi, 2003).

Cultural norms and values are influential factors in parenting and disciplinary practices (Boe et al., 2014; Kazemi, Ardabili, & Solokian, 2010; Maiter, Alaggia, & Trocmé, 2004; Parvizy & Ahmadi, 2009; Shahaeian, Nielsen, Peterson, & Slaughter, 2014; Wissow, 2001). Iranian parenting styles might be in conflict with the legally and socially acceptable parenting styles in the United States. Some cultures use corporal punishment, physical, and verbal abuse as acceptable disciplinary practices (Ma, Wong, Lau, & Lai, 2012; Mahdavi, Esmaeilpour & Khajeh, 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010; Wissow, 2001).

Collective cultures, such as Iran, emphasize group solidarity, assert interdependence, practice traditional family norms, and conformity to social norms. Furthermore, the individual is expected to sacrifice his/her own desires for the sake of the group (Frank, Plunkett, & Otten, 2010; Kazemi et al., 2010; Ma et al., 2012; Pasquali et al., 2012; Rudy & Grusec, 2006; Shahaeian et al., 2014; Tavakoli, 2012). In contrast, individualist cultures, such as some in the United States, value independence and personal choice (Frank et al., 2010; Shahaeian et al., 2014; Tavakoli, 2012). The underlining values residing in each culture are maintained and transferred to the next generation by parents through their parenting styles (Baumrind, 2013; Frank et al., 2010; Ma et al., 2012; Mahdavi et al., 2013;). What might be socially acceptable disciplinary styles in Iran, and are practiced among Iranian parents, might be deemed unacceptable in the United States, such as the use of corporal punishment, consisting of spanking or hitting with an object such as a belt; slap on the face, head, or ear; and screaming and

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yelling verbal phrases such as "*I don't like you*"(Douki et al., 2013), "*stupid*, and/or *lazy*"

(Mikaeili, Barahmand, & Abdi, 2013). Harsh disciplinary practices are detrimental to the

child's development and their effects are long lasting (Kemme, Hanslmaier, & Pfeiffer,

2014; Knerr, Gardener, & Cluver, 2013; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012).

Social economic status (SES) has been linked to different disciplinary methods.

A previous study has shown that within the United States, low SES families had higher

expectations of obedience, whereas the opposite was true for families with higher SES

(Boe et al., 2014; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012). Religion is a major contributing

factor in shaping beliefs and values. This is especially significant in Iran as it operates

under Shari'a laws. Since the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iran's religious ideologies

were implemented not only in politics but also the individual's social sphere as well

(Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003; Moghadam, 2004).

<u>Purpose</u>

The purpose of this study was to examine the parenting and disciplinary practices

of Iranian mothers. The results will guide families, healthcare providers, and the child

welfare system so that they may better understand the well-being of Iranian children and

work to implement programs that will benefit this specific population.

<u>Research Questions</u>

The study explored the following questions: (1) What kind of parenting styles

and disciplinary practices are most used among Iranian mothers in California? (2) What

factors (SES, marital status, and the strength of Muslim religious beliefs) are associated

with parenting styles, disciplinary practices, and religiosity? (3) How are parenting styles

correlated with disciplinary practices used by Iranian mothers in California?

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Authoritarian parenting embodies a strict and controlling technique in order to ensure obedience by the children: It is high demand but low responsiveness (Hatamy, Fathi, Gorji, & Esmaeily, 2011; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). In addition, authoritarian parenting may promote interdependence and deference to authority (Rudy & Grusec, 2006). An authoritative parenting style consists of high responsiveness along with high demand, which promotes independence and self-reliance (Parsasirat, Montazeri, Yusooff, Subhi, & Nen, 2013). A permissive parenting style is high in responsiveness and low on demand: Parents are warm and receptive to the needs of their children, and they have few regulations for their children's behaviors (Alizadeh, Talib, Abdullah, & Mansor, 2011; Hatamy et al., 2011).

Disciplinary practices are tools designed as a consequence of parental reactions to a child's undesirable behavior to teach children appropriate and accepted behaviors (Lansford & Deater- Deckard, 2012). The three broad categories of disciplinary practices are: (a) non-violent methods: explaining, providing, or removing privileges; (b) psychologically aggressive: verbal attacks, screaming, and threatening; and (c) physically violent: hitting, slapping, and throwing objects (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The child's psychological, emotional, and behavioral characteristics are

developed and nurtured in the family of origin (Baumrind, 2013; Coohey, 2006; Frank et

al., 2010; Kazemi et al., 2010; Ma et al., 2012; Pasquali et al., 2012; Shahaeian et al.,

2014). For this reason, parenting style plays a crucial role in the development of the

child. Due to the high migration patterns of families in the United States, the

comprehension of diverse parenting styles is a challenge for both the immigrant and the

host country. The implemented laws and policies operating in the host country are

sometimes very different and unknown to the newly arrived families. For example,

families emigrating from Iran have been accustomed to a patriarchal collectivist society

practicing authoritarian parenting, displaying respect for elders and parents, and

sacrificing individual needs for the benefits of the family, as well as following the

expectations of parents (Assadi, Smetana, Shahmansouri, & Mohammadi, 2011).

Historical Background

Iran is considered as the "belt of classic patriarchy" in the Muslim Middle East

(Moghadam, 2004, p. 137). The characteristics of the patriarchal belt consists of male

domination, restrictive codes of behavior for women (veiling and sex segregation),

female virtue, family honor, stratified gender roles in public and private, and preference

for sons (Moghadam, 2004). A patriarchal society, such as Iran, is an ideological and

structural domination cycle that promotes, maintains, and reproduces authoritarian, sexist

beliefs and values through laws and policies (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Moghadam,

2004; Treacher, 2003). The interpretation of the Shari'a law by male clerics has shaped

the roles and legal status of females (Moghadam, 2004). Gender oppression is embedded

in a patriarchal culture and is enforced by a patriarchal interpretation of the Islamic holy

sources (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Moghadam, 2004; Treacher, 2003). Gender

inequalities are ingrained in religious traditions that devalue a woman's life. Legal

testimonies from women are valued at half of a man's and could be worth nothing if there

is no collaboration with a man. Inheritance is unequal and solely benefits the male family

members. Polygamy and *Seghi*, temporary marriage, are both lawfully practiced in Iran

and divorce is lawfully the right of the man (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Moghadam,

2004).

Prior to the Islamic Revolution of 1976, Iran was on a path of institutional

secular ideologies and departed from Islamic influences that glorified pre-Islamic beliefs

and culture (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003; Ostovar, 2013). Modernization of the economy

and secularization of cultural and social life in Iran affected numerous institutional

arenas: Religious institutions' control over land was limited, family laws that reflected

the traditional Islamic law were modified and allowed for consideration of a more secular

view in regards to granting women certain opportunities such as educational

opportunities, unveiling, land reform to enfranchise women, right to work outside the

home, right to vote, and right to initiate divorce (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003; Ostovar,

2013). As women were granted more rights and benefits, control was centralized which

promoted empowerment and equality for women (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003; Ostovar, 2013).

Following the 1976 Islamic revolution, secularization of social and cultural life in Iran reversed to an institutional de-secularization that consisted of Islamic fundamentalist beliefs in constructing and implementing laws and policies focused on a strict interpretation of Shari'a laws (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003). Mandatory government control over the judicial and educational system was transferred from the state to the clerics and clerical institutions (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003).

<div align="center">Feminism in Iran</div>

The drastic changes mentioned above halted the advancement of women's rights, thus igniting women to unite in order to form a gender-egalitarian society. Two feminist groups emerged in opposition to the current existing gender relations that resonate unequal power distribution and hierarchy (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Treacher, 2003). Iranian feminists agree that women are oppressed in the public and private domain; consequently, they are treated as second class citizens under the Islamic regime.

The two feminist groups are in opposition on how to address the state's gender policy. Muslim-orientated feminists desire changes to occur within the theological framework of Islam and through the existing constitutional bounds of the Islamic state (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008). In one hand, Muslim feminists state that Islam, Quran, and the *hadith* , writings from the prophet Muhammad, are not patriarchal and oppressive; instead it is patriarchal men (the clerics and the judges) who are responsible for the sexist interpretation and rulings (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Treacher, 2003). On the other hand, secular feminists believe that gender equality cannot be obtained

through the framework of religious discourse and the official existing state establishment (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008). They demand separation of religion and state since they believe religion negatively influences women's quest for equality (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Treacher, 2003).

Muslim Feminists

Muslim feminists argue that gender relationships should be analyzed and interpreted within a cultural context and believe women's rights and duties are in accordance with an Islamic framework (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Treacher, 2003). They oppose the construction of Westernized ideals in what constitutes a liberated woman. For example, they believe that Islam has ensured that they are not objectified and commoditized, unlike the Westernized societal structure that promotes women's exploitation of cheap labor, objectification as sex objects, and gender role confusion (Treacher, 2003). Consequently, the position of Muslim feminists is that the Islamic path governed by Shari'a laws as an egalitarian system will ensure equality and empowerment of women (Treacher, 2003). Equally important, Islamic feminists maintain that their gender roles are clearly defined; they are not hampered by the responsibility of work and home and can exclusively focus on their duties as wives and mothers (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2008; Treacher, 2003).

Parenting Styles

Parenting styles are a collaboration of techniques and responses that are implemented to address a child's misbehavior and to provide structure (Baumrind, 2013). Extensive research on the outcomes of parenting styles in the United States has shown that authoritative parenting is more successful than authoritarian parenting, which is

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correlated with negative behavior, whereas authoritative parenting is correlated with positive outcomes (Assadi et al., 2011; Baumrind, 2013; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). Authoritative parenting has been positively linked to secure attachment style, higher measures of competency, achievement, social development, self-esteem, mental health, independence, and lower levels of problematic behavior (Baumrind, 2013; Hatamy et al., 2011; Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003; Parsasirat et al., 2013; Zakeri & Karimpour, 2011). However, each culture has unique normative practices, traditions, and history; thus, parenting styles promote the development of qualities valued by that cultural group (Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Collectivist societies mainly use authoritarian parenting to ensure that the child learns to forsake his/ her own needs in order to benefit the group's needs (Assadi et al., 2011; Kazemi et al., 2010; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). Previous studies have shown that obedience, deference to authority, and refraining from expressing one's point of view are other developments that may occur with authoritarian parenting (Rudy & Grusec, 2006). In Iran, authoritarian parenting may be an acceptable parenting style in order to cultivate values that are considered to be the acceptable norms. Authoritarian parenting will not have the same outcomes when practiced in a collectivistic culture compared to an individualist culture (Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Past research in Iran has shown that authoritarian and permissive parenting styles have negative effects. For instance, Mahdavi et al. (2013) found a significant relationship between permissive parenting styles and maladaptive behaviors, such as violence, hyperactivity, antisocial, and disruptive behaviors. Similarly, authoritarian parenting was reported to be problematic for adolescents, who experienced depression, anti-social

behaviors, obsessive-compulsive disorders, and interpersonal sensitivity (Mahdavi et al., 2013). Their results suggest that different parenting styles cause different problematic behaviors among children and adolescents. These findings are supported by prior research performed in the United States (Baumrind, 2013; Mahdavi et al., 2013; Parsasirat et al., 2013; Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Maternal parenting styles have been researched in Iran to determine if they produce different outcomes in an adolescent's development (Baumrind, 2013; Mahdavi et al., 2013; Parsasirat et al., 2013; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). For example, Parsasirat et al. (2013) discovered that parenting styles affect academic achievement among 15 to 17-year-old high school students. Authoritative parenting had a positive correlation with academic success among high school students, as opposed to authoritarian and permissive parenting styles that had a negative correlation (Baumrind, 2013). Authoritative parents are supportive and help children with homework and other school related activities that are an important factor in academic success.

In another study with 11 to 15-year-old Iranian girls, Kazemi et al. (2010) found that the authoritative parenting style had a positive correlation with social competence and self- esteem. Authoritative parenting is associated with parental warmth and interactions that can foster a positive emotional environment that helps adolescents explore their surrounding and feel safe and secure thus, leading to a healthy social and cognitive development (Kazemi et al., 2010). A secure affectionate environment provided by mothers, can help children develop social competence and self- esteem. According to GhorbaniAmir and AhmadiGatab (2011), self-esteem helps children to perceive themselves as being successful, worthy, and capable, which helps them achieve

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short and long term goals. Their study in Iran determined that authoritative parenting style consisting of secure and comforting families yielded the highest level of self-esteem among children (GhorbaniAmir & AhmadiGatab, 2011). Many studies have shown that parenting style is related to a child's self esteem (Baumrind, 2013; Mahdavi et al., 2013; Parsasirat et al., 2013; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). Zakeri and Karimpour (2011) found that parents who are supportive and accepting, provided children with a higher level of self-worth and ability to form a secure attachment that will help them form healthy intimate relationships as young adults.

<u>Disciplinary Practices</u>

In 1993, Islamic Republic of Iran agreed to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and in 2002, the Child Protection Law was ratified by the Iranian Parliament states, that abuse leading to physical pain, moral damage, and mental health risk is prohibited (Article 2; Douki et al., 2013). However, research has shown that harsh disciplinary practices such as corporal punishment are still actively being used (Douki et al., 2013; Khodarahimi, 2014; Knerr et al., 2013; Lansford & Deater- Deckard, 2012; Maker, Shah, & Agha, 2005; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Some parents believe that corporal punishment is necessary for the purpose of modification or to control a child's behavior through physical force (Oveisi et al., 2010).

Research has shown that inter-generational transmission of abuse is a factor that explains why there is a high occurrence of child abuse in spite of preventive laws and policies. Two frameworks that help to explain inter-generational transmission of child abuse are the Social Learning Theory and Attachment Theory. The Social Learning Theory states that being exposed to corporal punishment in childhood and adolescence is

inter-generationally transmitted (Kemme et al., 2014). Parental child abuse is a cycle of learned behaviors through exposure to severe physical discipline (Douki et al., 2013; Kemme et al., 2014; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Children disciplined by corporal punishment are taught that violence is acceptable and are prevented from learning alternative constructive conflict resolutions (Kemme et al., 2014). Similarly, Attachment Theory explains inter-generational transmission of abuse by focusing on the strength of the bond between the parent and child (Maker et al., 2005). Parenting style is a factor that constructs a child's secure or insecure attachment style (Hatamy et al., 2011). Children who are abused are more prone to develop insecure attachment and thus construct a model of acceptable harsh disciplinary practices that they will practice with their children (Baumrind, 2013).

Authoritarian parenting is associated with an insecure attachment style as well as harsher discipline practices. Baumrind's (2013) theory suggests that parental power is a key aspect of authoritarian parenting in order to demonstrate parental authority, punishment, force, and harshness. Under these cultural norms and values, when does discipline transpire into child abuse? Some injuries children receive from their parents are not intentional; instead, they result as a consequence of discipline or punishment (Mikaeili et al., 2013). Child abuse in many families stems from the belief that corporal punishment is the proper disciplinary method (Mikaeili et al., 2013). In a recent study of Iranian mothers, 78% reported having used corporal punishment such as spanking, slapping on the face, head, or ears, and beating the child repetitively and as hard as possible (Douki et al., 2013). In addition, parents stated that corporal punishment was necessary and appropriate in order to nurture the child and to enforce discipline (Douki et

al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). However, a study by Mikaeili et al. (2013) found

emotional abuse as the most prevalent (52%) disciplinary method. On the whole, 14.85%

participants reported using severe to extreme abuse. In addition, severity of abuse

differed by gender- males were exposed to more severe physical assaults compared to

females, who experienced higher rates of emotional abuse (Khodarahimi, 2014; Mikaeili

et al., 2013).

Cultural acceptance of certain harsh disciplinary styles and punishment are

tolerated in some collective countries; others refrain from using such harsh techniques as

punishment and discipline (Maiter et al., 2004). In a study by Oveisi et al. (2010), 20%

of mothers reported that they did not use corporal punishment as a disciplinary method.

Similarly, corporal punishment is frequently used in individualist cultures; most child

welfare legislation in North America considers certain reasonable physical force, such as

spanking, as an acceptable form of discipline (Maiter et al., 2004). It is difficult to

determine an accurate percentage of parents in the United Sates using harsh disciplinary

styles for fear of being penalized. For example, in a 1995 Gallup survey of child abuse,

94% of American parents reported using corporal punishment (Oveisi et al., 2010).

According to Wissow (2001), approximately half of the parents in the United States used

corporal punishment as a disciplinary method. A survey in 2001 show that 60% of

families in the United States reported spanking their children, with 20% reporting using a

belt during the spanking (Wissow, 2001). However, with extensive research on the

dangers and the negative outcomes of harsh punishment, laws and policies were

implemented to change the once acceptable discipline and punishment techniques in the

United States. According to Hoffman (2003), the United States has many different

resources to educate parents about child rearing practices, such as psychologists, child development experts, child advocates, child development magazines, and television programs. Unfortunately, these resources are often lacking in other countries.

Consequences of Harsh Disciplinary Practices

Regardless of cultural differences, harsh disciplinary practices have long term negative consequences that continue beyond childhood (Douki et al., 2013; Kemme et al., 2014; Khodarahimi, 2014; Knerr et al., 2013; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Maker et al., 2005; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Exposure to abuse threatens a child's well-being and leads to health problems as adults. Childhood development, such as attachment, bonding, emotional regulation, and positive view of self and others, will impact future interpersonal relationships (Douki et al., 2013; Hatamy et al., 2011; Kemme et al., 2014; Khodarahimi, 2014; Knerr et al., 2013; Mikaeili et al., 2013). The absence of a secure base of attachment hinders cognitive and social development compared to their counterparts (Mikaeili et al., 2013). Abused children also exhibit symptoms of anxiety, obsession, and somatization (Mikaeili et al., 2013). Alternative non-violent disciplinary practices can lower the risk of youth aggression and antisocial behaviors (Knerr et al., 2013).

Parental Religiosity Beliefs

Muslim parents rely heavily on their religious and spiritual beliefs when forming their parenting style and disciplinary practices (Oweis, Gharaibeh, Maaitah, Gharaibeh, & Obeisat, 2012). Parental duties towards their children are clearly stated in Islam and emphasize cultivating morality, ethics, respect, and obedience without the use of violence and any form of abuse (Oweis et al., 2012). Research has shown that Islamic countries

still resort to harsh disciplinary methods and verbal abuse (Douki et al, 2013; Khodarahimi, 2014; Maker et al., 2005; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Iran is no exception. What factors can explain why physical and emotional child abuse still occurs in a country where views and beliefs are formed and guided by Islamic teachings, as well as Islamic laws and policies?

Even though child abuse laws and policies have been implemented in Iran, there is a lack of services to raise awareness regarding certain disciplinary methods that escalate to physical or emotional abuse (Douki et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). In a recent study, 80% of parents used corporal punishment, 70% could not define or attribute factors which resulted in child abuse, and 50% could not identify the dangers and risks associated with corporal punishment or alternative non-violent disciplinary methods. The participants' attitudes towards corporal punishment were cited as their parental obligation to raise their children, without realizing the long lasting effects of their actions (Oveisi et al., 2010).

In 2004, the Ministries of Health and Education implemented a National Communication Strategy in attempt raise awareness to the harmful and maladaptive inter-generational transmission of child abuse (Douki, et al., 2013). By 2007, an educational booklet, *Disciplining Children with Kindness: A Shiite Shari'a Perspective* was created with the help of influential religious leaders and promoted non-violent disciplinary practices (Douki, et al., 2013). The intervening measures by the government in condemning harsh disciplinary practices are addressed through religious ideologies that might promote public awareness, rights of children and youth, and dismantling generational harsh disciplinary methods.

Socioeconomic status (SES) also accounts for the disparity between parenting and disciplinary practices in Iran (Assadi et al., 2011; Douki et al., 2013; Heydari, Teymoori, & Haghish, 2013; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Lower SES, such as income and education, is associated with a higher rate of authoritarian parenting style and thus higher parental control, lower parental warmth, harsher disciplinary practices, more child mental health problems, and lower parental emotional well-being (Assadi et al., 2011; Douki et al., 2013; Heydari et al., 2013; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Similarly, other studies in different cultures have produced the same results. Low SES is associated with a child's mental health problems; higher rates of internalizing and externalizing behaviors; and parenting style maladjustment, such as depression, anxiety, more direct parental control, poor mental health, and higher levels of family conflict (Boe et al., 2014; Heydari et al., 2013; Kemme et al., 2014; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Ma et al., 2012; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). The highest percentage of severe child injuries and neglect was found in the lowest SES bracket (Boe et al., 2014; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Ma et al., 2012).

Prior research has shown that parental education is another SES factor that greatly influences disciplinary styles. For instance, parents with a higher level of education were more likely to use authoritative parenting compared to parents with lower education who used more parental control (Heydari et al., 2013). Similarly, higher levels of maternal education accounted for increased knowledge about a child's development and positive support (Assadi et al., 2011; Boe et al., 2014; Heydari et al., 2013; Kemme et al., 2014; Lansford & Deater- Deckard, 2012; Ma et al., 2012). Higher education encouraged

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parents to promote independent thinking through verbal reasoning (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012) and thus be less punitive (Kemme et al., 2014). On the other hand, a lower educational attainment is correlated with harsher parenting (Ma et al., 2012). Parental education has a direct effect on parenting because family economics has an indirect adverse effect on a parent's mental well-being (Boe et al., 2014).

There are certain child-rearing factors that can be a result of lower parental SES and have a long-term negative effect on the children's socio-emotional functioning. For instance, assertive discipline is a result of parental stress and the necessity to feel empowered in an uncontrollable environment that is then compensated in the home through over-controlling parental behaviors (Boe et al., 2014; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Ma et al., 2012). Low SES can affect parental levels of support, responsiveness, and affection due to the unmet fulfillment of needs, insecurity, and immaturity, poor parents often use disciplinary practices such as commands without proper explanation, failing to consult with the child or offering verbal rewards, and failing to discipline supportively (Boe et al., 2014; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Ma et al., 2012;).

Family conflict is also increased due to demoralization resulting from economic stress. Thus, parental hopelessness, helplessness, and alienation are factors that may increase verbal and physical abuse (Baumrind, 2013). In effect this can contribute to parents perception of their child's misbehavior by attributing it to stubbornness or willfulness that may result in harsher discipline (Baumrind, 2013). Lastly, lower SES can diminish community support that can serve as a buffer for harsh parental discipline.

<center>Maternal Health Status</center>

Since Iran is a patriarchal society, mothers are the main caregivers of children and as such, they enforce the punishment and discipline (Assadi et al., 2011). Parents' interaction with their children is determined by the parents own childhood experiences, advice from family members, friends, community members, and healthcare providers (Douki et al., 2013). However, a more significant factor is the mother's psychological health (Mikaeili et al., 2013). As parental depression and anxiety increases, so does the likelihood of child abuse (Coohey, 2006; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Shay & Knutson, 2008).

As noted, parental mental health and well-being are highly correlated with SES, as economic stress is a contributing factor for psychological problems. Prior research has found that maternal stress is conducive to physical abuse (Douki et al., 2013). Parents experiencing psychological problems lack the patience and flexibility in resolving parenting problems and challenges (Mikaeili et al., 2013). Mothers struggling with depression are often unable to have healthy relationships with their children by overreacting to the slightest unacceptable behavior and resorting to verbal and physical child abuse (Mikaeili et al., 2013). Therefore, as the level of parental depression and anxiety increases, so does the incidence of child abuse (Douki et al., 2013; Mikaeili et al., 2013). Parental depression and distress are often linked with anger that results in maladaptive coping abilities such as negative thoughts and reactions to the slightest provocation. Parental depression also leads to social isolation from family, friends, and neighbors, who serve a function by lending support and monitoring the well-being of the family unit (Mikaeili et al., 2013). Other factors that determine maternal mental well-

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being are marital happiness, number of children in household, access to health and mental care, and emotional support from friends and family.

Summary

Many factors contribute to the parenting styles and disciplinary practices of Iranian mothers. One cannot assume that Iranian immigrants in the United States have acculturated to the more predominately practiced parenting styles founded in individualist countries such as the United States (Mobasher, 2006; Moghissi, 1999). Contrary to popular belief that assimilation and acculturation are often inevitable for immigrants, the Iranian immigrants' cultural identity becomes stronger when they leave Iran (Mobasher, 2006; Moghissi, 1999). The close tie to their culture allows them to distance themselves from the alienating morals and values of the dominant culture in the host country (Moghissi, 1999). The cultural resistance is a barrier against the racial and religious discrimination that they might experience. The childrearing beliefs and attitudes they have practiced in their own culture would be transcended into the host country which can be detrimental to the entire family (Mobasher, 2006; Moghissi, 1999). Unfortunately, since there is a lack of research to measure the parenting styles and disciplinary practices of Iranian mothers in California, this research will help service providers in California to develop and expand resources in order to assist Iranian families so they may overcome any barriers and obstacles in parenting styles and disciplinary practices in their new country of residence.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

<u>Design/Methodology</u>

The study was an exploratory quantitative research, which explored the parenting and disciplinary practices of Iranian mothers in California. This study used a cross-sectional survey design in order to protect the confidentiality and reduce time demands on respondents.

<u>Sampling</u>

The sample included 52 Iranian mothers residing in California. The criteria for participation were: (1) participants were 18 years or older, (2) participants were mothers with one or more children; (3) participants were living in California; and (4) participants were able to read English. Participants were invited via email or Facebook by using the following Initial Contact Script (Appendix A):

> My name is Ahdeyh Soltani, and as a partial requirement in pursuit of a Master's in Social Work, I am studying the types of parenting and disciplinary practices that are most used among mothers in California and what factors are associated with parenting disciplinary practices. I would like your participation. By definition, a qualified participant is an Iranian mother residing in California and is over the age of 18.

By completing this study, I hope that the results will be able to guide families, healthcare providers, and the child welfare system to better understand the well-being of Iranian children and to implement programs specifically for this population.

The study will involve a 47-question survey, along with 13 demographic information questions. The survey also contains religious questions for those participants who select Muslim affiliation in the demographic portion. All information collected will be confidential to the degree permitted by the technology used. The survey questions are meant to measure parenting styles and child-rearing behaviors as reported by participants.

Prior to taking the survey and providing demographic information, all participants must electronically agree to participate in the consent form in compliance with the research protocol. The consent form will confirm confidentiality and serve as a record that respondents are willing participants and have the right to stop taking the survey at any time.

If you have any questions, please contact me at: Ahdeyh.soltani@student.csulb.edu. If you know of anyone else that would be interested, please forward the email or share this on your Facebook wall. https://www.esurveycreator.com/s/f57f74e

<u>Study Instrument</u>

The survey for this study consisted of the following instruments: (A) Punitive Discipline Scale, which measured for punitive disciplinary practices (Schuetze & Eiden, 2005). The questions in the Punitive Discipline Scale were measured by using a four-

point scale: (0) not at all; (1) rarely; (2) frequently; and (3) very frequently. There were

12 questions including: When you were upset or under stress, how frequently did you

pick on or nag at your child, when your child misbehaved, how frequently did you raise

your voice and yell at him/her, and when your child pestered you or got on your nerves,

how frequently did you ignore him/her? (see Appendix D).

The Parenting Style Scale measured four different parenting styles: indulgent,

authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful (Saunders, Hume, Timperio, & Salmon, 2012).

The questions in the Parenting Style Scale were measured using a five-point scale: (1)

never; (2) rarely; (3) sometimes; (4) often; and (5) always. There was a total of 19 items

which included statements such as: I let my child express feelings about being punished

or restricted, I listen to reasons why my child might not want to do something that I ask

him/her to do, and I make decisions in consultation with my child (see Appendix E).

The Demographic Questionnaire included age, SES (such as income and

education), marital status, number of children, age of children, and religious affiliation

(see Appendix F). Also an Islamic Religiosity Scale was used to measure the strength of

Islamic beliefs and practices (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). The questions in the

Islamic Religiosity Scale were measured using a 5-point scale: (1) strongly disagree; (2)

disagree; (3) neutral; (4) agree; and (5) strongly agree. The scale consisted of 16

statements including: In my personal life religion is very important, Islam helps me lead,

and I believe in God strongly for a better life (see Appendix G).

<div align="center">Data Collection Method</div>

Data collection was done by first forwarding the initial contact form (see

Appendix A) to 20 contacts known to the researcher via email. Simultaneously 20

<div align="center">23</div>

friends on Facebook were contacted with the "Abridged Initial Contact" (see Appendix B).

The author posted the "Abridged Initial Contact" on her Facebook wall and requested participants to share the "Abridged Initial Contact" on their Facebook wall as well. Once a prospective participant read the initial contact message and decided to participate, she clicked on the link to the survey. The Consent Form (see Appendix C) informed the participants that by completing the survey they have given their consent to participate in the study. Since the survey was done electronically, it was not feasible to obtain a signed consent form.

<div align="center">Social Work Ethics</div>

The confidentiality and ethical rights of participants in this research were kept in accordance with the NASW Code of Ethics (National Association of Social Worker [NSAW], 1999). The participants were provided an informed Consent Form in which their rights were outlined for them. The consent form contained information such as consent to participate, purpose of the study, procedures, potential risks and discomforts, potential benefits to subjects and/ or society, confidentiality, participation and withdrawal, and the rights of research participants. In order to insure confidentiality, aggregate data was used. The researcher did not maintain a file of IP addresses or other identifiable information, and all records received were stored in eSurveycreator.com. This is a secure website in which only the researcher will have access to the data. The researcher will destroy the consent forms and the raw data after 3 years as required by CSULB Institutional Review Board's protocol. Individual results will not be shared with the participants; only the overall outcome as a whole will be shared with the participants.

<center>Relevance to Children, Youth, and Families</center>

The results of this study will be relevant to the children, youth, and family concentration since it pertains to safety and well- being of the children in the family unit. This study will explore the different discipline practices and parenting styles of Iranian mothers and the results may directly benefit the entire family.

<center>Relevance to Multiculturalism and Social Work</center>

The results of this research will be relevant to social work since it deals with Iranian parent's parenting style and child discipline practices and that is directly linked to social work. Abiding by the NASW's Code of Ethics, it is important for social workers to increase the level of their professional knowledge. The results may better guide families, healthcare providers, and the child welfare system so that they may better understand the well-being of Iranian children and work to implement cultural sensitive programs and interventions that will benefit this specific population.

The results of this study will be relevant to multiculturalism since Iranian parents residing in California will be contributing to this research in order to expand knowledge on the different disciplinary practices and parenting styles used among this cultural group.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

<u>Demographics</u>

Table 1 illustrates the frequencies and percentages for the demographic variables. The study sample consisted of 52 respondents who identified themselves as Iranian mothers residing in California. Out of the 52 respondents, 11 (21.2%) reported being between the ages of 18-29, and the majority of respondent ($n = 31$; 59.6%) being between 30 – 49 years. Out of the 52 respondents, 9 (17.3%) held a doctorate degree, 8 (15.4 %) were college graduates, 7 (13.5%) had training in a trade, and 7 (13.5%) held a postgraduate degree. The majority of respondents (75%) reported being married, 6 (11.5%) were widowed, and 5 (9.6%) were divorced. Similarly, the majority of respondents (73.1%) reported being born in Iran, 10 (19.2%) were born in the United States, and 3 (5.8%) were born in Germany. From the respondents who reported being born in Iran, the number of years they have lived outside of Iran ranged between 2- 43 years. The most frequent household income reported was over $100,000.00 (28.8%), $50,000.00–74, 999.00 (21.2%), and $75,000–99,999.00 (15.4%). Twenty-six (50%) had two children, and 10 (19.2%) reported either having one or three children. The children's ages ranged from 3 (9.6%) to 62 (1.9%) years. Most respondents reported having only boys (40.4%) while only 5 (9.6%) reported having only girls. Twenty-three (44.2%)

TABLE 1. Demographics Characteristics of the Study Sample ($N = 52$)

Characteristics	f	%
Age		
18-29 years	11	21.2
30-49 years	31	59.6
50-64 years	7	13.5
65 years and older	3	5.8
Highest education completed		
Nursery to 8th grade	2	3.8
Some high school	6	11.5
High school graduate	6	11.5
Some college	5	9.6
Trade/technical/vocational training	7	13.5
College graduate	8	15.4
Some postgraduate work	2	3.8
Postgraduate work	7	13.5
Doctorate degree	9	17.3
Marital status		
Single never married	1	1.9
Married	39	75.0
Separated	1	1.9
Divorced	5	9.6
Widowed	6	11.5
Country of birth		
Iran	38	74.5
United States	10	19.6
Germany	3	5.9
Citizenship status		
United States citizen	35	67.3
Green card	17	32.7
Household Income		
Under 10,000 – 49,000	18	34.6
50,000 – Over 100,000	34	65.4
Employment Status		
Out of work / Retired	2	3.8
Homemaker	20	38.5

TABLE 1. Continued.

Characteristics	*f*	%
Religion		
Muslim not practicing	2	3.9
Muslim	39	76.5
Jewish	5	9.8
Catholic	1	2.0
None	4	7.8
	M	*SD*
Years Living Outside of Iran	2.27	13.45
Number of children	2.27	.992
Age of oldest child	15.73	12.50
Number of boys	1.39	.830
Number of girls	.92	.935

were employed for wages, and 20 (38.5%) were homemakers. Lastly, the majority 39

(76%) reported being Muslim for their religious affiliation.

Children's Gender Differences

Table 2 illustrates there was no statistically significant difference between

respondents who had only boys and those who had both boys and girls in their parenting

styles ($t = 0.42$; $df = 33$; $p = .679$), disciplinary practices ($t = 0.60$; $df = 33$; $p = .552$), and

religiosity ($t = 1.28$; $df = 26$; $p = .210$).

Maternal Age Differences

An independent samples *t- test* was used to examine whether there was a

difference between mothers who are 18-49 and 50-65 years old, in their parenting styles

and disciplinary practices. The results do indicate an approaching statistically significant

difference between mothers who are 18-49 years old and 50-65 years old in their

religiosity ($t = 1.87$, $df = 39$, p $= .069$). Mothers who are 50-65 years old ($M = 58.0$, *SD*

$= 12.47$) are somewhat more religious than mothers who are 18-49 years old ($M = 49.3$,

TABLE 2. Child's Gender vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices ($N = 45$)

	Gender				
	$n = 21$	$n = 24$			
	Boys only	Boys & Girls			
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	df	p
Discipline	19.0 (6.28)	17.7 (6.78)	0.60	33	.552
Religiosity	49.4 (12.4)	55.7 (13.8)	1.28	26	.210
Parenting (overall)	57.5 (8.31)	58.7 (9.07)	0.42	33	.679
Indulgent	13.6 (5.13)	15.2 (5.41)	0.86	33	.394
Authoritative	16.5 (3.49)	16.7 (4.70)	0.17	33	.967
Authoritarian	19.3 (4.09)	17.9 (3.85)	1.08	33	.285
Neglectful	8.0 (2.53)	8.93 (2.60)	1.07	33	.294

$SD = 11.50$). There was no statistically significant difference between mothers who are 18-49 years old and 50-65 years old in their parenting styles ($t = 0.55$; $df = 50$; $p = .587$), disciplinary practices ($t = 0.60$; $df = 50$; $p = .558$), and religiosity ($t = 1.87$; $df = 39$; $p = .069$; seeTable 3).

<u>Marital Status Differences</u>

An independent samples *t-test* was used to examine whether there was a difference between married and unmarried mothers in their parenting styles and disciplinary practices. The results indicated a statistical significant difference between mother's marital status and religiosity ($t = 2.19$, $df = 39$, $p = .034$; see Table 4). Unmarried mothers ($M = 60.0$, $SD = 12.80$) reported a higher level of religiosity compared to married mothers ($M = 48.9$, $SD = 60.0$). There was no statistically significant difference between mothers who are married and not married in their

TABLE 3. Mother's Age vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices ($N = 51$).

	Age				
	$n = 42$	$n = 10$			
	18 - 49	50 - 65	t	df	p
	M (SD)	M (SD)			
Discipline	17.8 (5.88)	16.6 (6.20)	0.60	50	.558
Religiosity	49.3 (11.50)	58.0 (12.47)	1.87	39	.069
Parenting (overall)	59.4 (8.73)	58.0 (12.47)	0.55	50	.587
Indulgent	15.10 (5.02)	14.5 (6.70)	0.31	50	.757
Authoritative	17.5 (3.76)	15.6 (5.10)	1.37	50	.176
Authoritarian	18.3 (3.46)	18.7 (4.11)	0.27	50	.787
Neglectful	8.4 (2.35)	8.8 (3.20	0.47	50	.639

parenting styles ($t = 0.25$, $df = 50$; $p = .802$) and disciplinary practices ($t = 0.70$; $df = 50$; $p = .947$).

Religious Affiliation Differences

An independent samples *t-test* was used to examine whether there was a difference between a mother's religious affiliation and her parenting styles and disciplinary practices. The results shown in Table 5 indicate a statistically significant difference between mother's religious affiliation and neglectful parenting ($t = 2.11$, $df = 49$, $p = .040$). Iranian mothers who were affiliated with Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, or no religion ($M = 9.8$, $SD = 1.90$) used neglectful parenting more than Muslim mothers ($M = 8.1$, $SD = 2.60$). There was a statistically significant difference between a mothers's religious affiliation and religiosity ($t = 2.39$; $df = 39$; $p = .022$). Iranian mothers who affiliated with Muslim ($M = 52.1$, $SD = 12.90$) reported a higher level of religiosity compared to mothers who were affiliated with Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, or no religion

TABLE 4. Mother's Marital Status vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices (*N* = 52)

	Gender				
	n = 39	*n* = 24			
	Married	Not Married/ Others			
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Discipline	17.6 (6.15)	17.7 (5.30)	0.07	50	.947
Religiosity	48.9 (12.90)	60.0 (12.80)	2.19	39	.034*
Parenting (overall)	59.2 (9.65)	58.5 (9.13)	0.25	50	.802
Indulgent	15.0 (5.43)	14.9 (5.42)	0.45	50	.965
Authoritative	17.4 (4.00)	16.4 (4.40)	0.80	50	.426
Authoritarian	18.5 (3.60)	18.2 (3.62)	0.31	50	.756
Neglectful	8.3 (2.60)	9.0 (2.20)	0.90	50	.375

* p < .05.

(*M* = 30.0, *SD* = 4.24). There was no statistically significant difference between mothers who were affiliated Muslim vs. Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, or no religion in their parenting styles (*t* = 1.23; *df* = 29; *p* = .226) and disciplinary practices (*t* = 1.36; *df* = 49; *p* = .180).

<u>Education Attainment Differences</u>

An independent samples *t-test* was used to examine whether there was a difference between a mother's educational attainment and her parenting styles and disciplinary practices. The results illustrated in Table 6 indicate a statistically significant difference between mother's educational attainment and religiosity (*t* = 3.25, *df* = 39, *p* = .005). Iranian mothers without a college or PhD degree (*M*= 56.7, *SD* = 10.86) reported a higher level of religiosity compared to mothers with a college or Ph.D. degree (*M* = 44.4, *SD* = 13.41). There was a statistically significant difference between a mother's

TABLE 5. Religious Affiliation vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices ($N = 51$)

	Religious Affiliation				
	$n = 39$	$n = 12$			
	Muslim	Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, none			
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	df	p
Discipline	18.4 (6.30)	15.7 (3.80)	1.36	49	.180
Religiosity	52.1 (12.90)	30.0 (4.24)	2.39	39	.022
Parenting (overall)	57.9 (9.95)	61.7 (6.70)	1.23	49	.226
Indulgent	14.2 (5.60)	16.8 (3.90)	1.50	49	.135
Authoritative	16.8 (4.40)	18.0 (2.70)	0.90	49	.373
Authoritarian	18.8 (3.60)	17.1 (3.20)	1.51	49	.138
Neglectful	8.1 (2.60)	9.8 (1.90)	2.11	49	.040*

* $p < .05$.

educational attainment and parenting indulgent ($t = 6.47$; $df = 50$; $p = .005$). Iranian

mothers with a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 18.6$, $SD = 4.75$) were more indulgent than

parents without a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 11.4$, $SD = 3.10$). A statistically

significant difference was reported between a mother's educational attainment and

authoritative parenting ($t = 7.14$; $df = 50$; $p = .005$). Iranian mothers with a college or

Ph.D. degree ($M = 20.0$, $SD = 3.15$) were more authoritative than mothers without a

college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 14.3$, $SD = 2.60$).

There was a statistically significant difference between a mother's educational

attainment and authoritarian parenting ($t = 3.54$; $df = 50$; $p = .001$). Iranian mothers who

did not have a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 20.0$, $SD = 3.50$) were more authoritarian

than mothers with a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 16.8$, $SD = 2.90$). There was a

statistically significant difference between a mother's educational attainment and

neglectful parenting ($t = 4.60$; $df = 50$; $p = .005$). Iranian mothers with a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 9.8$, $SD = 2.10$) were more neglectful than mothers without a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 7.0$, $SD = 2.15$). There was a statistically significant difference between mother's educational attainment and disciplinary practices ($t = 4.73$; $df = 50$; $p = .005$). Mothers with a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 14.3$, $SD = 4.90$) reported less harsh disciplinary practices than mothers without a college or Ph.D. degree ($M = 20.8$, $SD = 5.00$; see Table 6).

<div align="center">Employment Status Differences</div>

An independent samples *t-test* was used to examine whether there was a difference between a mother's employment status in her parenting styles and disciplinary practices. The results shown in Table 7 indicate there was a statistically significant difference between a mother's employment status and authoritative parenting ($t = 2.52$; $df = 50$; p = .015). Iranian mothers who are employed ($M = 18.4$, $SD = 3.70$) were more authoritative than mothers who are out of work, a homemaker, or retired ($M = 15.7$, $SD = 4.10$). There was a statistically significant difference between a mother's employment status and authoritarian parenting ($t = 2.45$; $df = 50$; $p = .018$). Iranian mothers who are out of work, a homemaker, or retired ($M = 19.7$, $SD = 4.10$) were more authoritarian than mothers who are employed ($M = 17.4$, $SD = 2.60$). A statistically significant difference between a mother's employment status and their disciplinary practices ($t = 2.74$, $df = 50$, $p = .009$). Iranian mothers who are out of work, a homemaker, or retired used harsher discipline methods ($M = 19.9$, $SD = 6.01$) than mothers who are employed ($M = 15.6$, $SD = 5.14$).

TABLE 6. Mother's Educational Attainment vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary
Practices (*N* = 52)

	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	n = 26	n = 26			
	Nursery - Trade	College – Ph.D.			
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Discipline	20.8 (5.00)	14.3 (4.90)	4.73	50	.005*
Religiosity	56.7 (10.86)	44.4 (13.41)	3.25	39	.005*
Parenting (overall)	52.8 (5.45)	65.3 (8.46)	6.31	50	.005*
Indulgent	11.4 (3.10)	18.6 (4.75)	6.47	50	.005*
Authoritative	14.3 (2.60)	20.0 (3.15)	7.14	50	.005*
Authoritarian	20.0 (3.50)	16.8 (2.90)	3.54	50	.001*
Neglectful	7.0 (2.15)	9.8 (2.10)	4.60	50	.005*

* p < .05.

Income Differences

An independent *t-test* was used to examine whether there was a difference

between a mother's household income in her parenting styles and disciplinary practices.

Table 8 illustrates the results which indicated a statistically significant difference between

a mother's household income and indulgent parenting (*t* = 4.72; *df* = 50; *p* = .005).

Mothers with income of $0 – 74,999 (*M*= 12.3 *SD* = 3.67) used less indulgent parenting

than mothers with an income of $75,000 and above (*M*= 18.3, *SD* = 5.40). A statistically

significant difference was between a mother's income and authoritative parenting (*t* =

4.98; *df* = 50;*p* = .005). Iranian mothers with an income of $ 75,000 and above (*M*= 19.8,

SD = 3.77) used authoritative parenting more than mothers with an income of $0 –

74,999 (*M* = 15.1, *SD* = 3.00). There was a statistically significant difference between a

TABLE 7. Mother's Employment Status vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices
(*N* = 52)

	Employment Status				
	n = 28	*n* = 24			
	Employed for wages / Self employed	Out of work/ not looking homemaker, retired			
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Discipline	18.4 (6.30)	15.7 (3.80)	1.36	49	.180
Religiosity	52.1 (12.90)	30.0 (4.24)	2.39	39	.022
Parenting (overall)	57.9 (9.95)	61.7 (6.70)	1.23	49	.226
Indulgent	14.2 (5.60)	16.8 (3.90)	1.50	49	.135
Authoritative	16.8 (4.40)	18.0 (2.70)	0.90	49	.373
Authoritarian	18.8 (3.60)	17.1 (3.20)	1.51	49	.138
Neglectful	8.1 (2.60)	9.8 (1.90)	2.11	49	.040*

* $p < .05$.

mother's income and authoritarian parenting ($t = 3.02$; $df = 50$; $p = .004$). Iranian

mothers with an income of $0 – 74,999 ($M = 19.7$, $SD = 3.46$) used authoritarian

parenting more than mothers with an income of $75,000 and above ($M = 16.9$, $SD = 3.10$). A statistically significant difference was between a mother's income and

neglectful parenting ($t = 3.06$; $df = 50$; $p = .004$). Iranian mothers with an income of

$75,000 and above ($M = 9.6$, $SD = 2.50$) used neglectful parenting more than mothers

with an income of $0 – 74,999 ($M = 7.6$, $SD = 2.20$) a statistically significant between a

mother's income and disciplinary practices ($t = 3.96$, $df = 50$, $p = .005$). Mothers with

income of $0 – 74,999 used harsher discipline practices ($M = 20.1$, $SD = 5.50$) compared

to mothers with an income of $75,000 and above ($M = 14.4$, $SD = 4.80$; see Table 8).

TABLE 8. Mother's Income vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices ($N = 45$)

	Mother's Income				
	$n = 29$	$n = 23$			
	$0 - $74,999	$75,000- +			
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	df	p
Discipline	20.1 (5.50)	14.4 (4.80)	3.96	50	.005*
Religiosity	54.0 (11.47)	47.3 (15.20)	1.58	39	.122
Parenting (overall)	54.7 (6.39)	64.5 (9.94)	4.32	50	.005*
Indulgent	12.3 (3.67)	18.3 (5.40)	4.72	50	.005*
Authoritative	15.1 (3.00)	19.8 (3.77)	4.98	50	.005*
Authoritarian	19.7 (3.46)	16.9 (3.10)	3.02	50	.004*
Neglectful	7.6 (2.20)	9.6 (2.50)	3.06	50	.004*

* $p < .05$.

Country of Birth Differences

An independent samples *t-test* was used to examine whether there was a difference between a mother's country of birth and her parenting styles and disciplinary practices. The results in Table 9 indicated a statistically significant difference between a mother's country of birth and parenting styles ($t = 2.01$; $df = 49$; $p = .050$). Mothers born in the United States ($M = 63.53$, $SD = 7.50$) used different parenting styles than mothers born in Iran ($M = 57.6$, $SD = 9.80$). A statistically significant difference was between a mother's country of birth and parenting indulgent ($t = 2.22$; $df = 49$; $p = .030$). Mothers born in the United States ($M = 17.8$, $SD = 4.36$) used parenting indulgent more than mothers born in Iran ($M = 14.0$, $SD = 5.50$). There was a statistically significant difference between a mother's country of birth and authoritative parenting ($t = 2.52$; $df = 49$; $p = .015$). Mothers born in the United States ($M = 20.0$, $SD = 3.30$) used authoritative

parenting more than mothers born in Iran (*M*= 16.4, *SD* = 4.10). There was a statistically significant difference between the disciplinary practices of mothers born in Iran compared to the United States (*t* = 2.77, *df* = 49, *p* = .008). Iranian born mothers (*M* = 18.9, *SD* = 5.67) use harsher disciplinary practices compared to Iranian mothers born in the United States (*M* = 13.9, *SD* = 5.33).

TABLE 9. Mother's Country of Birth vs. Parenting Styles and Disciplinary Practices (*N* = 51)

	Country of Birth				
	n = 38	*n* = 13			
	Iran	U.S., Germany, Canada, England			
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Discipline	18.9 (5.67)	13.9 (5.33)	2.77	49	.008
Religiosity	51.1 (13.8)	50.8 (13.10)	0.60	39	.953
Parenting (overall)	57.6 (9.80)	63.53 (7.50)	2.01	49	.050*
Indulgent	14.0 (5.50)	17.8 (4.36)	2.22	49	.030*
Authoritative	16.4 (4.10)	20.0 (3.30)	2.52	49	.015*
Authoritarian	19.0 (3.70)	16.8 (2.73)	1.95	49	.057
Neglectful	8.13 (2.70)	9.40 (1.70)	1.60	49	.124

* p < .05.

Correlation Differences

There is a moderate positive significant association between number of years living outside of Iran and indulgent parenting (*r* = .514; *p* <.005. There is a strong positive association between number of years living outside of Iran and authoritative parenting (*r* = .853; *p* <.005), and number of years living outside Iran and parenting neglectful (*r* = .453; *p* < .002). There is a moderate positive significant association

between number of boys and authoritarian parenting ($r = .355$; $p < .011$). There is a

strong positive significant association between discipline scale and authoritarian

parenting ($r = .739$; $p < .000$; see Table 10)

TABLE 10. Correlation

Variables	Total Children	Age of Oldest Child	Number of Boys	Number of Girls	Years Lived Outside of	Parenting Indulgent Scale	Parenting Authoritative	Parenting Authoritarian	Parenting Neglectful	Discipline Scale	Parenting Scale	Religiosity Scale
Total Children												
Age of Oldest Child	.689** (Sig) 0											
Number of Boys	.469** (Sig) 0.001	0.163 (Sig) 0.252										
Number of Girls	.644** (Sig) 0	.552** (Sig) 0	-.365** (Sig) 0.009									
Years Lived Outside of Iran	-0.055 (Sig) 0.719	.301* (Sig) 0.045	-0.187 (Sig) 0.225	0.105 (Sig) 0.497								
Parenting Indulgent	-0.256 (Sig) 0.087	-0.097 (Sig) 0.493	-0.271 (Sig) 0.054	-0.05 (Sig) 0.726	.514** (Sig) 0							
Parenting Authoritative	-.332* (Sig) 0.016	-0.205 (Sig) 0.145	-.298* (Sig) 0.034	-0.089 (Sig) 0.533	.490** (Sig) 0.001	.853** (Sig) 0						
Parenting Authoritarian	0.239 (Sig) 0.087	0.043 (Sig) 0.761	.355* (Sig) 0.011	-0.048 (Sig) 0.736	-.312* (Sig) 0.037	-.541** (Sig) 0	-.422** (Sig) 0.002					
Parenting Neglectful	-0.177 (Sig) 0.208	0.035 (Sig) 0.807	-0.23 (Sig) 0.104	-0.016 (Sig) 0.912	.453** (Sig) 0.002	.779** (Sig) 0	.570** (Sig) 0	-.682** (Sig) 0				
Discipline Scale	0.25 (Sig) 0.074	0.011 (Sig) 0.938	.406** (Sig) 0.003	-0.07 (Sig) 0.625	-.506** (Sig) 0	-.731** (Sig) 0	-.629** (Sig) 0	.739* (Sig) 0	-.652** (Sig) 0			
Parenting Scale	-0.246 (Sig) 0.079	-0.118 (Sig) 0.404	-0.211 (Sig) 0.138	-0.089 (Sig) 0.536	.500** (Sig) 0	.939** (Sig) 0	.908** (Sig) 0	-.294* (Sig) 0.034	.697** (Sig) 0	-.581** (Sig) 0		
Religiosity scale	.403** (Sig) 0.009	.315* (Sig) 0.045	0.206 (Sig) 0.196	0.272 (Sig) 0.089	-.460** (Sig) 0.006	-.439** (Sig) 0.004	-.376* (Sig) 0.015	0.308 (Sig) .050	-.408** (Sig) 0.008	0.16 (Sig) 0.318	-.405** (Sig) 0.009	

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

CHAPTER 5

LESSONS LEARNED

<u>Summary of Findings</u>

This study examined the parental disciplinary practices and the contributing factors among Iranian mothers in California. The study found that Iranian mothers who lived longer outside of Iran differed in their parenting and disciplinary practices. This could be due to the available resources in United States to educate parents against both the dangers of harsh disciplinary practices and alternative child rearing options. Further, Iranian mothers with a higher educational attainment reported less harsh disciplinary practices and were more authoritative than less educated mothers and reported less harsh disciplinary practices. There was also an indication that unemployed mothers used more authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary practices. Low income also contributed to authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary methods. Similarly, Iran-born mothers also reported using authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary practices. Lastly, mothers who reported having boys used harsher disciplinary practices.

<u>Comparison of Study Findings with Prior Research</u>

In previous studies it has been indicated that socioeconomic status was linked to authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary practices (Assadi et al., 2011; Douki et al., 2013; Heydari et al., 2013; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). In comparison to the current study, the findings indicated that there are significant association between a

mother's educational attainment and income with authoritarian parenting and harsher disciplinary practices. In this current study, findings indicated that the number of years living outside of Iran is a contributing factor to parenting style and harsher disciplinary practices, the more time that Iranian mother's live outside of Iran was correlated with a decrease in the rate of harsher disciplinary practices. Several explanations for the correlation can be due to an increase in knowledge, information, and exposure to the negative consequences of harsh disciplinary practices. Previous studies in Iran have indicated that Iranian mothers are lacking services to raise awareness regarding certain disciplinary methods that escalate to physical or emotional abuse (Douki et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Mothers could not define or attribute factors which resulted in child abuse and they could not identify the dangers and risks associated with corporal punishment or alternative non-violent disciplinary methods ((Douki et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Previous studies indicated an association between authoritarian parenting and harsh disciplinary practices which is similar to the findings in this study (Mahdavi et al., 2013).

<div align="center">Implications for Social Work Practice</div>

This study is relevant to social work practice because social workers need to be culturally competent as part of the NASW's Code of Ethics, when working with Iranian mothers and families. It is important for social workers to be knowledgeable of the underlying reasons that might contribute to harsh disciplinary practices among Iranian mothers. Lack of knowledge, low socio-economic status, stress, poor maternal health, and cultural expectations have all been reasons that have been associated to be the underlying causes of harsh parenting practices (Assadi et al., 2011; Boe et al., 2014;

Douki et al., 2013; Heydari et al., 2013; Kazemi et al., 2010; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi, 2010;). Most importantly, it is essential for social workers to provide Iranian families with knowledge, education, resources, and support to raise awareness to the negative consequences of harsh disciplinary practices. The dangers of harsh disciplinary practices are long lasting and can be transmitted intergenerationally (Douki et al., 2013; Kemme et al., 2014; Khodarahimi, 2014; Knerr et al., 2013; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Maker et al., 2005; Mikaeili et al., 2013; Oveisi et al., 2010). Exposure to harsh disciplinary practices threatens a child's well-being and contributes to health problems as adults. Childhood development, such as attachment, bonding, emotional regulation, and positive view of self and others, will impact future interpersonal relationships (Douki et al., 2013; Hatamy et al., 2011; Kemme et al., 2014; Khodarahimi, 2014; Knerr et al., 2013; Mikaeili et al., 2013). Thus, it is important for social workers to advocate, educate, and provide the necessary resources to prevent further suffering and harm to children. Stress and despair are often linked to low socio-economic status and can contribute to harsher disciplinary practices. Therefore, to reduce the stress and despair experienced by Iranian mothers with a lower socio-economic status, social workers can provide the family with information regarding jobs, education, trade schools, etc. Lastly, families can be educated on alternative disciplinary practices, that will be beneficial and effective, to ensure the physical and mental well-being of the child.

<u>Implications for Future Research</u>

As we have a large number of Iranian mothers residing in California, it is important for social workers to have an understanding of the factors contributing to harsh disciplinary practices. The disciplinary practices and parenting styles exercised in Iran

can conflict with what is socially and legally acceptable in the United Sates. Therefore, more research is needed to examine the relationship between Iranian parents and their children. There is a lack of research in the United States on the effects of certain disciplinary practices and parenting styles that have been deemed as necessary to promote certain cultural expectations in children from a particular country such as Iran. Future research may help to develop curricula or interventions that will help promote alternative, non-violent disciplinary practices by Iranian mothers.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited due to the size of the sample. It is important to collect data from Iranian mothers throughout the United States to determine whether the findings will be consistent with this study. Further, this study focused solely on Iranian mothers. The findings indicated that majority of respondents were currently married. However, Iranian father's disciplinary practices and parenting styles were not measured. Questions regarding maternal mental health and the mother's childhood experiences were not addressed in this study. Regardless of the limitations, this social issue was important to examine due to the risk factors associated with harsh disciplinary practices.

Conclusion

This research has shown some of the factors associated with harsh disciplinary practices and parenting styles. Even though the study had limitations, the necessity to examine Iranian disciplinary practices and parenting styles remains. The risks associated with harsh disciplinary practices and authoritarian parenting have been extensively noted throughout this research. Lower SES status is a contributing factor for harsher disciplinary practices and an authoritarian parenting style. Social Learning Theory

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explains that violent physical discipline practices are intergenerational. What is seen as socially and culturally acceptable in one country, such as Iran, can be at odds when implemented in the new host country, such as the United States. Parenting classes, knowledge of child development, and a list of risks and consequences of physical and verbal abuse are not readily available to Iranian parents. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the host country to implement programs and resources to ensure that parents learn alternative disciplinary practices which will be beneficial for all.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INITIAL CONTACT SCRIPT

<center>Initial Contact Script</center>

My name is Ahdeyh Soltani, and as a partial requirement in pursuit of a Master's in Social Work, I am studying what kind of parenting and disciplinary practices are most used among mothers in California and what factors are associated with parenting disciplinary practices. I would like your participation. By definition, a qualified participant is an Iranian mother residing in California and is over the age of eighteen.

By completing this study, I hope that the results will be able to guide families, health providers, and child welfare system to better understand Iranian mother's parenting and disciplinary practices and implement programs specifically for this population.

The study will involve a 47-question survey, along with 13 demographic information questions. The survey also contains religious questions for those participants whom select Muslim affiliation in the demographic portion. All information collected will be confidential to the degree permitted by the technology used. The survey questions are meant to measure parenting styles and parenting child rearing behaviors as reported by participants.

Prior to taking the survey and providing demographic information, all participants must electronically agree to participate in the consent form in compliance with research protocol. The consent form will confirm confidentiality and serve as a record that respondents are willing participants and have the right to stop taking the survey at any time.

If you have any questions, please contact me at:

Ahdeyh.soltani@student.csulb.edu.

If you know of anyone else that would be interested, please forward the email or share this on your Facebook wall. https://www.esurveycreator.com/s/f57f74e

APPENDIX B

ABRIDGED INITIAL CONTACT SCRIPT

Abridged Initial Contact Script

Good morning/ afternoon,

Do you have ten minutes to complete a survey for me? I am finishing my Master's degree in Social Work. For my thesis, I am studying what kind of parenting and disciplinary practices are most used among Iranian mothers in California. A qualified participant is an Iranian mother, eighteen years or older, must be living in California, and be able to read English. The study will involve a 47-question survey, along with 13 demographic information questions. The survey also contains religious questions for those participants whom select Muslim affiliation in the demographic portion.

Please follow this link for more information:

https://www.esurveycreator.com/s/f57f74e

If you know of anyone else that would be interested, please forward the email or share this on your Facebook wall.

If you have any questions, reply to this message, or email at

Ahdeyh.soltani@csulb.student.edu.

Thank you,

Ahdeyh

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

Parenting and Disciplinary Practices of Iranian Mothers: A Quantitative Study

I am Ahdeyh Soltani, a Master's Social Work student at California State University, Long Beach. I am inviting you to participate in a study I am conducting for my thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are over the age of eighteen years old, an Iranian mother living in California.

Purpose of the Study
The purpose of this study is to determine Iranian mothers parenting styles and disciplinary practices. The results will be able to guide families, health providers, and child welfare system to better understand the well being of Iranian children and implement programs specifically for this population.

Procedures
If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a survey about your parenting and disciplinary practices, and some demographic information. The survey should take approximately ten minutes to complete.

Potential Risks and Discomforts
The researcher expects there to be minimum risk or discomforts in the completion of this study. There is possibility that you may find some questions uncomfortable, due to their self – reflective nature. You do not have to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable with.

Potential Benefits to Subjects and/or Society
You are not expected to directly benefit from this research. However, you will be contributing to the body of knowledge on parenting and discipline practices among Iranian mothers in California. The researcher hopes that the results will be able to guide families, health providers, and child welfare system to better understand the well being of Iranian children and implement programs specifically for this population.

Confidentiality
Every effort will be made to ensure the confidentiality of each participant. The study results will be reported in aggregate data, and any identifying information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential.

Participation and Withdrawal
Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose to skip questions you do not wish to answer without removing yourself as a participant of the study. You may choose to stop the survey at any time. No penalty or loss will occur from failure to participate in this study. Participation or non-participation will not affect any personal relationship you have with the researcher.

<u>Identification of Investigators</u>

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact me (Ahdeyh Soltani) atAhdeyh.Soltani@student.csulb.edu, or my thesis advisor, Dr. Janaki Santhiveeran at Janaki.S@csulb.edu.

<u>Rights of Research Participants</u>
You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. If you have questions concerning your rights as a participant, please contact the CSULB Office of University Research at (562)985-5314 or go to: ORSP-Compliance@csulb.edu

Thank you for your participation!

By completing the survey you have given your consent to participate in this study.

APPENDIX D

PUNITIVE DISCIPLINE SCALE

Punitive Discipline Scale

Please respond to the following statements using a 4-point scale
0 = not at all, 1 = rarely, 2 = frequently, 3 = very frequently

	0	1	2	3	4
1. Before you did anything about a problem caused by your child, how frequently did you give him or her several reminders of warning that you were going to do something unless she/ he stopped?					
2. When you were upset or under stress, how frequently did you pick on or nag at your child?					
3. When you told your child not to do something, how frequently did you repeat it over and over again?					
4. When your child pestered you or got on your nerves, how frequently did you ignore him/her?					
5. When your child misbehaved, how frequently did you get into a long argument with him/her?					
6: When your child misbehaved, how often did you threaten to do things that you knew you would not actually do?					
7. When your child misbehaved, how frequently did you raise your voice and yell at him/her?					
8. When there was a problem with your child, how frequently did you let things build up to the point where you did something that you did not mean to do?					
9. When you child misbehaved, how frequently did you spank, slap, grab, or hit him/her?					
10. When your child misbehaved, how frequently did you curse at or use bad language toward the child?					
11. When your child did something you did not like, how frequently did you insult him/her, say mean things, or call him/her names?					
12. When your child misbehaved, how frequently did you hit him/her with an object like a broom, belt, paddle, or extension cord?					

APPENDIX E

PARENTING STYLE SCALE

Parenting Style Scale

Please respond to the following statements using a 5-point scale.
1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, and 5 = always.

	0	1	2	3	4	5
1. I let my child express feelings about being punished or restricted.						
2. I listen to reasons why my child might not want to do something that I ask him/her to do.						
3. I encourage my child to tell me what he/she is thinking.						
4. I make decisions in consultation with my child.						
5. I tell my child how happy he/she makes me.						
6. I am consistent with my discipline techniques.						
7. I make clear rules for my child to follow.						
8. I give my child reasons for my directions.						
9. I am clear about my parental role.						
10. I use a gentle manner with my child.						
11. I confront my child when he/she does not do as I say.						
12. I punish my child for disobedience.						
13. I am firm with my child.						
14. I have the final say with my child.						
15. I see to it that my child does what he/she is told.						
16. I let myself be talked out of things by my child.						
17. I ignore my child's misbehavior.						
18. My child nags me into changing my mind.						
19. My child wins arguments with me.						

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions:

1. What is your age?
   1) 18-29 years old   _____
   2) 30-49 years old   _____
   3) 50-64 years old   _____
   4) 65 years and over _____

2. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   1) No schooling completed   _____
   2) Nursery school to 8th grade   _____
   3) Some high school   _____
   4) High school graduate   _____
   5) Some college   _____
   6) Trade/ technical / vocational training   _____
   7) College graduate   _____
   8) Some postgraduate work   _____
   9) Post graduate work   _____
   10) Doctorate Degree   _____

3. What is your current marital status?
   1) Divorced   _____
   2) Married   _____
   3) Separated   _____
   4) Single- never married   _____
   5) Widowed   _____
   6) Seghi   _____

4. Where were you born?

    1) Iran   _____

    2) United States   _____

    3) Other _____

5. What is your citizenship status?

    1) United States citizen   _____

    2) Green Card   _____

    3) Worker visa   _____

    4) Dependent visa   _____

    5) Other   _____

6. What is your current household income in US dollars?

    1) Under $10,000   _____

    2) $10,000 - $19,000   _____

    3) $20,000 - $29,000   _____

    4) $30,000 - $39,000   _____

    5) $40,000 - $49,000   _____

    6) $50,000 – 74,999   _____

    7) $75,000 - $99,999   _____

    8) Over $100,000   _____

7. How many children do you have?   _____

8. How old is your oldest child? Years _____

9. How many boys do you have? _____

10. How many girls do you have? _____

11. Employment Status:
1) Employed for wages   _____
2) Self- employed   _____
3) Out of work and looking for work   _____
4) Out of work but not looking for work   _____
5) A homemaker   _____
6) A student   _____
7) Retired   _____
8) Unable to work   _____

If you choose Muslim as your religious affiliation please continue the survey. For all others this will be the end of the survey. Thank you for your participation.

12. What is your religion?
1) Muslim
2) Jewish
3) Christian
4) Catholic
5) Other _____

APPENDIX G

ISLAMIC RELIGIOSITY SCALE

Islamic Religiosity Scale

Please respond to the following statements using a 5-point scale where
1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, and 5 = strongly agree.

	0	1	2	3	4	5
1. In my personal life, religion is very important.						
2. Islam helps me lead a better life.						
3. The supplication (dua') helps.						
4. Muhammad (peace be upon him) instructs me in good conduct.						
5. I believe in God strongly.						
6. I ḥajj will be my priority the moment I've fulfilled all the necessary conditions.						
7. I believe that Allah helps me.						
8. I believe hejab is obligatory for all women.						
9. I am a religious person.						
10. I fast the whole month of Ramadan.						
11. I perform Friday Prayer regularly.						
12. I make my prayer always on time.						
13. I perform my daily prayers in the mosque regularly.						
14. I perform the obligation of zakat maal (asset/income) annually.						
15. I read the Quran regularly.						
16. I pray five times a day.						

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