

INTERPERSONAL RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES WITHIN ORTHODOX JEWISH FAMILIES
IN ISRAEL

Steven Pirutinsky

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee
of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2014

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ABSTRACT

Interpersonal Religious Struggles within Orthodox Jewish Families in Israel

Steven Pirutinsky

Religion and spirituality are important to many and can have both positive and negative influences on psychological functioning and interpersonal relationships. While prior empirical studies suggest that religion generally influences relationships positively, differences in values and worldviews can be significant sources of conflict. These interpersonal religious struggles are neglected in current research and may be particularly relevant in religion-centric cultures such as the Orthodox Jewish community, particularly within families with adolescent children.

The current research analyzed dyadic data from 789 Orthodox Jewish couples residing throughout Israel, and explores the hypotheses that:

1. Religious conflict between Orthodox Jewish spouses is significantly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration.
2. Among those with insecure attachment, religious conflict is more frequent and more strongly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration.
3. Religious conflict between returnees to Orthodox Judaism (“Baalei Teshuva”) is more frequent and more strongly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration than in other Orthodox families.

Variables were measured using several previously validated scales, completed in this study by husband and wife dyads. Data were analyzed using a common factor model and parameters were estimated using structural equation modeling. Results indicated that:

1. Religious conflict was significantly associated with lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration. These effects were significant among husbands and wives, within non-returnee and returnee groups, and across more modern and traditional religious sub-groups.
2. Attachment insecurity was related to higher levels of religious conflict, and the effect of attachment insecurity on family outcomes was partially or fully mediated by higher levels of religious conflict. On the other hand, insecure attachment did not moderate the relationship between religious conflict and outcome variables such as family functioning, parenting stress, and community integration.
3. Returnees reported higher levels of religious conflict, but the relationship of religious conflict to outcome variables was equivalent in the returnee and non-returnee groups.

These findings suggest that within the Orthodox community religious conflict is an important correlate of family dysfunction and parenting stress across a variety of religious sub-groups and contexts. Thus, assessment and treatment of dysfunction in Orthodox Jewish families should include evaluation of religious conflicts. Religious conflict is also clinically relevant because it appears to mediate the impact of personality factors, such as insecure attachment, on families. Although psychological research increasingly acknowledges the importance of spirituality and religion, much of the research has focused on individual and intra-psychic manifestations, perhaps reflecting an individualistic cultural conception of the meaning and relevance of spirituality and religion. The current study suggests that spirituality and religion can have important interpersonal implications, particularly within the family. Future research exploring causal relationships, specific domains of religious conflict, cross-cultural relevance, and comparability to other forms of interpersonal conflict appears warranted and necessary.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing this dissertation marks the end of a journey that was only possible with the support and encouragement of many. Foremost, I thank my dissertation sponsor and academic advisor, Dr. Elizabeth Midlarsky, whose mentorship and support extends well beyond her professional role. Her advice, encouragement, and advocacy have helped me grow as a researcher, clinician, and human being. Her relentless spirit and unflinching mentorship uniquely coupled with her constant warmth and bountiful generosity set an example to which I strive.

My deepest thanks go to my families, who have sacrificed in countless small and large ways throughout this process. To my wife Tova, your limitless support and encouragement allowed me to take the risks and challenges inherent in this journey, and your willingness to “pick up the slack” for me was critical to this project and God willing many more. Thank you for your incredible patience and understanding when my work left little time for anything else. To my dearest children Yechiel, Nechama, and Moshe, your smiles, hugs, and kisses have woken me up on many hard mornings and settled me down after many long days. Thank you.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to God for providing me with the opportunity, resources, and strength to complete this project. May it be His will that I continue to merit the countless blessings I receive on a daily basis, and may this and my other work help others reconnect with the positive aspects of their religious and spiritual lives and its role in their family.

INTERPERSONAL RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES WITHIN ORTHODOX JEWISH FAMILIES IN ISRAEL

Introduction

Spirituality and religion play important roles in the lives of many people (Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger, & Gorsuch, 2003). In a recent representative random poll of over 350,000 United States residents (Gallup, 2009), 65% reported that religion was important in their daily lives. Given this level of national interest, the psychological study of the relationship between religion and mental health seems warranted and has generated considerable empirical research. Although the preponderance of the existing research focuses on the positive aspects of spirituality and religiosity, it is increasingly recognized that religion can also have negative effects, particularly in the context of spiritual struggles (Pargament, 1997).

The term “spiritual struggles” encompasses several distinct but interrelated dimensions of difficulties including struggles relating to the Divine, chronic religious doubts, and interpersonal religious conflicts (Ellison & Lee, 2009). A growing empirical literature has established that spiritual struggles are positively related to self-reported psychological distress. For example, a meta-analysis of 22 studies found a modest but significant positive relationship between spiritual struggles and psychological distress (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; $r = .22$, $p < .05$, 95% *C.I.* = .19 through .24). Similarly, Smith, McCullough, and Poll (2003) conducted a meta-analysis of over 140 studies correlating religion and spirituality and depression. Overall, they found that religiousness was inversely related to depression ($r = -.096$, $p < .05$, 95% *C.I.* = -.08 through -.11). However, this effect was significantly moderated by the type of religiousness measured, such that measures of extrinsic religiousness and negative religious coping were related to higher

self-reported depressive symptoms. Resulting mean effect sizes for extrinsic religiousness ($r = .15$, 95% *C.I.* = $-.09$ through $.24$) and negative religious coping ($r = .14$, 95% *C.I.* = $.09$ through $.23$) were slightly lower than those reported by Ano and Vasconcelles (2005). Together, these results indicate that spiritual struggles are relevant to mental health. However, the research has a few notable limitations.

Specifically, the vast majority of studies examining spiritual struggles were surveys that were cross-sectional and correlational (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Smith et al., 2003), and that therefore preclude causal conclusions (e.g., that spiritual struggles result in increased distress). In fact, the finding of this relationship evokes four distinct possibilities: 1) Spiritual struggles may simply accompany psychological distress, as a domain within which negative feelings and thoughts are expressed. 2) Psychological distress may lead to an increase in spiritual struggles (e.g., by decreasing engagement in religious activities, increasing guilt, activating negative core beliefs about God, or promoting religious doubts). 3) Spiritual struggles may increase psychological distress. 4) Spiritual struggles may both cause and be caused by psychological distress.

On the other hand, several longitudinal studies have found that spiritual struggles predict future psychological distress independent of current distress, suggesting that spiritual struggles precede and perhaps cause distress. For example, among 96 medical rehabilitation patients (e.g., with joint replacement, amputation, stroke), negative religious coping was associated with poorer psychological adjustment at a four-month follow-up ($r = .22$, $p < .01$), independent of the effect of psychological adjustment at admission (Fitchett, Rybarczyk, DeMarco, & Nicholas, 1999). Similarly, Gall, Guirguis-Younger, Charbonneau, and Florack (2009) explored the role of religion among 96 breast cancer patients repeatedly measuring both positive and negative coping

and emotional distress from pre-diagnosis to 2 years post-surgery. Results indicated that women who engaged in negative religious coping (e.g., spiritual discontent, anger at God) at pre-diagnosis reported poorer emotional adjustment across all time periods ($r = .24$ through $.56$, $p < .001$). More recently, Pirutinsky, Rosmarin, Pargament and Midlarsky (2011) found that in a sample of Orthodox Jews, a model including spiritual struggles as a predictor of future depressive symptoms provided a significantly better fit than competing causal models. Results also suggested that past spiritual struggles had a moderate impact on future depression independent of the effects of past depression and concurrent spiritual struggles ($\beta = .67$, $p < .001$).

A second limitation is that studies relied on self-report measures of spiritual struggles and psychological well-being, and the accuracy of these reports can be influenced by the respondents' subjective experiences, desire to respond in socially appropriate ways, and overlap between perceptions of physical and mental health and spiritual wellbeing (Smith et al., 2003). However, two studies included more objective measures. Abernathy, Chang, Seidlitz, Evinger, and Duberstein (2002) found that religious coping was significantly related to scores on the Hamilton Depression Rating Scale (Hamilton, 1967; $r = .20$, $p < 0.05$), and Pirutinsky and Schechter (2009) found that adherence to cultural-religious norms as rated by therapists was related to better overall functioning on the Global Assessment of Functioning (GAF, American Psychiatric Association, 2000, $r = .35$, $p < .05$).

Finally, the vast majority of these studies examined only a particular yet widely studied aspect of struggles, negative religious coping. Negative religious coping, a construct driven by the work of Pargament (1997), refers to struggles relating to God that typically arise in times of distress. For many individuals, a personal connection with God provides comfort, support, and

hope in difficult times. For some, however, this connection itself can be troubled and distressing, particularly in times of personal difficulties or trauma. In response to negative life events, some may get angry at God, question whether God cares about them, doubt if God can do anything with corresponding poor emotional outcomes, and may even express doubt about the existence of God (Pargament, 1997).

However, beyond struggles relating to God in the context of stress, spiritual struggles encompass difficulties in other domains such as chronic religious or spiritual doubting (Exline, 2002). Chronic religious doubts or reservations can take many forms such as wondering why bad things happen to good people (Kushner, 1978), challenges by scientific developments, and misgivings concerning religious doctrines, institutions, and practices. These doubts may be associated with heightened emotional distress, since coherent sets of religious beliefs provide a fundamental framework for understanding the world, which when disturbed may be linked to psychological confusion and conflict (Park, 2005). Chronic doubts can also be stressors in their own right, since within many religious traditions doubts are non-normative and undesired. Thus, they may engender guilt, remorse, and even worry about Divine retribution. This is particularly true within current Orthodox Jewish religious culture (Pirutinsky & Shechter, 2009), but within other Jewish communities (e.g., Conservative) doubting may be more normative (Hecht, 2003). Furthermore, many Orthodox Jews may be reluctant to discuss these doubts, fearing negative reactions from others. Thus, among Orthodox Jews chronic religious doubting can be especially lonely and painful (Krause, Ingersoll-Dayton, Ellison, & Wulff, 1999).

In addition, although many investigators emphasize the role of religious groups in fostering supportive social networks, not all interactions within religious contexts are supportive. Individuals may struggle to meet their religious community's demands for time, money, and

commitment. Religious communities can attempt to guide the behavior and lifestyle of their members, and deviation can lead to gossip, criticism, and even ostracism. Moreover, conflicting religious and spiritual beliefs and activities may interfere with familial, social, and romantic relationships. Yet, these interpersonal religious struggles are an important domain largely neglected by the current research.

While additional research is necessary to explore the diverse forms of spiritual struggles and their separate psychological antecedents and consequences, the growing body of research discussed above suggests that spiritual struggles comprise an important correlate, and perhaps a cause, of psychological distress. In order to contribute knowledge to this domain, the proposed research uses dyadic data to explore interpersonal religious struggles, in a specific religious-cultural context –Orthodox Jewish families in Israel. The study begins to address some of the limitations of current research by focusing on interpersonal religious struggles within a specific religious culture and by using data from multiple informants.

Religion in the Family

Psychological research into the role of religion in the family has a long but erratic history (Mahoney, Pargament, Swank, & Tarakeshwar, 2001; Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger, & Gorsuch, 2003). However, sociological researchers have extensively studied the impact of religion on family issues using broad measures and large samples (Holden, 2001). A review summarizing these findings suggests that religious beliefs and behaviors typically have positive influences on areas such as marital satisfaction, divorce, parenting, and prosocial attitudes and behaviors (Sherkat & Ellison, 1999). A meta-analysis from a psychological perspective similarly found that greater religiousness is related to a decreased the risk of divorce, better marital functioning, and both positive parenting and higher rates of child adjustment (Mahoney, Pargament, Swank, &

Tarakeshwar, 2001). Other variables shown to correlate with greater family functioning include religious commitment (Lopez, Riggs, Pollard, & Hook, 2011), marital sanctification (Mahoney et al., 2003), and religion-related self-regulation (McCullough & Willoughby, 2009).

On the other hand, research also suggests that differences in values and worldviews among family members can be a significant source of conflict and disunity (Baltas & Steptoe, 2000; Waldman & Rubalcava, 2005). For people whose values and worldviews are intimately tied to a system of religious meaning (Paloutzian, 2005), religious disagreements with spouses or other family members appear to be particularly detrimental to family functioning (Heaton & Pratt, 1990; Joanides, Mayhew, and Mamalakis, 2002). Marital religious conflict also correlates with negative outcomes such as increased familial conflict (Mahoney, 2005), adolescent delinquency (Pearce & Haynie, 2005), and divorce (Vaaler, Ellison, & Powers, 2009). In summary, similar to its influence in other domains, religion appears to be related to family functioning in both positive and negative ways, and this may be particularly true in religion-centric cultures such as the Orthodox Jewish community.

Orthodox Jewish Families

Orthodox Judaism is a broad categorization including a variety of religious groups that unconditionally share acceptance of the Torah (the first five books of the Jewish Bible), its Divine origins, and its Talmudic interpretation. That acceptance entails strict adherence to detailed religious laws (e.g., dietary restrictions, prayers, holiday rituals, and prescriptions for family life) that infuse everyday life with religious meaning and consequence (Huppert, Siev, & Kushner, 2007). Orthodox Judaism also espouses a comprehensive meaning system based on belief in God, acceptance of His commandants, and eventual messianic redemption (Maimonides, 12th Century/1990). Orthodox Jews generally form sheltered communities

organized around this religious ideology and limit contact with the outside world (Huppert et al., 2007). It is estimated that one-half to one million Orthodox Jews live in Israel and that 65% are under the age of 20 years (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Sizable Orthodox communities also exist in the United States, Canada, Europe, and South America (Gonen, 2001).

In the more traditional subgroups (e.g., Yeshiva Orthodox and Hasidic) men and women are strictly segregated at all ages. Marriages are therefore generally fully or partially arranged through a community matchmaker system, between men and women in their late teens and early twenties (Grodner & Sweifach, 2004). In less traditional subgroups (e.g., National Religious and Modern Orthodox), gender segregation is less strict, and young people meet, date, and marry more or less as they do in other Western cultures. For a variety of religious and cultural reasons, most Orthodox couples begin having children immediately after marriage and have large numbers of offspring (Loewenthal & Goldblatt, 1993). Many Orthodox Jews, particularly from the most traditional subgroups, view male employment as a distraction from religious obligation, and many adult men primarily, or even exclusively, engage in religious study (Gonen, 2001; Shai, 2006). These families are supported through a variety of means including family support, community institutions, governmental financial aid, and wives' employment or small business activity. Most Orthodox women are expected to view their primary role as rearing children and maintaining the family, and most take great pride in doing so (Cwik, 1995; Kaufman, 1985).

Attitudes towards the family generally focus on its pivotal role in the raising of children and transmission of religious values (Brownstein, 2009) and see the purpose of marriage not as romance, but as a setting for raising a family - although couples share intimacy, respect, and love (Goshen-Gottstein, 1987). Parents, particularly fathers, are obligated to provide religious education for their children (Maimonides, 12th Century/1990) and are held accountable for

maintaining religious-cultural norms and boundaries within families (e.g., Agudath Israel of America, 2006). Consequently, children are expected to honor and obey their parents and by extension, God (Exodus 20:12; Wieselberg, 1992). Empirical evidence indicates that those expectations are common and that parent-child relational factors are indeed important for the transmission of religious values within Orthodox communities (Herzbrun, 1993; Ringel, 2008).

The family is also a key organizing structure within the community and is generally evaluated through a religious lens (Wieselberg, 1992). For example, strangers often exchange family lineage in an attempt to establish a shared social reality and religious-value structure. Similarly, decisions concerning community membership, school admission, marriage proposals, and even economic partnerships are primarily determined by family religious reputation (Rosen, Greenberg, Schmeidler, & Shefler, 2007). In fact, families are often viewed as single units with particular shared characteristics. For example, previous research suggests that stigmatization of an individual with mental illness often extends to the entire family and may present social, marital, and economic barriers (Pirutinsky, Rosen, Shapiro, & Rosmarin, 2010). Similarly, families with members who do not strictly adhere to particular religious-culture boundaries are often stigmatized and devalued (Winston, 2005).

Consistent with this inclusive integration of religion within family life, anecdotal reports from a pastoral counseling training program suggest that religious conflicts are particularly present and stressful within Orthodox Jewish families, and that they are often a focus of pastoral and psychological counseling within families (D. Pelcovitz, personal communication October 10th, 2012). Because the individuation process of adolescence is particularly stressful (McLean, Breen, & Fournier, 2010) and often reveals religious conflicts between spouses (Agudath Israel

of America, 2006), I was particularly interested in religious conflict among families with adolescent children and the proposed research specifically examines this population.

Adolescent Religious Development and the Family

Adolescence is generally acknowledged to be a turbulent and difficult time, particularly because it entails identity formation (e.g., Erickson, 1968) and separation/individuation from the family of origin (McLean, Breen, & Fournier, 2010). Research on religious development within many denominations and cultures suggests that adolescents tend to exhibit heightened religious change (Good & Willoughby, 2008) and lower religious commitment and belief as compared to both younger children and adults (Hyde, 1990). This process appears driven by adolescent emotional (Meissner, 1984), cognitive (Fisherman, 2001), and identity (McLean, Breen, & Fournier, 2010) needs to assert their religious autonomy and independent identity. Although this adolescent “storm and stress” may be less intense within a traditional culture such as the Orthodox Jewish than in more modern and secular settings (Arnett, 1999), reports suggest that Orthodox adolescents question religious beliefs and challenge religious-culture boundaries (Agudath Israel of America, 2006; Goldmintz, 2003; Kor, Mikulincer, & Pirutinsky, 2011; Schnall, Pelcovitz, & Fox, 2013). Because parenting within the Orthodox Jewish community generally focuses on the transmission of religious values, religious individuation and transformation occurring among adolescents can be particularly challenging to Orthodox families (Agudath Israel of America, 2006; Goldmintz, 2003). This process may lead to a “tug-of-war” over religious observance and potential rejection of the child by parents and vice versa (Goldmintz, 2003). Moreover, it may expose and exacerbate religious differences between parents as they strive to maintain their child’s adherence to religious boundaries, commitments, and beliefs (Agudath Israel of America, 2006; Clark & Worthington, 1990; Flor & Knapp, 2001).

Moreover, adolescent religious questioning and turmoil can reactivate past internal and interpersonal conflicts among parents leading to differential reactions, providing a fertile source for ongoing religious conflict (Goldmintz, 2003).

In summary, because religion is a key defining and organizing aspect of Orthodox Jewish families and communities, religious conflict between spouses may adversely affect many aspects of family functioning within this population, and is particularly likely to arise when children reach adolescence. This negative effect may be even more salient among parents who are returnees to Orthodox Judaism.

Returnees to Orthodox Judaism

In the past 50 years, Orthodox groups developed outreach programs designed to educate unaffiliated and non-Orthodox Jews regarding traditional practice and to recruit them as community members (Danzger, 1989). Although data concerning the extent of this phenomenon, called “Teshuva” or return, are scarce, reports suggest that large numbers of people are responding to outreach activities (Danzger, 1989; Kaufman, 1991; Sands, Spero, & Danzig, 2007). For example, one international organization dedicated to the religious education of unaffiliated Jews reported that over 100,000 individuals attend its various programs annually and that over a million unique individuals visit its website monthly (Aish, 2011). Newly Orthodox Jews (who self-identify as “returnees”) generally appear to become successfully integrated into their adopted religious communities, and most eventually marry and raise children within these communities (Snow, Zemon, Schechter, Pirutinsky, & Langner, 2008). Nevertheless, because adoption of the all-encompassing Orthodox life style requires a complete transformation of belief, behavior, and identity, the long-term effect of this transformation remains unclear.

As described above, Orthodox religious culture strongly emphasizes the family unit as the key vehicle for the transmission of religious values, and Orthodox organizations therefore have a special interest in marital and family functioning among returnees. Returnees face challenges such as adjustment to community boundaries, acculturation to religious-culture norms, and the establishment of new social connections (Danzger, 1998) – all of which may affect the family. Accordingly, anecdotal and clinical observations suggest that returnees with adolescent children experience particular challenges to family functioning and increased stress related to parenting. For instance, a recent study of almost 4,000 Orthodox Jews in the United States found that significantly more newly than previously Orthodox respondents expressed concern about their adolescents' behavior (Schnall, Pelcovitz, & Fox, 2013). Moreover, recent research suggests that family functioning is somewhat poorer within the families of the newly Orthodox than among Orthodox Jews who are not newly Orthodox (d 's = .22 through .40, r^2 's = .11 through .21, $p < .001$), (Kor, Mikulincer, & Pirutinsky, 2011).

One possible source of these differences is religious conflict within returnee families. Research among non-Jewish converts to other religions suggests that their level of religious belief, observance, and identification fluctuates over time (Paloutzian, Richardson, & Rambo, 1999). Thus, religious discord may be more likely and lead to increased difficulties within the families of returnees than within families that do not include returnees. In addition, research suggests that although Orthodox Jewish returnees no longer identify with non-Orthodox culture, many do not feel fully integrated into Orthodox Judaism (Tallen, 2002; Sands, 2009). For instance, Sands (2009) found that the majority of returnees reported alienation and marginalization from the broader Orthodox community and preferred to socialize with other returnees. Thus, a returnee's personal and familial religious identities may be more fragile than

those of non-returnees, and religious conflict within the family may lead to greater distress and dysfunction. Moreover, returnees often experience significant conflict with their extended family of origin that can lead to isolation from that extended family and lead to other family conflicts (Roer-Strier & Sands, 2001). However, beyond differences in religious background, individual differences in relational and personality factors, such as attachment style, are likely to influence the salience and impact of religious conflicts.

Attachment and Marital Conflict

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1982) proposes that humans possess an innate behavioral system, which when activated by distress seeks support from powerful attachment figures (e.g., parents). The success or failure of these early interactions evolves a stable set of behaviors, cognitions, and emotions which have been termed “attachment orientations” (Fraley & Shaver, 2000). Whereas available and responsive attachment figures produce a secure attachment orientation that includes the development of effective emotion regulation strategies and interpersonal skills, unavailable and unreliable attachment figures engender insecure orientations, either anxious or avoidant, characterized by ineffective interpersonal skills and emotional dysregulation (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007, for a review). Research suggests that these attachment orientations persist into adulthood (Fraley, 2002; Waters, Merrick, Treboux, Crowell, & Albersheim, 2000), and are manifested in the quality of romantic relationships (Feeney & Noller, 1990), marriages (Kirkpatrick & Davis, 1994), and families (Cummings & Davies, 2002). Insecure attachment has been linked to longitudinal declines in marital satisfaction and relationship quality (Davila & Bradbury, 2001) and to negative, relationship-damaging behaviors during dyadic interactions (Collins & Feeney, 2000).

Although most studies of marital conflict focus on experimental explorations of communication styles and conflict resolution behavior (Bradbury, Fincham, & Beach, 2000), it is increasingly acknowledged that stable individual differences, such as those in temperament, personality, and attachment style, have considerable influence on the effect of marital conflict on family functioning (Fincham, 2003). Attachment theory, which explains how early experiences influence adult interpersonal functioning, has been a particularly fruitful area of research. Studies suggest that securely attached spouses have a greater ability to tolerate conflicts, to compromise, and to engage effectively in problem solving. In contrast, insecurely attached couples are increasingly distressed by conflict and separations, tend to oblige or ignore their partners' desires, and have difficulty in problem solving (Besharat, 2003; Fincham, 2003). Although experimental research allows greater control over independent variables and conclusions concerning causality, the proposed research uses a survey methodology, since it provides a richer exploration of an array of variables in a broader ecological context.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Given the central role of religion in Orthodox Jewish life, I hypothesized that higher religious conflict between Orthodox Jewish spouses is associated with lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration.

Hypothesis 2. Based on prior research suggesting that attachment insecurity is related to higher levels of marital conflict, a lesser ability to tolerate conflicts when they occur, and difficulties in compromising and problem solving, I hypothesized that:

2a. Among those with insecure attachment, religious conflict is more frequent.

2b. Among those with insecure attachment, religious conflict is more strongly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower

community integration.

Hypothesis 3. Based on prior research suggesting that among returnees to Orthodox Judaism religiosity may be less stable over time, and their religious identities more destabilized by intra-family religious conflict, I hypothesized that:

3a. Returnees are more likely to experience religious conflict than non- returnees.

3b. Among returnees, those who experience religious conflict have lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration than those who do not experience religious conflict.

Method

Participants

This study will analyze data previously collected from a total of 796 Orthodox Jewish couples residing in the central area of Israel (e.g., Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Kiryat Sefer, Betar). Demographic, religious, and family characteristics of participants are provided in Table 1. The participating couples represented a range of religious subgroups and countries of origin. Like most Orthodox Jews, they had longstanding marriages, large families, and the vast majority included two biological parents.

Measures

Religious conflict. Religious conflict between spouses was conceptualized as a latent family-level construct. Indicators include a single item completed by each spouse that read, “How often do you and your spouse experience conflicts regarding differences in your religious observance [translated from the Hebrew]”, which was scored on a five-point scale ranging from “never” (1) to “very often” (5). This item has demonstrated construct validity and inter-rater reliability in previous research among Orthodox Jews (Kor, Mikulincer, & Pirutinsky, 2011).

Husband and wife reports on this item were highly correlated ($r^2(781) = .57, p < .0001$). A third binary indicator was constructed using self-reported religious subgroup affiliation, such that families where spouses reported identical religious affiliations (concordant) were assigned 0 and families who were discordant were assigned 1. Internal consistency for this composite measure was $\alpha = .73$.

Family functioning. Family functioning was examined using the Hebrew version of the FACES-IV, which contains 72 items scored on a 5-point scale ranging from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (5). Items include both positive and negative aspects of functioning such as “Family members seem to avoid contact with each other when at home”, “My family is able to adjust to change when necessary”, and “Things do not get done in our family”. This instrument yields several related subscales, as well as the overall measure of family functioning used in this study. The internal consistency and validity of this measure has been demonstrated in both American and Israeli samples (Mikulincer & Florian, 1999; Olson, 2011; Kor et al., 2012). In the current study, internal consistency for the overall measure was adequate, $\alpha = .81$.

Parenting stress. Parenting stress was measured using the Stress Index for Parents of Adolescents (Sheras, Abidin, & Konold, 1998). This 112 item measure is scored on a 5-point scale ranging from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (5) and has previously demonstrated both reliability and validity (Shera, Abidin, & Konold, 1998). Participants selected a single child for whom to complete this measure, and to minimize potential sources of bias parents were instructed to alphabetize their children’s first names and to select the first child on this list. This scale includes items concerning the behavior of the adolescent (e.g., “My child has sudden changes of feelings or moods” and “I think my child steals things”), items concerning the parent (e.g., “I find myself giving up more of my life to meet my child's needs than I ever

expected”, “I frequently argue with my spouse/partner about how to raise my child”), and adolescent-parent relationship items (e.g., “I cannot get my child to listen to me”). The current research focused on the total scale, which displayed internal consistency of $\alpha = .95$. For the current study, two bilingual psychologists translated the questionnaire to Hebrew using a back-translation technique (Beaton, Bombardier, Guillemin, & Ferraz, 2000).

Community integration. To measure integration, we utilized the religious community integration scale (Namini, Appel, Jurgensen, & Murken, 2010). This scale contains 5 items, such as “Feeling welcome and integrated in the religious community” and “Being able to successfully integrate one's abilities into the religious community and its practices”, which are scored on a 5 point scale ranging from “not at all” (1) to “very much” (5). For the current study, two bilingual psychologists translated the 5 items to Hebrew using the back-translation technique (Beaton et al., 2000), and previous research has established construct validity for the Hebrew version (Kor et al., 2012). Internal consistency in the current sample was $\alpha = .83$.

Attachment insecurity. Attachment insecurity was assessed with the Experiences in Close Relationships scales (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998). Participants rated the extent to which each item was descriptive of their feelings and behaviors in close relationships on a 7-point scale ranging from “not at all” (1) to “very much” (7). Thirty-six items measure both attachment anxiety (e.g. “I worry about being abandoned”) and attachment avoidance (e.g., “I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down”). The reliability and validity of this Hebrew version have been demonstrated in previous studies with Israeli samples (e.g., Mikulincer & Florian, 2000). In the current study, overall attachment insecurity was used, since no specific hypotheses were advanced concerning differences between avoidant and anxious styles, and previous research has established that attachment can be conceptualized on a secure-insecure

axis orthogonal to a second avoidant-anxious axis (see Stein et al., 2002 for a review). Internal consistency for this measure was $\alpha = .88$.

Procedure

The study was conducted in Israel with the aid of several Orthodox Jewish organizations and religious institutions, whose leadership approved the study and aided recruitment by providing their complete membership lists. To ensure a sufficient number of returnees, several organizations that specifically serve this community were specifically included. Given the general hesitancy of this community to participate in scientific research, participation was encouraged using letters of support obtained from several prominent rabbinical authorities. To ensure a reasonably representative sample, 1000 couples were randomly selected from these lists. These couples satisfied two selection criteria: (a) married at the time of the study, and (b) have at least one child between 12 and 18 years of age. Eligible couples were then contacted by phone and invited to participate. Of these, 167 (17%) could not be reached or declined to participate and 833 (83%) agreed to participate. Reasons for lack of participation were qualitatively assessed and included the inability to reach potential participants, lack of time, respondents' concerns over confidentiality, and unwillingness to participate in scientific research. Those consenting were subsequently visited at home by researchers who introduced the study and administered the questionnaire only if both spouses were present. Interviewers were male and female research assistants trained by the primary investigators and paid for their time. Spouses completed the questionnaire simultaneously in separate rooms at their home, and 796 (80%) completed and returned the questionnaire. Very young children may have been present during survey administration in some instances.

Data Analysis

The dyadic data collected in this study inevitably violate the assumption of independence inherent in commonly used statistical procedures (Kenny & Cook, 1999). Several techniques have been developed to analyze such data such as the actor-independence model, multi-level regression models, and the common-factor model (Kenny, 1996). Although a complete discussion of these techniques is beyond the scope of this paper, the data presented here were analyzed using the common-factor model (CFM) as advanced by Ledermann and Macho (2009). The CFM was developed to estimate dyadic level associations between variables that are believed to be common to both members (e.g., marital conflict, relationship cohesion, family functioning). In the current study, religious conflict and family functioning were measured in each partner and were assumed to be indicators of dyadic-level latent constructs. Other variables such as attachment insecurity, parenting stress, and community integration were assumed to be correlated individual-level factors. Reports by husbands and wives were therefore estimated independently but allowed to correlate freely. Parameters were estimated using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM; Kline, 2011), which allowed examination of overall model adequacy, estimation of the size and significance of individual coefficients, and incorporation of measurement error and unanalyzed covariance. For the current study, SEM also allowed between-group comparisons (Kline, 2011), robust fit estimates (Yuan & Bentler, 2000), and bootstrapping resampling to estimate parameter confidence intervals (Rosseel, 2011).

The proposed basic CFM model is displayed in Figure 1, and Table 2 describes the variations between each successive model and related hypotheses. The CFM models were analyzed using an SEM framework with maximum likelihood estimation, Satorra-Bentler scaled statistics, and bootstrapped standard errors (Rosseel, 2011). Bootstrapping utilized the algorithm

described by Davison, Hinkley, and Schechtman (1986). Latent interaction terms between attachment insecurity and religious conflict were calculated using the unconstrained approach of Marsh, Wen, and Hau (2004). Comparisons between returnee and non-returnee groups ascertained whether a model that allowed parameters to freely differ between groups fit the data better than a model that constrained all parameters to be equal between groups. Differences between returnee and non-returnee groups on mean level of religious conflict (Hypothesis 3a) were tested using a series of *t*-tests. Effect sizes were characterized using Cohen's (1988) guidelines. Preliminary analyses were conducted in SPSS and models were fit using the Lavaan package in R Statistical Computing (Rosseel, 2011).

Results

Data Screening

Data were screened following the guidelines provided by Kline (2011) for SEM. Due to robust data collection procedures, less than .01% of observations were missing data. Missing data were deleted pairwise for preliminary analyses and were handled by the maximum-likelihood algorithm in SEM models, which simulations show to be superior to traditional techniques as well as multiple imputation (Enders & Bandalos, 2001). Although variables were intercorrelated, multicollinearity did not present a significant problem (tolerances > .49). There were no univariate outliers (z 's < 3), however, a Bonferroni corrected critical value for Mahalanobis distance (DeCarlo, 1997) identified 25 (3%) multivariate outlier cases. Thus, additional analyses were run excluding these outliers and results did not differ substantially from models that included all data.

Data were assessed for normality using SPSS, and skew statistics indicated that all variables were within the acceptable range (skew < 3). However, kurtosis exceeded

recommended limits for husband and wife reports of religious conflict (kurtosis > 10, $p < .001$; Kline, 2011) and multivariate normality was likely violated (Omnibus test = 1687, $df = 20$, $p < .001$; Small's test = 1001, $df = 10$, $p < .001$; Mardia's test = 230, $n = 99.67$, $p < .001$; DeCarlo, 1997). Consequently, SEM models were evaluated using Satorra-Bentler scaled fit statistics (Hu, Bentler, & Kano, 1992) and bootstrapped standard errors (Rosseel, 2011), which are robust to violations of normality. In addition, SEM models are generally robust to normality assumptions in large samples (Amemiya & Anderson, 1990).

Preliminary Analyses

The effects of demographics (age, marriage length, number of children, occupation, income, religious affiliation, and education) on model variables were assessed using a series of bivariate correlations and one-way ANOVAs. Given the number of tests (110) and large sample size ($n = 796$), α was set at $p < .01$. Results of these tests indicated that only a few associations reached significance. Specifically, both wife and husband reports of religious conflict were lower when the husband reported being employed as a rabbi or religious student ($F(9, 766) > 4.55$, $p < .001$). In addition, higher incomes were associated with higher family functioning ($r_s(789) = .14$, $p < .001$), but also correlated with higher parenting stress among husbands ($r_s(784) = .12$, $p < .001$).

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics for both returnees and non-returnees are presented in Table 3. Results indicated that husband and wife reports were highly correlated for all variables (r 's .37 through .65, p 's < .001). T -tests evaluating differences between husband and wife reports indicated that only community integration within the returnee group differed significantly, such that husbands reported higher community integration ($M = 19.49$, $SD = 4.69$) than wives ($M = 18.95$, $SD = 4.19$; $t(494) = 2.51$, $p < .01$). In addition, T -tests evaluating

differences between non-returnee and returnee groups indicated that returnees reported significantly higher religious conflict and parenting stress and significantly lower family functioning and community integration with small to moderate effect sizes (*ds* .25 through .39). Religious conflict displayed sufficient variability for analysis but was generally infrequent (positively skewed) within the entire sample, with 747 (47%) reporting “never”, 539 (34%) “rarely”, 201 (13%) “occasionally”, and only 91 (6%) “frequently” or “very frequently”. Similarly, the majority of participants were concordant on religious affiliation ($n = 634$; 79%) with 151 couples reporting differing religious identifications (19%).

Measurement Model Fit

The measurement model was evaluated using confirmatory factor analysis in the Lavaan package (Rosseel, 2011). Results suggested that a model including a latent family-level religious conflict variable indicated by husband report, wife report, and affiliation discordance, and a latent family-level family functioning variable indicated by husband and wife reports adequately fit the data ($CFI = .99$, $RMSEA = .01$, $\chi^2(4) = 2.86$, $p = .58$). Composite reliabilities for religious conflict and family functioning were adequate (Raykov’s ρ [ρ] = .66 and .75 respectively; Raykov, 2001). As expected, an additional measurement model that conceptualized parenting stress and community integration as shared family-level latent variables inadequately fit the data ($CFI = .84$, $RMSEA = .13$, $\chi^2(21) = 283.26$, $p < .001$). Thus, parenting stress and community integration were modeled independently as individual-level outcome variables for husbands and wives but were allowed to freely correlate. All latent variables displayed adequate discriminant validity, as the covariances between them were moderate (r ’s -.52 through .52).

Family Functioning

The series of hypotheses described above was tested by constructing successive nested SEM models with increasing complexity, each testing to determine whether the addition of specific parameters significantly increased model fit. A summary of each model and related fit statistics is displayed in Table 4 and a schematic diagram for the baseline model is presented in Figure 1. Results of these tests indicated that a model including religious conflict as a predictor of family functioning, attachment insecurity as a predictor of religious conflict, and interactions terms between attachment insecurity and religious conflict fit that data best and explained a large amount of the variance in family functioning (Model 3; Table 4). A path diagram for this final model is presented in Figure 2.

Inspection of model coefficients indicated that religious conflict was a significant predictor of decreased family functioning supporting Hypothesis 1. In addition, attachment insecurity among both husbands and wives was a significant predictor of increased religious conflict, suggesting that higher attachment insecurity was associated with higher levels of religious conflict (Hypothesis 2a). This effect was greater for husbands than wives. However, contrary to Hypothesis 2b, the interaction between wives' insecurity and religious conflict was not significant, and although the interaction between husbands' attachment insecurity and religious conflict was significant, it was the opposite of my prediction. Specifically, the effect of religious conflict on family functioning was *lessened* among families with insecurely attached husbands.

In regard to differences between returnees and non-returnees, a *t*-test indicated that consistent with Hypothesis 3a, returnee husbands and wives reported higher levels of religious conflict than non-returnees (Table 3). However, contrary to Hypothesis 3b, the effects of religious conflict did not significantly differ between groups, since a model that allowed

parameters to vary between returnees and non-returnees did not add significantly to the variance explained (Model 4; Table 4). An additional model which allowed parameters to vary between more traditional (Hasidic and Yeshiva Orthodox) and less traditional religious subgroups (Modern Orthodox, National Religious, Traditional, Other) did not display significantly better fit ($\Delta\chi^2(18) = 2.40, p > .99$), suggesting that these effects were equivalent across groups.

Mediation analyses. Because attachment insecurity was correlated with both religious conflict and family functioning, it was considered possible that the effects of attachment insecurity on family functioning were mediated by increased religious conflict. Restated, attachment insecurity may have detrimental effects because it leads to higher levels of religious conflict which in turn negatively influences family functioning. We conducted explicit tests of this possibility using the Barron and Kenny (1986) procedures and bootstrapped tests of significance for indirect effects (Rosseel, 2011). A schematic diagram of this analysis is given in Figure 5 and parameter estimates in Table 7.

In regard to husbands, bivariate associations between attachment insecurity and family functioning were significantly negative (Path c, Table 5), husbands' attachment insecurity was significantly related to increased religious conflict (Path a; Table 7) and religious conflict was significantly related to decreased family functioning (Path b; Table 7). Moreover, in the final model (Figure 2), the path from husbands' attachment insecurity to family functioning was no longer significant (Path c', Table 7), suggesting that the effect of husbands' attachment insecurity was fully mediated by religious conflict. An inferential test of this indirect effect (Path a * b; Table 7) was significant, indicating that the pathway through which husbands' attachment insecurity negatively influences family functioning is exclusively by increasing religious conflict.

However, these results are qualified by the moderation effect of husbands' attachment insecurity on the relationship between religious conflict and family functioning (Figure 2), such that the impact of religious conflict is lessened within families with insecurely attached husbands. This pattern has been described as moderated mediation (see Type A moderated mediation in Little, Card, Bovaird, Preacher, & Crandall, 2007) and a diagram describing this model is presented in Figure 6. Results indicated that within families with insecure husbands, religious conflict tends to be more frequent and intense, but that the effects of this conflict on family functioning are somewhat attenuated. In contrast, within families with secure husbands, religious conflict tends to be rarer and more moderate, but when it occurs, religious conflict is more strongly related to lower family functioning.

In regard to wives, attachment insecurity was significantly related to lower levels of family functioning (Path c) and higher levels of religious conflict (Path a; Table 7). The indirect effect of attachment through religious conflict was significant (Path a * b) and it attenuated the direct effect of attachment insecurity (Path c'; Table 7). However, this mediation effect was only partial, as the direct effect of attachment on family functioning remained significant in the final model (Path c'; Table 7). This finding suggests that the negative impact of wives' attachment insecurity on family functioning can be partially explained by increased religious conflict, but that insecure attachment among wives also had direct effects on family functioning.

Parenting Stress

To assess the relevance of religious conflict to parenting stress, a similar series of nested models was constructed. However, parenting stress was conceptualized as an individual-level outcome variable for husbands and wives that was allowed to freely correlate. Results of model comparisons revealed that a model including religious conflict as a predictor of parenting stress

and attachment as a predictor of religious conflict fit the data best explaining a large amount of the variance in both husband's and wives' parenting stress (Model 2; Table 5). The addition of interaction terms did not significantly augment fit (Model 3; Table 5). A diagram for the final model is displayed in Figure 3, and inspection of coefficients revealed that religious conflict was related to increased parenting stress among both husbands and wives, although the effect was greater for husbands' parenting stress (Hypothesis 1). Paralleling results for family functioning, attachment insecurity was related to increased religious conflict (Hypothesis 2a) but more strongly among husbands. Contrary to Hypothesis 2b, however, attachment insecurity did not significantly interact with religious conflict for either husbands or wives. In addition, attachment insecurity had significant direct effects on parenting stress such that husbands and wives with higher insecurity reported higher stress. Cross-dyad direct effects for insecurity were significant only for wives, such that increased attachment insecurity among wives was related to higher parenting stress among husbands. In contrast, increased attachment insecurity among husbands was not directly related to higher parenting stress among wives, although among husbands attachment insecurity did have a significant indirect effect through religious conflict (see mediation analyses below). An additional model which allowed parameters to vary between more religiously traditional and more religiously modern subgroups did not display significantly better fit ($\Delta\chi^2(18) = 4.63, p > .99$), suggesting that the effects of attachment insecurity on parenting stress did not differ between these subgroups.

Mediation analyses. Similar to models for family functioning, significant correlations among attachment insecurity, religious conflict, and parenting stress suggested that the effects of attachment insecurity may have been mediated by increased religious conflict. These potential mediation effects were explicitly tested and results are summarized in Table 7. Results indicated

that the effects of attachment insecurity on parenting stress within individuals were partially mediated by religious conflict, as was the cross-dyad effect of wives' attachment insecurity on husbands' parenting stress. In contrast, the cross-dyad effect of husbands' attachment insecurity on wives' parenting stress was fully mediated by religious conflict, suggesting that the pathway through which husbands' attachment insecurity influences family functioning is exclusively by increasing religious conflict.

Community Integration

Results for community integration were similar and indicated that a model including religious conflict as a predictor of community integration and attachment insecurity as a predictor of religious conflict fit the data best and explained a small amount of the variance in husbands and wives community integration (Model 2; Table 6). Interactions between religious conflict and attachment insecurity were not significant (Model 3; Table 6), and returnees did not significantly differ from non-returnees (Model 4, Table 6). An additional model that allowed parameters to vary between more religiously traditional and more religiously modern subgroups did not display significantly better fit ($\Delta\chi^2(18) = 4.07, p > .99$) suggesting that effects did not differ between groups.

Results for the final model are displayed in Figure 4 and indicated that religious conflict is significantly related to lower community integration among husbands and wives to nearly equal degrees (Hypothesis 1). Attachment insecurity among husbands and wives is significantly related with increased religious conflict (Hypothesis 2a) with a greater effect for husbands' insecurity, but there were no significant interactions (Hypothesis 2b). In addition, within individuals, attachment insecurity is directly related to lower community integration, but there were no significant direct cross-dyadic effects.

Mediation analysis. Similar mediation models were assessed, and results revealed that the effects of each individual's attachment insecurity on community integration were partially mediated by increased religious conflict within the family (Table 7). In regard to cross-dyadic effects, results indicated that husbands' attachment insecurity had no significant indirect or direct effects on wives' community integration, but that wives' attachment insecurity had a significant effect on husbands' community integration that was fully mediated through its relationship to increased religious conflict. This finding suggests that wives' attachment insecurity correlated with decreased community integration among husbands exclusively through increased religious conflict within the family, which negatively influenced husbands' ability to integrate within their religious community.

Discussion

Religion and spirituality play an important role in the lives of many and appear relevant to mental health (Smith et al., 2003; Spilka, et al., 2003). Although much of this research has focused on the positive, religious and spiritual struggles have been shown to relate to poorer mental health and lower psychosocial functioning both cross-sectionally and longitudinally (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Fitchett et al., 1999; Gall et al., 2009; Pargament, 1997; Pirutinsky et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2003). However, much of this research has focused on intra-psychic struggles in the context of distressful events (Ellison & Lee, 2009), and to my knowledge, no psychological studies have focused on religious conflicts within families.

Sociological research suggests that differences in values and worldviews among family members can be a significant source of conflict and disunity (Baltas & Steptoe, 2000; Heaton & Pratt, 1990; Joanides et al., 2002; Waldman & Rubalcava, 2005), and that these differences correlate with negative outcomes such as increased familial conflict (Mahoney, 2005),

adolescent delinquency (Pearce & Haynie, 2005), and divorce (Vaaler et al., 2009). The effects of such conflicts may be particularly great in religion-centric communities such as those of the Orthodox Jews, among whom the family has primary responsibility for transmitting religious values to children (Brownstein, 2009). Anecdotal reports suggest that religious conflicts are particularly present and stressful within Orthodox Jewish families are often a focus of family counseling (I. Schechter, personal communication, March 3rd, 2013). Because the process of adolescent individuation can be particularly stressful (McLean et al., 2010) and often reveals religious conflicts between spouses (Agudath Israel of America, 2006), the current research specifically examined the role of religious conflict within Orthodox Jewish families with adolescent children.

Based on a review of the limited existing literature, I proposed three specific hypotheses.

1) Religious conflict between Orthodox Jewish spouses is significantly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration. 2) Among those with insecure attachment, religious conflict is more frequent and is more strongly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration. 3) Religious conflict between returnees is more frequent and is more strongly related to lower family functioning, higher parenting stress, and lower community integration than among non-returnee Orthodox Jews

Religious Conflict and the Family

In regard to Hypothesis 1, religious conflict was significantly related to all outcome variables, explaining a large amount of the variance in family functioning and parenting stress, and a small portion of the variance in community integration. The strength of these relationships was comparable for both wives' and husbands' outcomes, but religious conflict was more

strongly related to husbands' than to wives' parenting stress. This gender differences appears consistent with the differing parental responsibilities of men versus women within this culture, since previous research suggests that Orthodox men generally take more responsibility for religious education, while women are more involved in maintaining the household and childcare (Grodner & Sweifach, 2004; Leyser, 1994; Ringel 2008). These results suggest that religious conflict is a significant correlate of family dysfunction within the Orthodox Jewish community and may be an important research and clinical consideration. This finding is unsurprising as within this community virtually every aspect of daily life is imbued with religious significance (Huppert et al., 2007), and decisions, both large and small, emphasize religious-culture values and the requirements of religious law (Pirutinsky, in press). Thus, differences and conflicts between spouses on these fundamental domains is likely a significant source of disunity and conflict.

Although the content of religious conflicts was not assessed in the current study, a recent survey identified several domains that are frequently stressful within Orthodox Jewish families in the United States. These include financial difficulties, problems with sexuality, and disagreements over the parenting and education of children (Schnall et al., 2013). Each of these domains involves religious considerations and has a direct impact on family functioning. For example, within more traditional subgroups, financial difficulties may be related to husbands' delayed entry or non-entry into the workforce due to commitments to religious studies, religious-culture barriers to specific careers and secular education, and family and communal expectations of continued religious study (Gonen, 2000; Shai, 2006). Anecdotal reports suggest that disagreement between spouses over these religious responsibilities and boundaries often

exacerbates the impact of financial difficulties, contributes to career indecision, and significantly strains family relationships (Pirutinsky, in press).

Similarly, sexuality among Orthodox Jewish couples is explicitly regulated by religious law including periods during which all physical contact is prohibited (Ribner, 2003). While observing these laws is integral to maintaining an Orthodox identity, how strictly or leniently they are interpreted and adhered to varies across individuals and subgroups (Guterman, 2008), and some Orthodox individuals appear to struggle with the integration of religion and sexuality (Hartman & Marmon, 2004). Thus, although the vast majority of Orthodox couples successfully negotiate satisfying sexual relationships (Schnall et al., 2013), some couples may experience religion-related conflicts within this domain. Moreover, among more traditional segments of the community, because genders are strictly segregated at all ages and sexuality is rarely discussed, some young couples may be overly strict in their interpretation of religious law and may consequently have difficulty in establishing mutually satisfying sexual relationships (Ribner & Rosenbaum, 2003).

In addition, parenting and educating children within the Orthodox religious-culture focuses on the transmission of religious values. Thus, conflicts over parenting likely involve disagreements as to what behaviors are religiously and culturally appropriate, how to guide children's behavior effectively, what schools children should attend, and even how to evaluate marriage proposals. Parenting and education are perceived as primarily the domain of religious law and values (Agudath Israel of America, 2006). For example, parenting classes are generally led by religious leaders, books on parenting often receive rabbinic approbations (e.g., Diament, 2009), and rabbis play a significant role in marital and family interventions (Ringel & Bina,

2007). Consequently, disagreements over parenting and education are likely filtered through religious-cultural considerations and may involve religious conflicts.

In summary, our results suggest that religious conflict is an important facet of distress and dysfunction among Orthodox Jewish families. However, addressing religious conflict in treatment presents particular challenges, since individuals are hesitant to bring spiritual and religious issues to mental health professionals (Pirutinsky, Rosmarin, & Pargament, 2009), and clinicians receive little training in addressing religious concerns (Walker, Gorsuch, & Tan, 2004) and are often reticent to explore them (Turner-Essel & Waehler, 2009). One possible reason for this gap is the lack of empirical research integrating religious conflict into current conceptualizations of family functioning and clinical treatment. Although professionals from within the Orthodox Jewish community may have greater familiarity with these concerns and may be more willing to address them, they also face challenges such as over-identification, counter-transference towards specific religious subgroups and institutions, and unwitting promotion of their own religious values and perspectives (Pirutinsky, 2013). Nevertheless, successfully treating Orthodox couples and families clearly requires assessing and attending to religious conflicts. As in other clinical domains entangled with religiosity, such as scrupulosity in OCD (Pirutinsky, Rosmarin, & Pargament, 2009), treatment may also require the incorporation of religious guidance for the couple (Huppert et al., 2007). Future research should more carefully explore the specific content of religious conflicts, study the psychological and sociological antecedents of these conflicts, develop theoretical models and treatment strategies, and address the challenges of integrating these concerns into traditional family therapy approaches.

Religious Conflict and Attachment

Hypothesis 2a predicted that insecure attachment is related to greater religious conflict; the data showed that both husbands' and wives' attachment insecurity significantly predicted higher levels of religious conflict in the family. This relationship was somewhat stronger among husbands than wives. Moreover, this increased religious conflict fully or partially mediated the relationship of insecure attachment with all outcome variables except that of husbands' attachment with wives' community integration. Hypothesis 2b predicted that insecure attachment would increase the strength of the relationship between religious conflict and outcomes (interaction/moderation), and but it did not do so for any outcome measure. In fact, the only significant interaction was between husbands' insecure attachment interacting with religious conflict predicting improved family functioning, contrary to my hypothesis. Thus, although religious conflict was higher among families with insecurely attached husbands, the effects of this religious conflict on family functioning was *lessened* within these families. Taken in the aggregate, however, these results suggest that attachment insecurity relates to increased religious conflict and that the effect of attachment insecurity on family functioning is strongly mediated by increased religious conflict.

The relationship I observed between insecure attachment and increased religious conflict is consistent with previous findings that insecurely attached individuals are more likely than others to have ineffective interpersonal skills and emotional dysregulation (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007) with corresponding difficulties in family relationships (Cummings & Davies, 2000; Feeney & Noller, 1990; Kirkpatrick & Davis, 1994). Insecure attachment has been linked to longitudinal declines in marital satisfaction and relationship quality (Davila & Bradbury, 2001), negative, relationship-damaging behaviors during dyadic interaction tasks (Collins & Feeney, 2000), and difficulties in problem solving (Besharat, 2003; Fincham, 2003).

Moreover, although attachment appears generally related to familial conflict and distress, it may have particular implications for the religious domain. Prior research suggests that the relationship with God activates the attachment system and that those with insecure attachment tend to express more worry about whether God is pleased or angry with them and are more conflicted over their degree of connection with God than those more securely attached (McDonald, Beck, Allison, & Norsworthy, 2005; Rowatt & Kirkpatrick, 2004). Insecure individuals also are more likely than secure individuals to report spiritual/religious struggles (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2008) and to undergo changes in religious belief and practice over time (Pirutinsky, 2009b). Moreover, research suggests that some individuals with insecure attachment utilize religion as an emotional regulation strategy (Brown, Nesse, House & Utz, 2004; Granqvist, 2005), including a study suggesting that within the Orthodox community, those with insecure attachment are more likely than those with secure attachment to utilize attachment-related representations of God to alleviate experimentally induced death anxiety (Pirutinsky, 2009a).

Similarly, within the religion-centric Orthodox Jewish community, attachment influences the family in large part through its relationship with increased religious conflict. This appears particularly true of husbands who are often viewed as religious leaders and deciders within the family (Kaufman, 1991; Manning, 1999), are especially likely to express their attachment insecurity through religious conflict. For some insecure individuals, religious conflict may be particularly threatening because it undermines their emotional regulation strategy. For others, religious conflict may disrupt the key values and worldviews underlying family goals and functions. Accordingly, mental health professionals and pastoral counselors who treat families with relational difficulties and religious conflict should be attentive to personality correlates. To

what degree are religious conflicts an expression of underlying insecure attachment patterns? Are difficulties in establishing shared religious goals and ideals an expression of individual religious struggles and changes? Are these conflicts exacerbated by unwillingness to compromise and by incompatible religious emotional coping strategies? Given the results of the current study, these questions appear to be relevant to important clinical concerns and directions for future research. Moreover, several empirically-supported couple and family therapies specifically aim to influence attachment patterns (e.g., emotion-focused therapy; Greenberg & Goldman, 2008) and may therefore be adapted to this context.

Religious Conflict and Returnees

Hypothesis 3a predicted that returnees to Orthodox Judaism (“Baalei Teshuva”) would report higher levels of religious conflict. The data supported this hypothesis indicating that returnees reported significantly higher levels of religious conflict than non-returnees with a moderate effect-size ($d = .38$). These results parallel previous research suggesting that returnees generally report somewhat higher levels of family dysfunction than non-returnee Orthodox Jews (Kor et al., 2012; Schnall et al., 2013). Contrary to Hypothesis 3b, however, the relationship of conflict with outcomes was not stronger among returnees than among non-returnees.

There are potentially multiple reasons for these differences, and the current research did not directly assess them. Previous research suggested that returnees face particular challenges, such as adjustment to community boundaries and acculturation to religious-culture norms (Danzger, 1998), which may be intensified in the context of child rearing. Although returnees may have successfully acclimated to religious-culture norms as single individuals or even as couples (Pirutinsky & Schechter, 2009), raising children within the Orthodox Jewish culture involves parenting challenges and dynamics that are very different from those that were present

in their non-Orthodox family of origin (Brownstien, 2009). For example, while a rigid parenting style including inflexible rules, expectations, and consequences is maladaptive within Western cultures (Olson, 2011; Kouneski, 2002), research suggests that within the Orthodox Jewish community a more rigid style including the enforcement of religious-cultural boundaries is normative and adaptive (Pirutinsky & Kor, in press). Similarly, while members of Western families who are highly dependent on each other and spend large amounts of time together are viewed as maladaptively enmeshed (Olson, 2011; Kouneski, 2002), among Orthodox families intense emotional closeness and dependency are more normative and adaptive (Pirutinsky & Kor, in press). Returnees who have not personally experienced that parenting style may find it difficult to conform to Orthodox parenting norms and may therefore find themselves in religious conflict.

Research among converts to other religions suggests that their level of religious belief, observance, and identification fluctuates over time (Paloutzian et al., 1999). Any fluctuation in belief, practice, and identification increases the likelihood of religious conflict within the family. When a spouse/parent's world view is changing, he or she may no longer wish to conform to the family's religious-cultural norms. Moreover, returnees by definition have a history of religious change; hence any alteration in religiosity may be viewed as radically threatening the family's identity and cohesion. In contrast, among non-returnees with established religious identities that include community and familial ties and shared religious history and upbringing, minor changes in religiosity may be less likely to appear as existential threats to the family and may be more readily negotiated without escalating into serious conflict.

Finally, it is likely that there are pre-existing psychological differences between returnees and non-returnees that relate to increased religious conflict. Although many returnees engage in a

gradual transition to Orthodox Judaism, some may have experienced rapid and radical religious change that is analogous to the conversion process. Research in other cultures suggests that those who experience radical religious change are more likely to report psychological distress (Zinnbauer & Pargament, 1998; Paloutzian, 2005), attachment insecurity (Granqvist, Ivarsson, Broberg, & Hagekull, 2007), and family dysfunction (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2004) than those who have not experienced such change. Research among returnees suggests that they often experience significant conflict in their family of origin both before and after joining Orthodox Judaism (Roer-Strier & Sands, 2001), and that they retrospectively report greater childhood attachment insecurity than non-returnees (Pirutinsky, 2009b). These differences may predispose returnees to higher levels of conflict within their family, since psychological distress, attachment, and childhood familial conflict are related to parenting and family dysfunction (Teachman, 2002). Religious conflicts may also be particularly distressful, since they may parallel religious conflicts that were present in their family of origin as they converted to Orthodox Judaism (Roer-Strier & Sands, 2001). Moreover, research suggests that because religious converts are likely to utilize their religious/spiritual beliefs and practices to regulate psychological distress (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2004; Pirutinsky, 2009a), they may find religious disagreements particularly threatening and dysregulating.

Additional Findings

The data showed that families of rabbis or religious students experienced less religious conflict than other families. This finding suggests that greater consolidation of and commitment to a religious identity is related to a more stable and conflict free religious environment within the family. Moreover, it is likely that the women seeking to marry religious scholars and leaders have a greater commitment to their husband's religious identity and viewpoint. In addition,

higher incomes were related to higher family functioning but also to increased parenting stress among husbands. This corresponds to previous research suggesting that finances are a key stressor within Orthodox families (Schnall et al., 2013), and it may be that within this more traditional culture, the burden of finances falls more on husbands than wives. As a result, income is correlated with overall better family functioning, despite leading to greater parenting stress among husbands perhaps because they struggle to balance career and family demands.

Also, although there are clearly differences among Orthodox Jewish sub-groups in the degree to which the prevailing religious-culture is “tight” (i.e., strong social norms and low tolerance for deviation) or “loose” (i.e., weaker norms and more tolerance for deviation; Gelfand, 2012), our results suggest that subgroup norms did not modify the effect of religious conflict on family dysfunction. However, subgroup norms may affect respondents’ interpretations of the religious conflict item (“How often do you and your spouse experience conflicts regarding differences in your religious observance” [translated]), such that members of more tolerant groups interpreted conflicts as involving more serious differences than members of less tolerant groups. Nevertheless, subgroup tolerance did not predict degree of conflict, and conflict influenced family functioning, suggesting that interpersonal religious conflict is a phenomenon relevant to family functioning across the Orthodox spectrum. Future research that more carefully assesses the content of these conflicts, their causes, and their consequences within various subgroups is clearly warranted and necessary.

Finally, results indicated that although husbands’ and wives’ parenting distress was highly correlated ($r = .65$), it did not appear to load on a single family-level variable. Brownstein (2009) similarly reported that Orthodox Jewish adults who were asked to recall their parents’ parenting styles reported correlated but differentiable styles for their fathers and mothers (r ’s =

.45 through .49). On average, participants tended to recall their mothers as more responsive and less demanding than their fathers. These differences may reflect divergent parenting responsibilities and expectations between the genders that are influenced by Orthodox Jewish religious-culture. Previous research suggests that Orthodox men generally take more responsibility for religious education, teaching of texts and rituals, and enforcing boundaries and limits, while women are more involved in maintaining the household, childcare, and transmitting religious values through storytelling and modeling behavior (Grodner & Sweifach, 2004; Leysler, 1994; Ringel 2008). This distribution of responsibilities may affect the parenting-related stress experienced by husbands and wives within the same family, and explain why we found that religious conflict in the family was more strongly related to the husband's attachment style than the wife's style. Future research is necessary to explore the degree to which parenting varies with gender within this community, and how various forms of parenting stress differ and converge between husbands and wives.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study has several limitations. First, although the sample included a wide spectrum of the Israeli Orthodox Jewish population, sizeable Orthodox communities exist in the United States, Canada, and Europe and the generalizability of our findings to other Jewish communities may be limited. However, several factors support the generalizability of our findings. First, Jewish communities around the world are highly mobile. Many Orthodox Jews from the U.S. and other countries study in Israel for significant periods of time (Pelcovitz & Eisenberg, 2010) and some move to Israel to establish families (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Second, because most established Jewish communities in Europe were destroyed during and after World War II (Sachar, 2006), the Israeli and Diaspora Jewish communities often include first- and

second-generation immigrants from identical European or Middle-Eastern regions (Sachar, 2006). Third, members of the same family may reside in Israel and in the United States (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Clinical reports and qualitative research suggest that religious conflict is as important a concern among Orthodox families in the United States as in Israel, although further research is necessary to confirm those observations.

In terms of generalizability to other non-Jewish religious communities, I was unable to locate any previous research directly assessing the degree to which religious conflict is related to family functioning in other religious communities. However, a significant body of research suggests that spiritual struggles and negative religious coping have negative effects in many religious cultures (See Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Smith et al., 2003 for reviews), and it is therefore likely that findings in other communities would parallel our findings among Orthodox Jews. As with other religiously-related forms of distress (Pirutinsky, Rosmarin, & Pargament, 2009), the specific content of these conflicts is likely to vary by religion and culture, but the relevance of religious and spiritual conflict is likely to remain similar, and clearly calls for detailed study.

Second, the measures used to assess religious conflict in the current study were broad, and therefore in some respects limited. As discussed above, the form and content of these conflicts was not assessed. Different types of conflicts may lead to various forms of dysfunction and require divergent treatment approaches. Future research should carefully explore and characterize various domains of interpersonal religious conflict, although these studies are likely to be limited by the lack of psychometrically valid measures. Exploratory case studies and qualitative research may help establish the forms that religious conflict may take, leading to the development and validation of measures with research and perhaps clinical utility.

Third, like all cross-sectional survey research, the study reported here does not support inferences of causality. Although the current study conceptualized religious conflict as resulting from attachment insecurity and causing family dysfunction, other patterns may explain the observed correlations. However, previous research suggests that attachment styles are developed in childhood, are relatively stable over time, and are unlikely to be influenced by particular conflicts (Fraley, 2002). Future research should utilize experimental and longitudinal designs to explore more carefully the causal relationship between family functioning and religious conflict, taking other potentially related forms of family conflict into account.

Conclusion

Over the past 50 years, investigators have become increasingly willing to integrate spirituality and religion in psychological research and treatment (Rosmarin, Wachholtz, & Ai, 2011). Although much of the research has emphasized the positive aspects of religion and spirituality, investigators increasingly note that religion and spirituality can involve significant distress and dysfunction. Like other areas of religion and spirituality research, studies of spiritual struggles have generally focused on their individual and intra-psychic impact (Cohen, 2009). Nevertheless, spirituality and religion can have important interpersonal effects. The current study investigated the effects of interpersonal religious conflict on Orthodox Jewish families in Israel, and found that religious conflict was an important correlate of family functioning and parenting stress in a variety of religious subgroups and contexts. Future research exploring the causal relationships, specific domains of religious conflict, cross-cultural relevance, and direct comparisons to other forms of interpersonal conflict appears warranted and necessary. Moreover, assessment and treatment of Orthodox Jewish families should attend to these religious conflicts, as they appear highly related to family functioning.

Table 1.

Demographic, Religious, and Family Characteristics of Study Participants

	Non-returnee		Returnee		Total	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
	582	36.9	996	63.1	1578	100.0
Country of origin						
Israel	496	85.2	793	79.6	1289	81.7
Western white	55	9.5	74	7.4	129	8.2
Asia Africa	15	2.6	69	6.9	84	5.3
Latin America	3	0.5	29	2.9	32	2.0
Eastern Europe	10	1.7	26	2.6	36	2.3
Other	3	0.5	5	0.5	8	0.5
Education						
Non high school	231	39.7	217	21.8	448	28.4
High school	101	17.4	338	33.9	439	27.8
Vocational	119	20.4	209	21.0	328	20.8
College or graduate degree	105	18.0	195	19.6	300	19.0
Other	26	4.5	37	3.7	63	4.0
Occupation						
Professional/management	172	29.6	267	26.8	439	27.8
Technical	3	0.5	20	2.0	23	1.5
Merchant	5	0.9	19	1.9	24	1.5
Construction	2	0.3	31	3.1	33	2.1
Religious profession	260	44.7	293	29.4	553	35.0
Homemaker	106	18.2	260	26.1	366	23.2
Self-employed	27	4.6	79	7.9	106	6.7
Other	2	0.3	7	0.7	9	0.6
Missing	5	0.9	20	2.0	25	1.6
Family composition of couples						
2 biological parents	286	98.3	485	97.4	771	97.7
Other	5	1.7	13	2.6	18	2.3
Religious affiliation						
Hassidic	33	5.7	35	3.5	68	4.3
Yeshiva Orthodox	447	76.8	331	33.2	778	49.3
Modern Orthodox	27	4.6	272	27.3	299	18.9
Breslov	6	1.0	63	6.3	69	4.4
Chabad	2	0.3	6	0.6	8	0.5
National Religious	0	0.0	24	2.4	24	1.5
Traditional	2	0.3	9	0.9	11	0.7
Other	65	11.2	256	25.7	321	20.3

Table 2.

SEM: Successive Model Comparisons

	Hypothesis	Additions
Model 1	Religious conflict relates to decreased functioning (Hypothesis 1)	Basic CFM model (see Figure 1)
Model 2	Religious conflict more frequent among those with greater attachment insecurity (Hypothesis 2a)	Attachment insecurity predicts religious conflict
Model 3	Religious conflict moderated by attachment insecurity (Hypothesis 2b)	Interaction of religious conflict by husband insecurity and wife insecurity
Model 4	Conflicts more related to functioning among returnees (Hypothesis 3b)	All parameters to vary freely between groups

Table 3.

Bi-variate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for all Study Variables

	Husband					Wife				
	Religious Conflict	Parenting Stress	Community Integration	Family Functioning	Attachment Insecurity	Religious Conflict	Parenting Stress	Community Integration	Family Functioning	Attachment Insecurity
<i>Husband</i>										
Religious Conflict	--	.26 ^{***}	-.15 ^{**}	-.20 ^{***}	.28 ^{***}	.54 ^{***}	.18 ^{**}	-.19 ^{***}	-.24 ^{***}	.25 ^{***}
Parenting Stress	.32 ^{***}	--	-.40 ^{***}	-.59 ^{***}	.40 ^{***}	.35 ^{***}	.60 ^{***}	-.27 ^{***}	-.47 ^{***}	.30 ^{***}
Community Integration	-.12 ^{***}	-.31 ^{***}	--	.59 ^{***}	-.29 ^{***}	-.15 ^{**}	-.27 ^{***}	.48 ^{***}	.36 ^{***}	-.13 [*]
Family Functioning	-.18 ^{***}	-.48 ^{***}	.60 ^{***}	--	-.17 ^{**}	-.25 ^{***}	-.39 ^{***}	.33 ^{***}	.62 ^{***}	-.12 [*]
Attachment Insecurity	.16 ^{***}	.44 ^{***}	-.14 ^{**}	-0.07	--	.29 ^{***}	.27 ^{***}	-.10	-.15 [*]	.47 ^{***}
<i>Wife</i>										
Religious Conflict	.37 ^{***}	.24 ^{***}	-.17 ^{***}	-.20 ^{***}	.13 ^{**}	--	.21 ^{***}	-.18 ^{**}	-.22 ^{***}	.23 ^{***}
Parenting Stress	.22 ^{***}	.65 ^{***}	-.23 ^{***}	-.35 ^{***}	.33 ^{***}	.25 ^{***}	--	-.25 ^{***}	-.54 ^{***}	.41 ^{***}
Community Integration	-.04	-.18 ^{***}	.44 ^{***}	.34 ^{***}	-.01	-.16 ^{***}	-.20 ^{***}	--	.59 ^{***}	-.17 ^{**}
Family Functioning	-.12 [*]	-.35 ^{***}	.28 ^{***}	.57 ^{***}	-.03	-.19 ^{***}	-.38 ^{***}	.57 ^{***}	--	-.23 ^{***}
Attachment Insecurity	.11 [*]	.33 ^{***}	-.10 [*]	-.08	.44 ^{***}	.13 ^{**}	.56 ^{***}	-.13 ^{**}	-.13 ^{**}	--
Non-Returnee										
<i>M</i>	1.52	182.72	20.06	118.97	114.10	1.59	183.18	20.12	119.92	114.10
<i>SD</i>	1.06	40.28	4.50	40.86	29.25	.99	40.86	4.46	16.54	29.25
Returnee										

<i>M</i>	1.96	197.67	19.49 ^a	114.69	117.25	2.06	197.79	18.95 ^a	114.54	118.15
<i>SD</i>	1.16	44.47	4.69	16.92	30.06	1.28	44.35	4.19	17.55	30.65
<i>t</i>	5.34 ^{***}	4.71 ^{***}	1.64	3.45 ^{***}	1.43	5.42 ^{***}	4.60 ^{***}	3.39 ^{***}	4.24 ^{***}	.31
<i>d</i>	.38	.34	.12	.25	.10	.39	.33	.24	.30	.02

Note: Correlations above the diagonal represent non-Returnees. Those below the diagonal represent Returnees. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; ^a Husband and wife reports differed significantly ($t(494) = 2.51, p = .01$).

Table 4.

Successive Model Comparisons for Family Functioning

Model	Description	<i>df</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	χ^2	$\Delta\chi^2$	R^2
1	Basic CFM model	22	.88	.05	56.72 ^{***}	-	.18
2	Insecurity predict religious conflict (Hypothesis 2a)	20	.93	.04	39.64 ^{**}	17.08 ^{***}	.19
3	Interaction of religious conflict with insecurity (Hypothesis 2b)	18	.95	.03	32.45 [*]	7.19 [*]	.26
4	Returnees vary (Hypothesis 3b)	36	.95	.03	31.58 [*]	.87	-
	Non-Returnee						.37
	Returnee						.21

Note: Fit statistics are scaled using the Satorra-Bentler correction. R^2 represent the proportion of variance explained in the latent family functioning outcome variable. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.

Successive Model Comparisons for Parenting Stress

Model	Description	<i>df</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	χ^2	$\Delta\chi^2$	<i>R</i> ²
1	Basic CFM model	20	.93	.04	46.02**	-	-
	Husband parenting stress						.28
	Wife parenting stress						.30
2	Insecurity predict religious conflict (Hypothesis 2a)	18	.97	.03	30.30*	15.72**	-
	Husband parenting stress						.32
	Wife parenting stress						.33
3	Interaction of religious conflict with husband and wife insecurity (Hypothesis 2b)	14	.96	.04	28.56*	1.74	-
	Husband parenting stress						.33
	Wife parenting stress						.34
4	Returnees vary (Hypothesis 3b)	28	.97	.04	21.17	7.39	-
	Non-returnee husband parenting stress						.34
	Non-returnee wife parenting stress						.30
	Returnee husband parenting stress						.35
	Returnee wife parenting stress						.39

Note: Fit statistics are scaled using the Satorra-Bentler correction. *R*² represent the proportion of variance explained in the parenting stress outcome variables. * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .001.

Table 6.

Successive Model Comparisons for Community Integration

Model	Description	<i>df</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	χ^2	$\Delta\chi^2$	R^2
1	Basic CFM model	20	.86	.04	50.34**	-	-
	Husband community integration						.06
	Wife community integration						.06
2	Insecurity predict religious conflict (Hypothesis 2a)	18	.93	.03	33.40*	16.94**	-
	Husband community integration						.06
	Wife community integration						.10
3	Interaction of religious conflict with husband and wife insecurity (Hypothesis 2b)	14	.95	.03	25.65*	7.75	-
	Husband community integration						.07
	Wife community integration						.10
4	Returnees vary (Hypothesis 3b)	28	.94	.04	21.04	4.61	-
	Non-returnee husband community integration						.09
	Non-returnee wife community integration						.18
	Returnee husband community integration						.07
	Returnee wife community integration						.06

Note: Fit statistics are scaled using the Satorra-Bentler correction. R^2 represent the proportion of variance explained in the community integration outcome variables. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$.

Table 7.

Evaluations of Mediation Models for the Indirect Effects of Attachment Insecurity through Religious Conflict

	Total effect (c)	Effect on Mediator (a)	Mediator's Effect (b)	Indirect effect (a * b)	Direct Effect (c')	Mediation Status
Family Functioning						
Husband Insecurity	-1.18 ^a	.24 ^{***}	-.47 ^{***}	-1.42 ^{***}	.02	Full
Wife Insecurity	-2.32 ^{***}	.13 [*]	-.47 ^{***}	-.76 [*]	-.12 [*]	Partial
Husband's Parenting Stress						
Husband Insecurity	15.68 ^{***}	.24 ^{***}	15.89 ^{***}	3.76 ^{***}	11.92 ^{***}	Partial
Wife Insecurity	6.69 ^{***}	.13 [*]	15.89 ^{***}	2.01 ^{**}	4.69 [*]	Partial
Wife's Parenting Stress						
Husband Insecurity	4.82 [*]	.24 ^{***}	11.96 ^{***}	1.51 [*]	1.99	Full
Wife Insecurity	19.68 ^{***}	.13 [*]	11.96 ^{***}	2.83 ^{***}	18.18 ^{***}	Partial
Husband's Community Integration						
Husband Insecurity	-.83 ^{***}	.23 ^{***}	-.91 ^{***}	-.21 ^{**}	-.63 ^{**}	Partial
Wife Insecurity	-.13	.13 [*]	-.91 ^{***}	-.12 [*]	-.02	Full
Wife's Community Integration						
Husband Insecurity	.08	.23 ^{***}	-.22 ^{***}	-.24 ^{***}	.32	None
Wife Insecurity	-.69 ^{***}	.13 [*]	-.22 ^{***}	-.13 [*]	-.56 ^{**}	Partial

Note: See Figure 5 for a schematic diagram of mediation models. Standardized coefficients are displayed. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. ^a Total effect is less than direct effect due to the moderated mediation effect of husband's insecurity on the relationship between religious conflict and family functioning (see Figure 6).

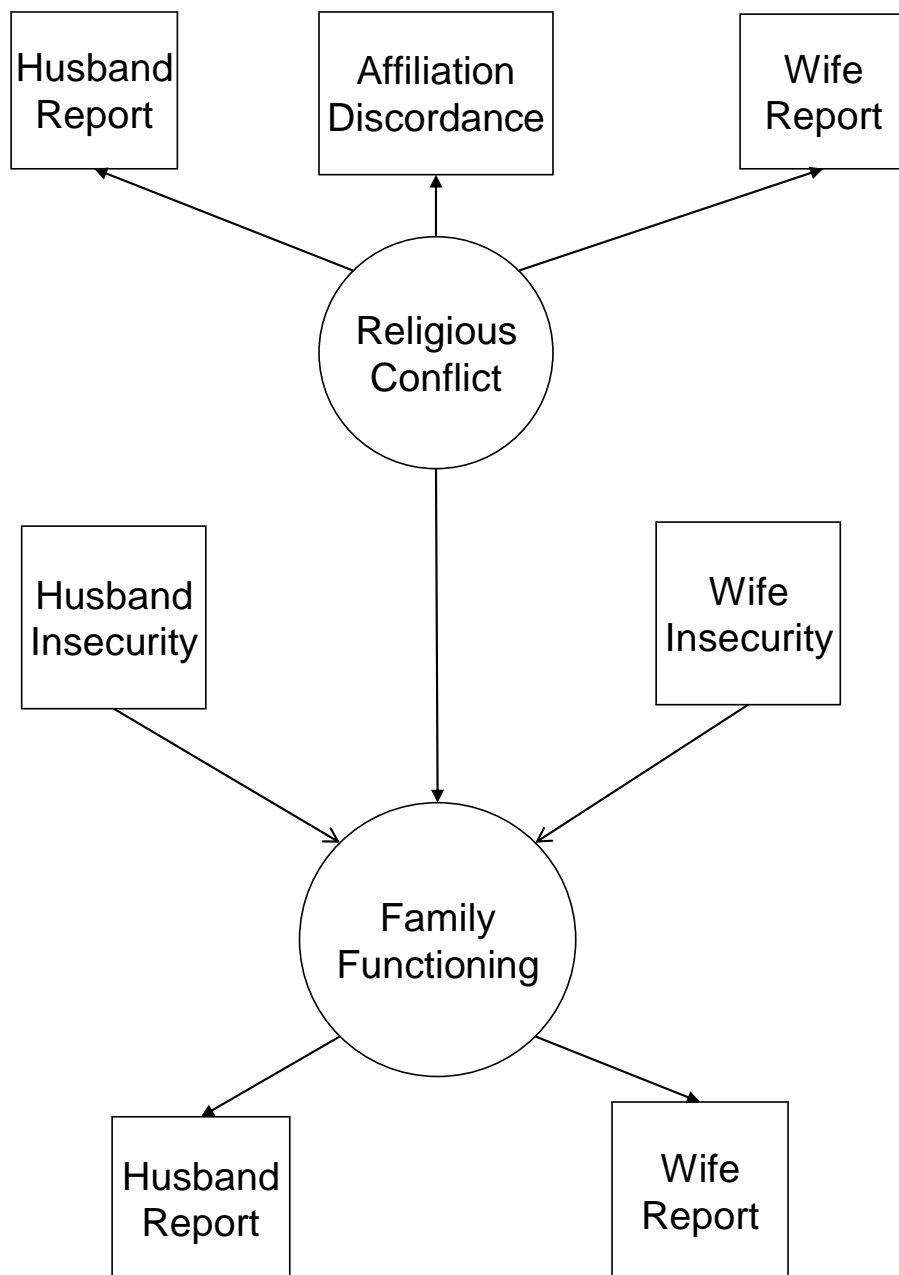
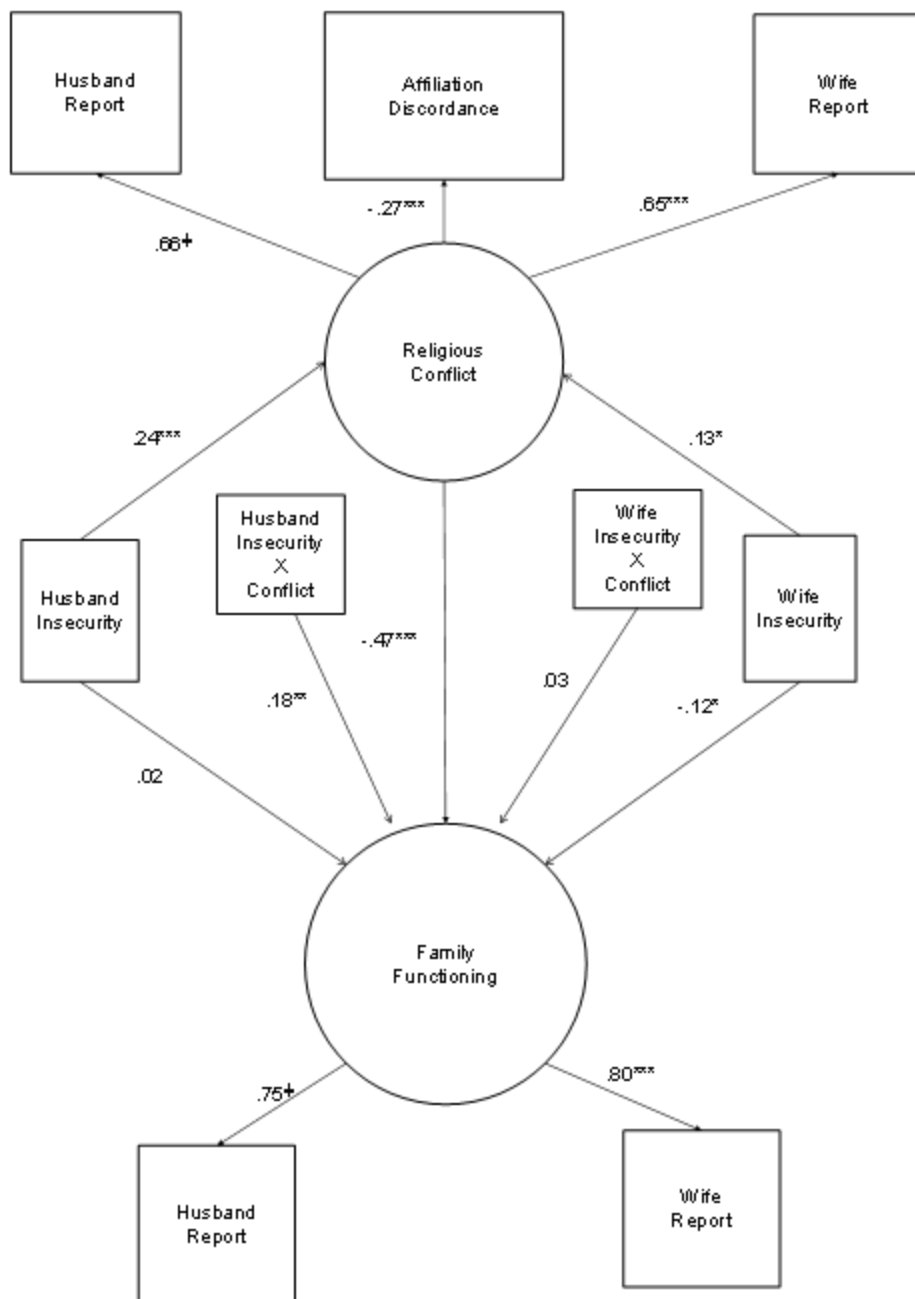
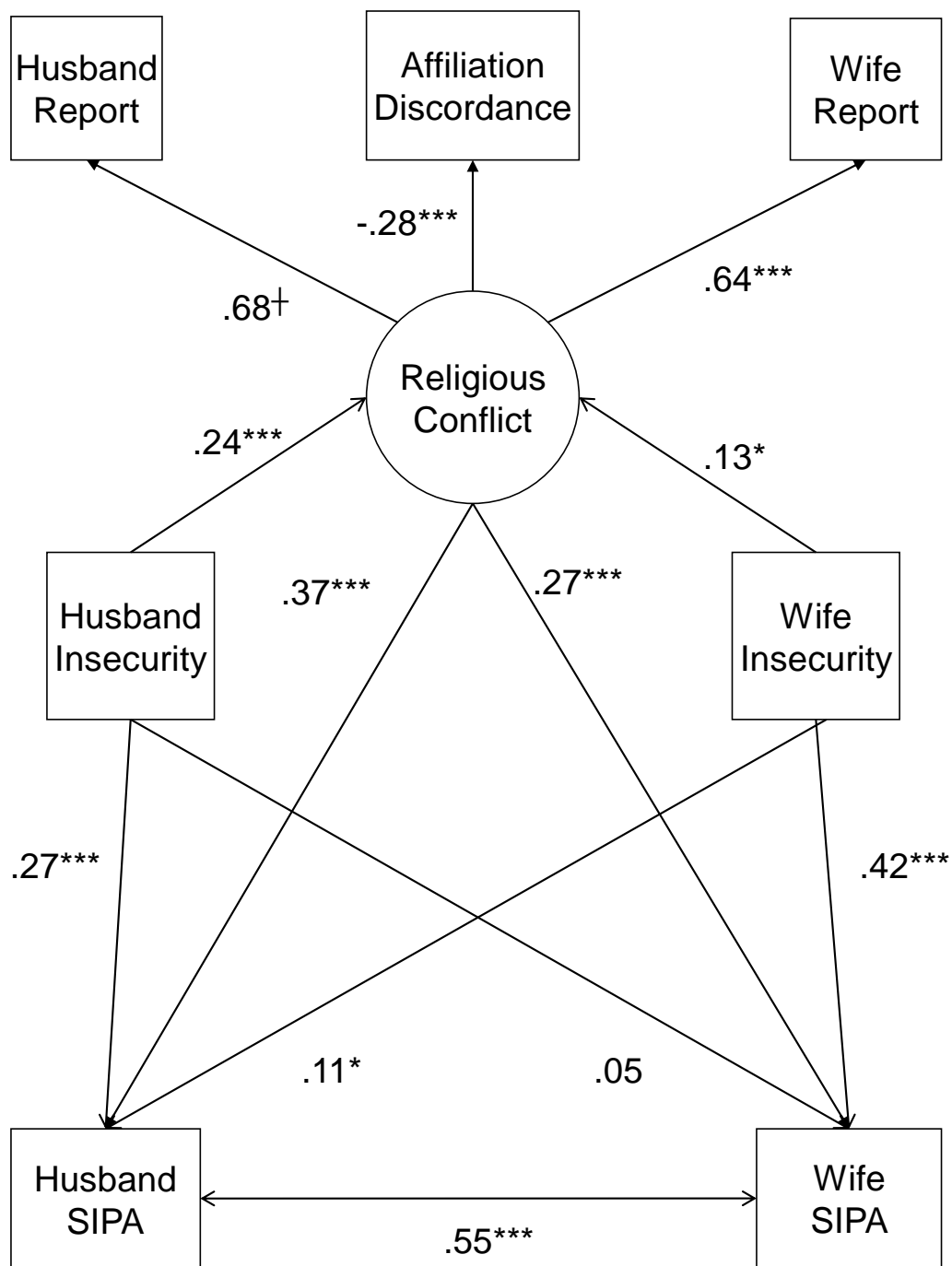


Figure 1. Baseline common factor model of religious conflict and family functioning (Model 1).



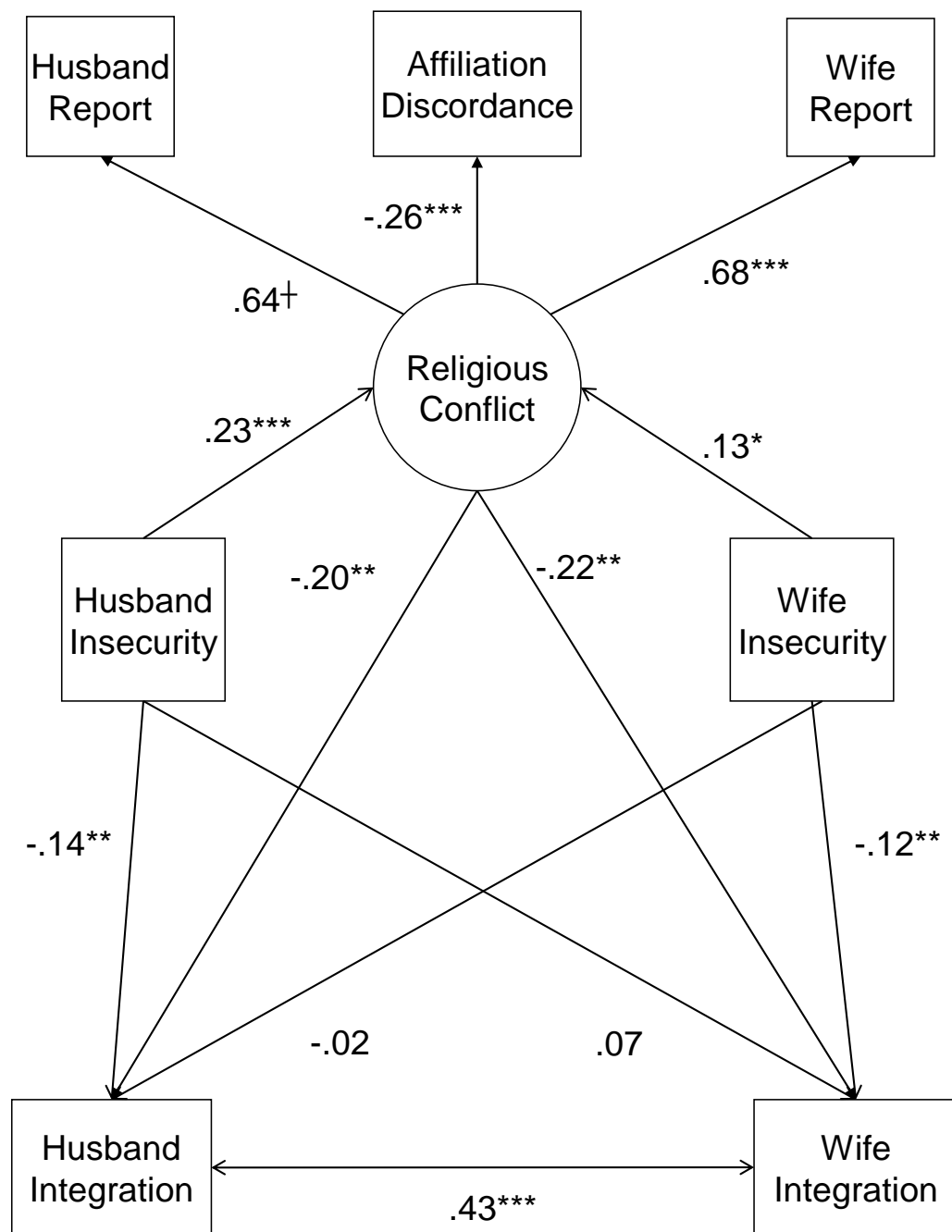
Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Standardized coefficients are displayed; \dagger Loading fixed.

Figure 2. Final CFM model including interactions between religious conflict and attachment insecurity predicting family functioning (Model 3).



Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Standardized coefficients are displayed; \dagger Loading fixed.

Figure 3. Final CFM model including religious conflict and attachment insecurity as predictors of parenting stress (Model 2).



Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Standardized coefficients are displayed; \dagger Loading fixed.

Figure 4. Final CFM model including religious conflict and attachment insecurity as predictors of community integration (Model 2).

Mediation Model

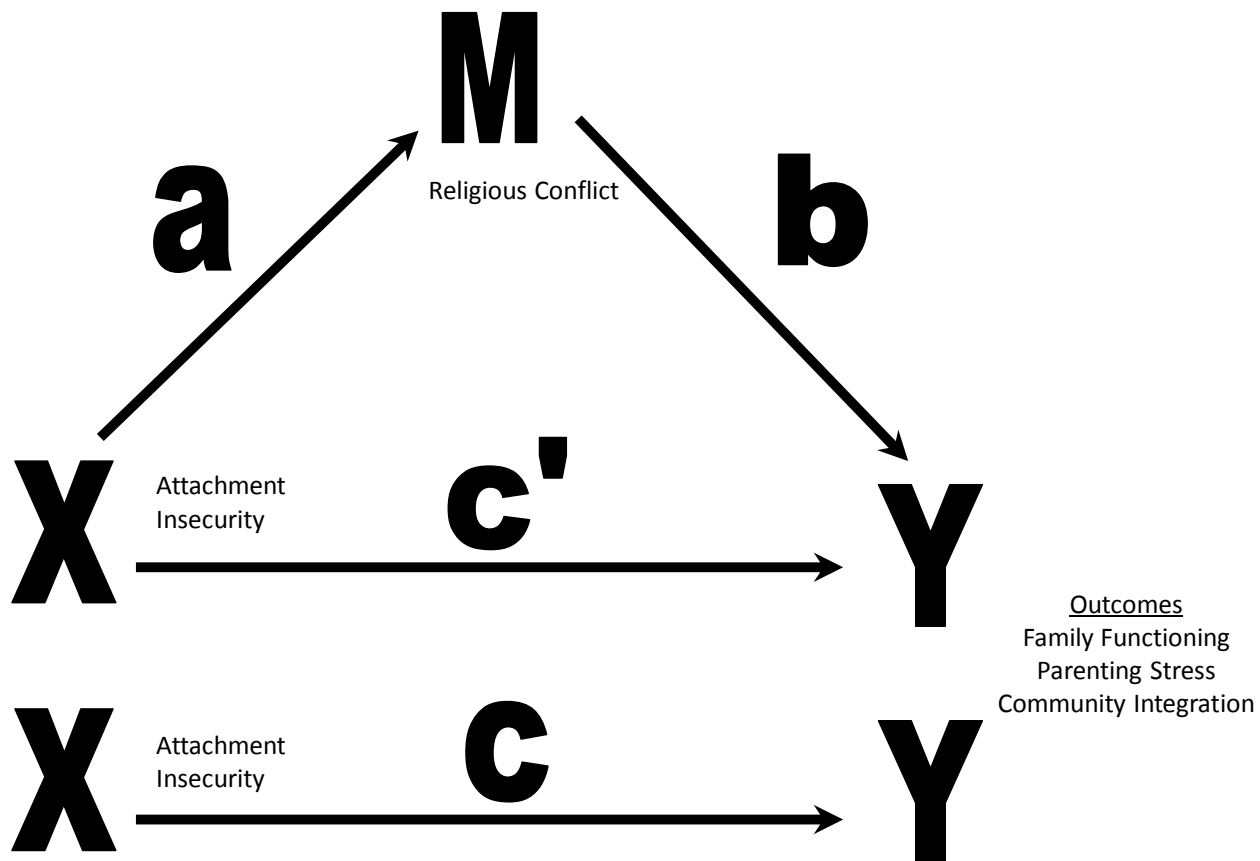


Figure 5. Schematic diagram for the mediating effects of religious conflict.

Moderated Mediation Model

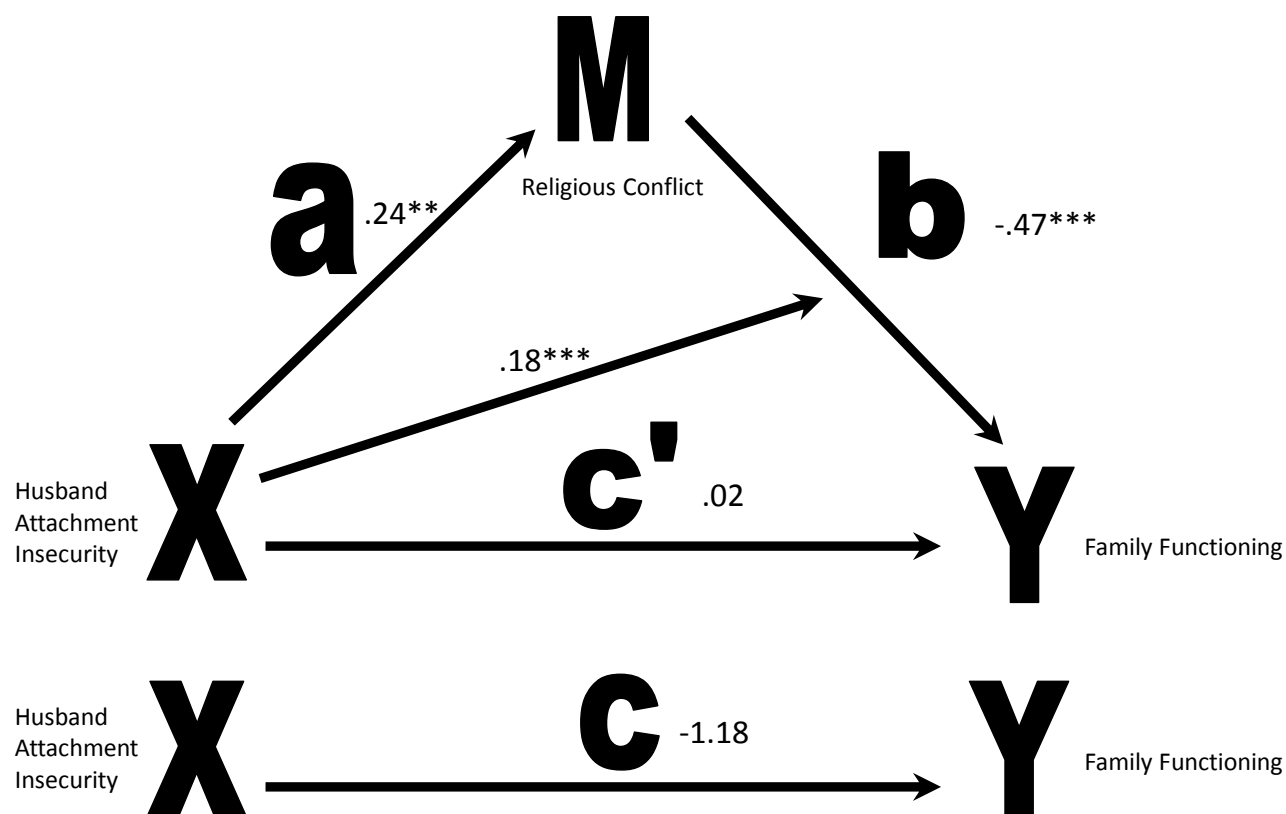


Figure 6. Path diagram for the moderated mediation effects of husband's attachment security on family functioning through religious conflict.

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