

Parenting Styles and Perceptions Across  
Christian Denominations

By

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PREVIEW

## **Abstract**

Previous research literature on parenting has presented a strong argument for the relationship between individual parenting behaviors, including parenting styles, perceptions about parenting, and parental religiosity, and the influence on child development. However, there is limited research that has examined the differences in parenting behaviors across religious groups. The studies that examined religiosity typically have combined all Catholic and Protestant denominations into a generic Christian category, rather than examining the differences across the denominational groups. This study was informed by Baumrind's parenting styles and Mowder's parent development theory (PDT) to examine parenting factors, including parenting styles, perceptions of the parent role, and individual religiosity, across Christian denominations.

For the current study, 213 participants completed a demographics questionnaire, the Parental Authority Questionnaire-Revised (PAQ-R), the Parent Behavior Importance Questionnaire-Revised (PBIQ-R), and the Religiousness Scale (RS). Findings revealed differences across Christian denominations regarding Baumrind's parenting styles, perceptions of the PDT parenting characteristics, and levels of religiosity. In addition, significant relationships among parenting styles, parent role characteristics, and levels of religiosity were found. The research results and limitations of the current study are discussed along with implications for the field of school-clinical child psychology.

## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction**

#### **Overview**

The research literature has an extensive history of describing the relationship between parenting behaviors and child development (Bornstein, Tamis-LeMonda, Hahn, & Haynes, 2008; Enten & Golan, 2008; Mowder, 2005). For example, Roskam and Meunier's (2009) research on parenting concepts asserts that, "parenting has been studied for six decades as one of the most important environmental influences on [child] outcomes" (p. 33). Perhaps the reason that parenting is such an influential factor on child development is because parenting is a complex variable, which encompasses everything from the genetic influence of DNA to the social, emotional, and educational components of parent-child interactions (Harlaar et al., 2008).

Parents may feel their children are the center of their world; however, for developing children, parents represent much of their available knowledge and many of their developmental experiences (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005; Heaven & Ciarrochi, 2008; Sorkhabi, 2005). Parents' behaviors, cognitions, and experiences (e.g., education, interpersonal relationships) directly influence the actions, thoughts, and experiences of their children. The research literature has strongly supported the view that parents' child-rearing behaviors, thoughts about parenting, and available social supports have all been found to relate to aspects of child development (Baumrind, 1967; Bornstein et al., 1998; Mowder, 1993).

Historically, in the research literature, parenting styles were described as a key variable to understand patterns of parenting, including parent-child relationships, family functioning, and children's developmental health and well-being (Aluja, Del Barrio, & García, 2006; Enten & Golan, 2008; Harlaar et al., 2008). Much of the current research on parenting relies on the styles of parenting first defined by Baumrind over 40 years ago. Baumrind's (1966, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1975, 1996) authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and neglectful styles describe parenting from the perspective of how parents interact with and discipline their children. The childrearing practices in which parents engage are categorized as dimensions of control (i.e., discipline) and warmth (i.e., parent-child interaction). Each of the parenting styles is defined by a distinct combination of parental control and warmth. For instance, the authoritarian style represents high levels of control and low levels of warmth (1966; Baumrind, 1971b). Baumrind (1972) describes, authoritarian parenting as follows:

The Authoritarian parent values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what he or she thinks is proper conduct. He or she believes in keeping the child in his place, in restricting his autonomy, and in assigning household responsibilities in order to inculcate respect for work. This parent regards the preservation of order and traditional structure as a highly valued end in itself. He or she does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept the parent's word for what is right (p.179).

Next, the authoritative parenting style represents high levels of both control and warmth (1966; Baumrind, 1971b). Baumrind (1972) describes authoritative parenting as follows:

The Authoritative parent attempts to direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner. He or she encourages verbal give and take, shares with the child the reasoning behind a policy, and solicits objections when the child refuses to conform. Both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity are valued by the Authoritative parent. He or she exerts firm control at points of parent-child divergence but does not hem the child in with restrictions. The parent enforces his or her own perspective as an adult but recognizes the child's individual interest and special ways. The Authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities but also sets standards for future conduct. He or she uses reason, power, and shaping by regime and reinforcement to achieve objectives and does not base his or her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires (p.177).

The permissive parenting style represents low levels of control and high levels of warmth (1966; Baumrind, 1971b). Baumrind (1972) describes the permissive parenting style as follows:

The Permissive prototype of adult control requires of the parent that he or she behave in an affirmative, acceptant and benign manner toward the child's impulses and actions and that the parent be presented to the child as a resource for him to use as he wishes, but not as an active agent responsible for shaping and altering his ongoing future behavior. The

immediate aim of the ideologically aware Permissive parent is to give the child as much freedom as is consistent with the child's physical survival.

Freedom to the Permissive parent means absence of restraint (p.179).

Lastly, Baumrind's neglectful style of parenting represents low parental control and low parental warmth (Baumrind, 1971a; Enten & Golan, 2008). The neglectful or uninvolved parenting style is not included in the current research for two reasons. First, the style represents "rejecting-neglecting and neglectful parents" (Enten & Golan, 2008, p. 67) whereas this study examines the parenting styles and parent role perceptions of responsive parents. The second reason the neglectful parenting is not examined in the current research is because the style is not included in the Parental Authority Questionnaire-Revised (PAQ-R), the measure being used in this study to examine parenting styles (Reitman, Rhode, Hupp, & Altobello, 2002).

The emphasis in Baumrind's parenting styles is on the impact of parenting behaviors on the child. The model does not focus on the influence of parental thoughts (i.e., cognitions) on childrearing practices and child development.

Mowder's (1993, 2005, 2006, 2009) parent development theory (PDT) is valuable in describing how both parenting behaviors and beliefs (e.g., cognitions) relate to the parent role. In contrast to Baumrind, who identified parenting as comprised of high or low control and warmth, Mowder presents a broader description of the parent role. Parenting, as described in the PDT, includes the following seven characteristics: bonding – the affection and care shown to children; discipline – the insistence upon established rules of behavior; education – teaching or shaping children; general welfare and protection – the provision for physical safety and needs; responsivity – parental

responsiveness to children; sensitivity – understanding of and attunement to the children's needs; and negativity – the negative thoughts or behaviors in which parents engage (Mowder, 2005; Mowder et al., 1995).

The PDT defines a parent as an individual who recognizes, accepts, and performs the parent role (e.g., the seven parenting characteristics) (Mowder, 2005). Parents, as well as non-parents, maintain cognitions and perceptions about the parent role and what parenting means (Mowder, 2005). For instance, one does not need to be a parent to have beliefs about the importance of parental bonding or about appropriate discipline practices. Mowder (2009) describes how:

Each cognitively aware individual, whether or not a parent, has some level of awareness or understanding of what being a parent means ... therefore, children as well as adults, parents as well as non-parents, have ideas regarding what being a parent means (p. 9).

In addition to acknowledging that most individuals have beliefs about the parent role, the PDT recognizes that parenting perceptions are susceptible to alteration and revision (Mowder et al., 1995; Sperling & Mowder, 2006). For example, as children's developmental needs change, parents may respond by modifying their parenting beliefs.

Finally, the PDT suggests that the parent role is fundamentally a social phenomenon because parenting exists within multiple social contexts; parenting represents a social dynamic between parent and child as well as the complex social environment (e.g., experiences, significant relationships, supports, values) in which both are developing (Mowder, 2005). In addition to the parent-child relationship and environmental social contexts, Mowder (2009) maintains that:



there is also a more general social understanding regarding parenting. This understanding typically is both informal as well as formal. The informal often refers to customs, such as those associated with sub-groups, for example traditional as opposed to contemporary gender related parenting roles (e.g., stay at home mother). The formal aspects tend to be relatively well articulated and codified into social structures, such as rules or laws regarding conduct of parents toward their offspring. Thus, there are social, not simply individual parent role perspectives (p.9).

Thus, beyond individuals, social groups and cultural norms, may relate to, inform, and even to some extent dictate parenting and the parent role. Ethnic groups are one example of an informal social understanding of the parent role; religious groups provide another example. As religious groups and even within groups (e.g., denominations) typify the informal social sub-groups discussed by Mowder, there is some reason to believe there would be somewhat unique social parent role perspectives.

McCullough and Willoughby (2009) describe religion as a “potent social force ... [and] a psychological force that can influence the outcomes of individual human lives” (p. 69). For researchers, the variables of religiosity and individual religious beliefs, as well as parenting characteristics and behaviors, are complex and potentially influential psychological and social factors (Snider, Clements, & Vazxonyi, 2004). Since religiosity and parenting are complex, they present challenges to researchers. Regardless, because of their potential influence on individuals, groups, and societies, examining these issues is

important to pursue. For example, religiosity has been found to relate to significant health benefits (Albertsen, O'Connor, & Berry, 2006; McCullough & Willoughby, 2009).

Historically, the research literature on religion has focused on the emotional, physical, and relational health of religious individuals, including feelings of forgiveness, free will, gratitude, guilt, and stress, (Albertsen et al., 2006; Baumeister, Bauer, & Lloyd, 2010; Krause & Ellison, 200; Park, Cohen, & Herb, 1990), as well as physical and mental health issues (Koenig & Vaillant, 2009; McNamara, Burns, Johnson, & McCorkle, 2010; Strayhorn, Weidman, & Larson, 1990), and aspects of child rearing, marriage, and parent-child relationships (Boyatzis, 2006; Mahoney, Pargament, Tarakeshwar & Swank, 2001). When examining both religiosity and parenting, the research predominantly has focused on discipline practices and the use of corporal punishment among conservative Protestant Christians (Altemeyer, 1988; Gunnoe, Hetherington, & Reiss, 2006; Roccato, 2008; Volling et al., 2009). Generally, the body of literature on religiosity has presented contradictory results, with some studies reporting significant differences and others reporting no observable differences in the parenting styles and behaviors of Protestant Christians when compared with Catholics or non-religious parents (Armet, 2009; Gunnoe et al., 2006; Wilcox, 1998). There is limited research within Christian religiosity regarding parenting, including parenting style and perceptions about the parent role.

Religiosity is important to many American families (Mahoney, 2005; Volling et al., 2009). Indeed, individual religiosity potentially influences the socio-cultural context and environment in which Americans interact socially, and engage in parenting and child-rearing behaviors (Sutton & Chaves, 2004; Volling et al., 2009). Although religions potentially have a significant impact (e.g., emotional, mental, and physical health) on

individuals, religiosity may be influential in terms of the broader social and cultural environment (Koenig & Vaillant, 2009; McNamara et al., 2010; Strayhorn et al., 1990; Volling et al., 2009). Christianity, as the dominant Western religion in recent centuries, has both personal and widespread impact (e.g., millions of believers), immense national political clout (e.g., voting power of Conservative Christians in the 2000 and 2004 elections), and significant international influence (e.g., authority of the Catholic Church) (Baumeister et al., 2010; Davidson, Pyle, & Reyes, 1995; Fahlbusch, 1998-2008; Mahoney, 2005; Mahoney, Pargament, Murray-Swank, Murray-Swank, 2005; Mahoney et al., 2001; Martin, 2004; Sutton & Chaves, 2004).

Due to the large number of believers, the political influence, and the numerous sub-groups or denominations (e.g., Anglican/Episcopal, Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Non-denominational/Evangelical, Presbyterian), Christianity has become an area of increased psychological research (Gunnore, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999; Unger, 2007). For example, despite the recognition that Christianity may significantly shape individual beliefs, including parenting views and childrearing practices, there is limited research literature examining the relationship among Christian beliefs and parenting behaviors (Hill & Pargament, 2003; Volling et al., 2009; Wilcox, 2002). Additionally, the literature on religiosity and parenting has largely neglected to differentiate among Christian denominations; for example, some studies lump numerous individual groups of Christian believers into a Conservative Protestant label (Gunnore et al., 2001; Gunnore et al., 2006; Wilcox, 1998; Woodbury & Smith, 1998).

Since there are notable differences among Christian denominations in their ideology and teachings, governing systems, and religious traditions and practices, there

also may be significant differences among the parenting practices of various Christian groups (Barrett, Kurian, & Johnson, 2001; Fahlbusch, 1998-2008; González, 1984; González, 1985; Krull, 1911; Long, Jr., 2001; McGrath, 2006; Mead, Hill, & Atwood, 2007; Rhodes, 2005; Sutton & Cheves, 2004). The current study examines whether there are differences across religious denominations in parenting and religiosity among Christians.

### **Statement of Purpose**

Although previous research has examined the relationship among aspects of parenting (e.g., discipline practices) and religiosity (e.g., denomination), there continue to be questions about the relationship between the complex and influential variables of parenting (e.g., parenting styles, cognitions about the parent role characteristics) and religiosity (i.e., how religious a person is) (Murray, 2005; Sutton & Chaves, 2004; Volling et al., 2009). With further study regarding the relationship among parenting behaviors (e.g., parenting styles, PDT characteristics) and religiosity (e.g., religious activity and belief), researchers and clinicians may gain a better understanding of the influence that religiosity has on parents' childrearing behaviors and on parents' thoughts about the parent role. That is, the present study examines whether perceptions and behaviors related to parenting and religiosity are influenced by sub-group differences (e.g., religious doctrines, beliefs, rituals) in Christian denominations as suggested by the PDT (Mowder, 2009). Therefore the goal of the current study is to examine the relationships among Baumrind's (1966, 1971b, 1972) parenting styles (e.g., authoritarian, authoritative, permissive), Mowder's (1993, 2005, 2009) parent role characteristics (e.g., bonding, discipline, education, general welfare and protection, responsivity, sensitivity,

negativity), and religiosity across Christian denominations (e.g., Anglican/Episcopal, Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Non-denominational/Evangelical, Presbyterian) with the following questions in mind:

**Research Questions**

1. Are there differences in self-reported parenting styles across Christian denominations?
2. Are there differences in self-reported perceptions of parent role characteristics across Christian denominations?
3. Are there differences in self-reported levels of religiosity (across Christian denominations)?
4. Are there significant relationships among self-reported parenting styles, perceptions of parent role characteristics, and religiosity?

## **Chapter II**

### **Literature Review**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter presents a review of the research literature on Baumrind's (1966, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1975, 1996) parenting model, including a brief history and description of her theoretical framework. The variables of parental warmth and parental control are discussed, individually and collectively, as the foundation of Baumrind's three parenting styles (Pratt, Cowan, & Cowan, 1988). The chapter examines each of the three styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive and presents research literature to describe the developmental outcomes for children raised under each parenting style.

This chapter also presents and provides a discussion of Mowder's (1993, 2005, 2006, 2009) parent development theory (PDT) and the individual factors which, over time, may influence parents' behaviors and beliefs related to the parent role. The chapter reviews the research literature in relation to each of the seven PDT parenting characteristics: bonding, discipline, education, general welfare and protection, responsiveness, sensitivity, and negativity.

The chapter continues by examining Christianity by providing a brief history of the development of the Christian church and descriptions of several modern denominations: Anglican/Episcopalian, Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Non-denominational, and Presbyterian. The literature on religiosity is discussed, particularly

as related to parenting styles, perceptions about the parent role, and similarities and differences across Christian denominations.

Finally, this chapter explores the relationship among parenting styles, parenting perceptions, and parental religiosity. Relevant research literature forms the basis of a discussion about how individual religious beliefs, across Christian denominations, may relate to the use of varied parenting styles and potentially result in differing views of the importance of seven parenting characteristics.

### **Baumrind's Parenting Styles**

One of the most influential parenting theories has been Baumrind's (1966, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1975, 1996) model, which describes three styles of parental control or authority. Baumrind's (1966) description of parenting styles was originally based upon Lewin's (1948) study of social groups. In 1939, Lewin, Lippitt, and White first described three types of social groups based upon their leadership styles, social climates, and interpersonal dynamics. The groups were called authoritarian, democratic, and laissez faire (Baumrind, 1966; Ferguson, Hagaman, Grice, & Peng, 2006; Maccoby, 1992). Nearly thirty years later, Baumrind observed the behaviors and attitudes among parents of preschoolers and thought of parenting as an example of leadership (e.g., authority) (Ferguson et al., 2006). Baumrind described the role of leadership or authority as "a person whose expertness befits him to designate a behavioral alternative for another" (1966, p. 887). Baumrind also viewed family dynamics and interactions among family members as being similar to the complex dynamics of groups and interactions among group members. Baumrind gave the patterns of child rearing practices the labels of



authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive which are still widely used today (Baumrind, 1966; Baumrind, 1975; Rodríguez, Donovanick, & Crowley, 2009).

Although initially described as prototypes of adult control, types of parental authority are commonly referred to as parenting styles (Baumrind, 1966). Baumrind's parenting model recognizes that parents are experts in their children's lives and that they each use their expertise to control or modify their children's behaviors in order to achieve the behavioral outcome that is most desirable (e.g., preferred behavior). In order to achieve the desirable behavioral outcomes in children, parents behaviorally shape and emotionally support children's development, through the use of discipline, control, and nurturance (Pratt et al., 1988). Baumrind (1966) recognized that parents generally engage in different levels of similar parenting behaviors. The variations in levels of parenting beliefs and behaviors, suggested by and observed along the two dimensions of parental control and parental warmth, form the basis of three theoretically unique parenting styles in Baumrind's model (Pratt et al., 1988).

Baumrind's parenting model defined parental control as parenting practices, including discipline, that focus on behaviorally shaping or scaffolding (e.g., demonstrating, explaining, modeling) children's actions (Baumrind, 1971a; Chaudhuri, Easterbrooks, & Davis, 2009; Pratt & Cowan, 1988). The variable of parental control encompasses parents' behavioral and psychological influence over children, including setting behavioral expectations, establishing rules, limiting children's autonomy, disciplining, ignoring, and inducing guilt in children (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005; Baumrind, 1971a; Rodríguez et al., 2009; Roskam & Meunier, 2009).