Religious Bestowment: The Effects of Parenting Style on the Religiosity of Children in Adulthood

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Abstract

Adolescents and young adults live in a battlefield of social pressure. One aspect that has been shown to reduce destructive behavior in adolescents and young adults is religion. For this reason, parents list religious commitment in their children as a parenting goal. However, they struggle with knowing which parenting approach will lead to a religious commitment in their children. The goal of this project will be to investigate whether parenting style during adolescence is associated with religious involvement in young adulthood. Following four parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and uninvolved) included in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, this project uses secondary data analysis to look at which parenting style leads to the most religiosity in young adulthood. We find that adolescent children who perceive their parents as authoritative show a greater degree of religiosity as a young adult.

Key Words: religiosity, parenting style

"Train children in the right way, and when old, they will not stray" (Proverbs 22:6).

Parents the world over are concerned with their children's moral development. Christian parents strive to raise children who will follow the teachings of Christ into their adult lives, and therefore bestow those beliefs on their children. Parents today are besieged with scientific theories and cultural norms about how to raise their children. This, coupled with recent findings that young people are leaving the church and embracing moral relativism at increasing rates, leads to research on what type of parenting is more likely to promote

religiosity later in life, an important though difficult social issue. Sociology links the individual to the broader social structures surrounding them. The parenting style that an individual experiences as an adolescent is clearly part of these social structures, and influences the way they experience their own faith later in life, as well as the benefits that faith can bestow upon them. Is it possible that certain parenting styles lead more effectively to more children remaining in Christian faith?

Review of Literature

Adolescents today are growing up in a battlefield of social pressures from the media and friends to comply with the latest trends, particularly as they relate to social media. These trends may begin as innocuously as wearing the most popular brands of clothing, but they may also lead to destructive behaviors such as drinking alcohol, using drugs, engaging in sexual promiscuity, and committing violence. Some parents who want to limit the impacts of these negative influences turn to religion, particularly Christianity, hoping it will reduce destructive behavior in adolescence and young adulthood. They desire to instill religious commitment in their children. However, the style of parenting that will lead to later religious commitment remains an enigma. This paper explores the nexus between parenting styles and religiosity in young adults.

Research has shown that adolescents who grow up active in a church community are more likely to abstain from negative pressures (Donahue and Benson 1995; Evans et al. 1996; Francis, Fearn, and Lewis 2005; Kedem and Cohen 1987). Activities such as church youth groups, social clubs, Vacation Bible School, Bible Studies, and mission trips are activities churches today provide their youth. By teaching shared values, these activities serve as indirect and direct social controls against pressures to rebel. The religious community is a social network that encourages conformity of attitudes and behaviors among its members. Consequently, it becomes more likely that friends made within a religious community will also belong to the same social network and will share the same values, thus providing additional buffering from negative influences, and guiding individual teenagers toward acceptable behaviors. But what ensures that children will maintain their faith? There is no one single determinative variable. However, a plethora of research on parenting types and religion does exist.

Ainsworth developed a typology of attachment of infants which has been shown to impact life chances. Securely attached infants have a behavioral strategy to obtain and maintain intimacy with their caregiver (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby 1958; Cassidy 1988). Other scholars have shown that this attachment is transferred to God, with securely attached individuals relying on God to be there (Dickie et al. 2006). In short, people who are securely attached have more intimacy with God and thus are more likely to maintain their religiosity

(Granqvist 2002). Thus, Christian parents attempting to raise children who maintain their religiosity should strive for secure attachments, but what types of parenting plays a role in attachment? Baumrind (1978) put forth a taxonomy of parenting which coupled demands parents put on their children with the warmth and emotional support parents provide their children. Parents who are high on both of these variables are known as authoritative. Parents who are high on demands but low on emotional support and warmth are known as authoritarian. Previous research has pointed to religion having strong effects on parenting strategies, leading to a more authoritarian orientation (Ellison 1996). However, there is a research lacuna in terms of which parenting style is more likely to ensure children will maintain religious commitment in their adult years.

To answer this question, we will first review the importance of religion in social life, highlighting the lifelong benefits of religion that reinforce why we want to understand what guides people to maintain religiosity. Then we will examine research on the role of parenting styles on youth outcomes and the role of religion on parenting styles. Finally, using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of youth, we examine the role parenting styles have on future religiosity of young adults.

Advantages of Religiosity for Young Adults

Christianity has social, emotional, physical and behavioral benefits. A prominent rationale for these benefits is the social connections of belonging to a religious community. Multiple national studies have found that those who attend church more frequently report larger social networks, more contact with others, and more social support than those who do not attend church (Bradley 1995; Ellison and George 1994; Idler and Kasl 1997). Those who regularly participate in religious activities also gain a sense of identity and place value on helping others. Moreover, religious beliefs change the focus of life away from the self and toward sharing, caring, and supporting others by forming supportive social circles (Sinha, Cnaan, and Gelles 2007). In short, religious communities provide individuals with the necessary tools for creating social relationships, something that parents the world over desire to impart on their children.

Spirituality also has an emotional benefit in individual's lives. Living by spiritual principles gives individuals a sense of purpose. In this regard, religiosity has been associated with higher self-esteem and feelings of self-worth, and people who deem themselves religious are more happy and satisfied with life (Ellison 1991; Krause 1995). The benefits of religiosity impact physical health as well. Religious individuals exercise more frequently, eat better, wear a seat belt more regularly, and get more sleep than their nonreligious peers (Jessor, Turbin, and Costa 1998; Regnerus 2003; Varon and Riley 1999; Wallace and Forman 2016). These positive effects are important for developing adolescents. Environments that enforce qualities of self-

worth and happiness equip them with confidence needed to thrive comfortably during a very tumultuous stage of life. These traits are beneficial for both short and long term well-being.

Religiosity is also associated with reduced delinquent and destructive behaviors in adolescents, including crime, alcohol and drug use, promiscuity, and suicide (Entner Wright and Younts 2009; Wallace and Williams 1997). Church attendance is a strong predictor of lowered alcohol consumption net of family, peers, and school variables (Mason and Windle 2002). Furthermore, children raised by parents who stress religion are significantly less likely to use drugs in early adulthood (Jang, Bader, and Johnson 2008). Seminal sociologist Emile Durkheim stated that lack of social integration is associated with suicide (Durkheim 2005). Maimon and Kuhl (2008) refined this research to young adults, finding lower teen suicide rates in religiously dense neighborhoods. In addition, religious involvement significantly delays initiation of sexual activity and by extension, teen pregnancy (Burdette and Hill 2009; Lammers et al. 2000; Thornton and Camburn 1989). In this way, religious involvement not only spares the individual from destructive behaviors, but it also protects society from economic and social ramifications that accompany early sexual initiation and pregnancy, alcohol abuse, and suicide. However, once children reach the age of majority, parents lose control of their children's choices and young adults must make their own decisions about the value of religion in their lives.

Religious Commitment of Young People

With the aforementioned benefits of religious commitment, parents should and do attempt to instill a lifelong commitment in their children. It is also no wonder that numerous social commentators and academicians alike have expressed alarm over the secularization of young people. Smith and colleagues discuss these issues in their pivotal work *Lost in Transition*, and identify four moral problems facing emerging adults: consumerism, drug abuse, sexual liberation, and civil political disengagement (Smith et al. 2011). Emerging adulthood is marked by a decline in religious expression, especially public expressions of religiosity, with some experts giving estimates as high as 40 percent of young people limiting their religiosity (Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1993; Hoge, Johnson, and Luidens 1993; Hunsberger and Brown 1984; Sandomirsky and Wilson 1990; Uecker, Regnerus, and Vaaler 2007).

Reasons for dissipation of religiosity during emerging adulthood have largely focused on the role of higher education. Scholars describe how education expands exposure to countercultural and progressive ideas that can lead to questioning (Hadaway and Roof 1988; Sherkat 1998). Some scholars even go so far as to describe higher education as the literal breeding ground for apostasy (Caplovitz and Sherrow 1977). However, others have highlighted a positive impact of universities on modern students (Hoge et al. 1993; Uecker et al. 2007). Finally, normative deviation and cognitive dissonance, or the gap between what a person's religion dictates they do and what the normative instruction of their peers instruct them to do, may be responsible for the loss of religiosity during emerging adulthood (Uecker et al. 2007).

However, family, and particularly parents, have the strongest role in retaining one's religious life and overcoming the potential for normative deviation. The strength and homogamy of faith is a predictor of steadfast religiosity (Perkins 1987). Dudley and Laurent (1989) further indicate that alienation can be related to parents who fail in their own adherence to the standards the church sets forth (Smith and Sikkink 2003). The affiliations and practices of parents, along with the cohesion of religious community, foster religious commitment in children (Bao et al. 1999; Lee, Rice, and Gillespie 1997; Ozorak 1989). As such, the strength of faith in families of origin plays a seminal role in religious faith later in life (Smith and Sikkink 2003). One aspect that has not been investigated is the type of faith in the home of origin and the parenting style in which that faith socialization takes place.

Parenting Styles. Christianity, and Outcomes for Children and Adolescents

Baumrind (1971) proposed a typology of parenting styles comprised of four categories derived from two dimensions. The first axis is that of parental demands comprised of things such as parental strictness involving the setting of expectations, controls, and limits. The second axis is that of parental response or parental warmth comprised of support, acceptance, and flexibility. Parents who are high on both demands and response/warmth are known as authoritative. Parents who are high on response but low on demands are labeled as permissive. Parents who are high on demands but low on response/warmth are tagged as authoritarian, and parents low on both dimensions are labeled uninvolved.

Researchers have consistently found that children of authoritative parents have the best outcomes compared to children of all other parenting styles (Amato and Booth 1997; Amato and Rivera 1999; Baumrind 1971, 1997). For example, teenagers of authoritarian parents (controlling with little communication) are equally sexually permissive as those with very little control (uninvolved/permissive parents), and teenagers of authoritative parents were less sexually permissive than either of the other three groups (Miller et al. 1986). Additionally, adolescents who perceive their parents as authoritative were less likely to engage in alcohol or illicit drug consumption compared to those with other parenting styles (Adalbjarnardottir and Hafsteinsson 2003). Our research seeks to explore whether maintaining religiosity during emerging adulthood is another benefit of authoritative parenting.

Baumrind's authoritarian and authoritative types of parenting contain one common thread that holds them together, that of demand, and one major defining difference, that of parental responsiveness and warmth. These parental demands and parental warmth variables have important echoes in the context of Christianity as highlighted but verses in Proverbs and Exodus.

The rod and reproof give wisdom, but a mother is disgraced by a neglected child (Proverbs 29:15)

> Honor your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you. (Exodus 20:12)

Classic literature of Protestant teachings holds that humans are sinful at their core and therefore suffer from a fallen nature. Due to this fallen nature, it is the parents' responsibility to instruct their children and make sure they grow up to be faithful Christians. Traditionally, the emphasis on the importance of being faithful led to the promotion of obedience in children. This viewpoint dominated Protestant circles and is why they are perceived as being extremely strict (high on demands). The transition to how contemporary Protestants parent in more recent years originated from a contemporary movement towards a more expressive Christian faith. A need for an emotional religious experience has emerged, which seems to facilitate the understanding that children need emotional support from their parents.

In contemporary family literature, prominent conservative Protestant leaders have focused much of their efforts on trying to show that the family contains a certain symbolic power and that parents need to learn to take responsibility for that power (Wilcox 1998). The relationship between love and control is exactly the balancing challenge that defines what proper authoritative parenting is. The control aspects of this parenting technique is what is defined later as obedience, which again is present in both authoritative and authoritarian styles. But the love/warmth portion is what is receiving new scholarly attention. This category of love is defined by its actions of praise and physical expressions of affection with high levels of communication. This changes the perspective that children are naturally sinful and therefore need to be punished in order to atone for original sin, to the perspective that children are developing and need nurturance and love (Ellison and Sherkat 1993).

Obedience has been a major overarching theme in the Protestant tradition. Because the call for obedience is so prevalent in the Bible, it has been transferred to other teachings related to internal family power structures. There are clear differences in models of authority throughout the Bible when looking at God, creation, churches, and families. To override these differences, conservative Protestant writings emphasize biblical teachings on children's obedience and parental authority (Wilcox 1998). The main fear is that if children are not taught to be obedient to their parents, then they will want to rebel against authority of all forms. It may start with disobedience of parents and family, but the bigger fear is that it will spread to disobedience of God. This corresponds with research on attachment which has found that children often have similar attachments to their relationship with God as they do with their parents, and they view God's role in their life in a similar fashion to the way they view their parents' roles (Dickie et al. 1997, 2006; Granqvist and Dickie 2006). To try to avoid this behavior, more religiously conservative parents are especially likely to promote obedience and conformity at the risk of openness to change (Duriez et al. 2009; Mahoney et al. 2001). Although adolescents of religious parents are less likely to engage in problematic behavior, some studies have shown that this background can bring about a close-minded way of

functioning (Duriez et al. 2009). This in turn, can be correlated with decreased well-being and increased authoritarianism (Duriez, Van Hiel, and Kossowska 2005; Sagiv and Schwartz 2000).

Due to this emphasis on obedience, Ellison and Sherkat (1993) studied whether conservative Protestant parents would then place obedience as a higher priority over intellectual autonomy, that is, having the children learn to think for themselves. Though conservative Protestants were found to value obedience more than the average American adult, it was interesting that they did not value intellectual autonomy any less. The theme of emphasizing the emotional experience of the child while parents provide emotional support and affection is highlighted in this conservative Protestantism. The traditional inclination toward highlighting obedience and control is still present, but it is balanced by parental support and teaching children to think for themselves. This suggests a shift in parenting from authoritarian to authoritative.

Overall, it appears that religious beliefs and values are better indicators of parenting style than religious practices themselves (Ellison and Sherkat 1993; Wilcox 1998). While parents who are religious are more likely to support an authoritarian parenting style (Ellison 1996; Ellison and Sherkat 1993), there is a debate as to whether religion actually promotes the authoritative or authoritarian style. Contemporary research finds that Protestants, both conservative and mainline, actually are better described as employing authoritative parenting. They emphasize demands but are also high on parental warmth and discussion (Ammerman 1997; Wilcox 1998, 2002).

Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth we look at the relationship between parenting style and religion.

Table 1 shows that Protestant mothers and fathers are both more likely to be authoritative than authoritarian. In addition, this pattern closely represents the proportion of the population as a whole for each of the distinctions. In fact, mothers who have no religion are more likely to be authoritarian than mother's with a Protestant orientation, and those who practice non-theistic religions are the most likely to be authoritarian mothers and fathers. Muslims and Mormons have the highest percentage of authoritative mothers and fathers.

Table 1: Percentage of each religious orientation who belong to Baumrind's Parenting Groups

	Catholic	Protestant	Pentecostal	Jewish	Mormon	Other	Muslim	Eastern	None	Atheist	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MOTHER											
Uninvolved	10.1	10.0	11.0	2.7	2.9	13.7	6.8	2.9	9.2	20.8	10.2
Permissive	36.9	35.8	35.5	52.7	38.7	34.8	33.8	44.7	44.2	38.5	36.4
Authoritarian	12.0	11.7	10.7	8.2	10.2	11.6	8.7	15.3	14.4	12.1	11.7
Authoritative	41.0	42.5	42.8	36.4	48.2	39.9	50.7	37.1	32.2	28.7	41.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FATHER											
Uninvolved	11.9	12.4	12.7	3.2	10.1	14.5	1.1	13.8	8.8	15.4	12.2
Permissive	32.2	27.7	26.9	41.7	30.2	32.6	23.9	38.1	39.3	34.1	29.7
Authoritarian	19.2	19.5	20.8	23.5	13.7	18.9	16.0	13.5	18.2	19.5	19.3
Authoritative	36.7	40.4	39.6	31.6	46.0	34.1	59.0	34.6	33.7	31.1	38.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The debate about whether religion is associated with authoritative or authoritarian parenting will likely continue. However, this paper takes a separate line of inquiry. If parenting styles have an impact on adolescent and child outcomes, and religion provides positive benefits for emerging adults, which parenting styles are likely to produce religious involvement as young adults?

Theoretical Predictions

Because authoritative parenting has been correlated with positive outcomes of youth, we postulate that continued religiosity in young adulthood will be another of those positive outcomes. Just as authoritative parental demands coupled with parental warmth leads emerging adults to limit their alcohol intake and delay sexual initiation, so too it will lead to the same emerging adults continuing their religion. Similarly, since research has shown that having parents who are not engaged with their children results in negative outcomes for children and young adults, we predict that children of uninvolved parents will exhibit the lowest religiosity in young adulthood. We begin with the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1:   Adolescents with authoritative parents will exhibit higher religious involvement than adolescents with parents of all other parenting styles.

Hypothesis 2:   Adolescents with uninvolved parents will exhibit the lowest religiosity as young adults compared to adolescents with parents of all other parenting styles.

Hypothesis 3:   Adolescents who experience authoritarian parenting styles and adolescents who experience permissive parenting styles will not differ

from one another as young adults in terms of their religiosity and will fall between authoritative and uninvolved.

Methodology

Data Sample

This study utilizes data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97) from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This panel survey has a nationally representative sample of 8,984 youths who were between the ages of 12 and 16 on December 31, 1996. The first wave of this survey took place in 1997 with annual follow-up surveys thereafter. For this study, we used Rounds 1 (1997) and 9 (2005) of the survey The NLSY97 is appropriate for this study because it measures parenting style for both mothers and fathers as well as asks multiple questions regarding religiosity in addition to the frequency of worship. Furthermore, the longitudinal nature of the survey allows us to see the correlations between parenting style during adolescence and religiosity in young adulthood. In round 9 of the survey, youths were between the ages of 21-25. Our models range from 2,630 and 5,175 cases after listwise deletions. Missing data is randomly distributed in the models.

Independent Variable

The NLSY97 has four measures of Baumrind's parenting styles, as adopted by Moore et al. (1999). These measures exist for both residential mothers and residential fathers and are based on two dimensions of parenting similar to Baumrind (1977): demandingness (strictness vs permissiveness) and responsiveness (warmth and support). The youth respondents reported their parents' responsiveness in 1997 with the question, "When you think about how [your parent] acts toward you, in general, would you say that they are very supportive, somewhat supportive or not very supportive?" Responses of not very or somewhat supportive were recoded 0 and considered nonresponsive, while responses of very supportive were recoded 1 and considered responsive. Youth reported parental level of demand using the question, "In general, would you say that [your parent] is permissive or strict about making sure you did what you were supposed to do?" Responses of strict were recoded as 1 and were considered demanding, while responses of permissive were recoded as 0 and considered non-demanding. These two dichotomous variables were combined to create a four-fold typology of parenting style: uninvolved (permissive and not supportive), permissive (permissive and supportive), authoritarian (strict and not supportive), and authoritative (strict and supportive). This typology is shown in Table 2.[1]

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[1] Interested readers can see Moore et al. (1999) for more information about this variable and its validity.

Table 2: Construction of Independent Variable

	RESPONSIVENESS		
	"When you think about how s/he acts toward you, in general would you say that s/he is:		
DEMANDINGNESS	Not Very Supportive	Somewhat supportive	Very supportive
"In general, would you say that s/he is permissive or strict about making sure you did what you were supposed to do?	NOT SUPPORTIVE		SUPPORTIVE
STRICT	Authoritarian		Authoritative
PERMISSIVE	Uninvolved		Permissive

Dependent Variables

Our research question asks what types of parenting are conducive to religiosity in young adulthood when many individuals are making life-long decisions about faith. Our dependent variables include the following.

Frequency individuals attend worship. This involves the 2005 survey question "in the past 12 months, how often have you attended a worship service like a church or synagogue service or a service at a mosque?" This variable is ordinal with responses as follows: (1) never, (2) once or twice, (3) less than once a month, (4) about once a month, (5) about twice a month, (6) about once a week, (7) several times a week, or (8) every day.

Religious match. This variable measures whether the youth respondent's 2005 religion matches their parents' religion in 1997. In essence this measures whether parents were able to transmit their religious beliefs to their children successfully. We create this variable using parents' religion in 1997 and youths' religion in 2005. The variable is dichotomous; religions match=1 or religions do not match=0.

View on religion and good values. This 2005 variable measures whether a youth respondent believes that religion is necessary to have good values. This is derived from the question, "I do not need religion to have good values" (true=1; false=0).

Asking God for help with decisions. This variable measures whether respondents ask God for help with decisions. It is measured the question "I often ask God to help me make decisions" (true=1; false=0).

Believe that God has nothing to do with what happens. This measures the level to which individuals feel that a higher power is in control of their destiny. The measure reads as follows: "God has nothing to do with what happens to me personally" (true=1; false=0).

Frequency of prayer. This variable is measured by the statement "I pray more than once a day" (true=1; false=0).

Control Variables. Control variables for this project include the age of youth in 1997 (continuous); whether the youth resided with two biological parents in 1997 (yes =1; no=0); the race of the youth (white, Black, Hispanic, or other race); and the gender of the youth (male=1; female=0); the education of the respondent youth in 2005 (less than high school, high school, some college, bachelor's degree or advanced degree); the household income of the respondent youth in 2005; whether the respondent youth is employed in 2005 (yes=1; no=0); whether the youth is married in 2005 (yes=1; no=0); whether the youth has children in 2005 (yes=1; no=0).

Additionally, we controlled for the parents' religious preference and religious beliefs. First, we controlled for the religious preference of the parental respondent (in most cases the mother). The NLSY97 codes religious preference into 33 categories. This was too many for our purposes and so we recoded the religious preference variable into ten variables as follows: (1) Catholic; (2) Pentecostal; (3) Mormon; (4) Other Protestant (includes Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopal, United Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ, Reformed, Wesleyan, nondenominational Christian and Other protestant); (5) Jewish (includes Orthodox, conservative, Reform and other Jewish); (6) Muslim; (7) Eastern Religion (includes Other Eastern, Hindu, Buddhist Baha'i, Sikh); (8) Atheist; (9) no Religion (includes agnostic and personal philosophy none); and (10) Other (includes Native Tribal religions, Greek, Roman, Norse mythology, Satanism, Wicca, Jehovah's Witness, Scientology, and other religions.). These were turned into ten dummy variables. Finally, we controlled for the parents' view of the religiosity dependent variable in 1997.

Models and Methods of Estimation

To test these hypotheses, multivariate regressions are conducted. For frequency of worship (an ordinal level variable), we employed linear regression with ordinary least squares estimators. All other dependent variables are dichotomous and thus we employed logistic regression with maximum likelihood estimators. We utilized the custom weights derived from the NLSY97 database to account for complex sampling and survey attrition, and used robust standard errors. Models were run separately for each of the dependent variables for both mother and father's parental style.

Results

Descriptives

Descriptive analysis show children who perceive their mother as authoritative report higher percentages of having the same religion as their parents in young adulthood, are more likely to ask God for help with decisions, are more likely to pray more than once a day, and have a higher average frequency of worship. At the same time, children who perceive their mother as authoritative are less likely to say they do not need religion for good values or to believe that

God has nothing to do with what happens to them. The results for mothers perceived as uninvolved, permissive, and authoritarian, do not follow any distinct pattern.

The results for fathers are similar. Young adults who perceive their fathers as authoritative are more likely to have the same religion as their parents in young adulthood, are more likely to ask God for help with decisions, are more likely to pray more than once per day, and have a higher average frequency of worship. They are also less likely to believe that they do not need religion for good values, or that God has nothing to do with what happens to them. Also similar to the results for mother parenting style, other styles yield mixed results on the other dependent variables.

Logistic Regressions for Residential Mothers

The descriptive percentage data begin to tell the story of parental style and adult religiosity. However, we also conducted more sophisticated statistical manipulation to test our hypotheses. The following logistic regressions were conducted using maximum likelihood estimators and controlling for all the variables mentioned in the methodology section.

Table 3: Estimates of Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Models of Religiosity Variables by Mother's Parental Type, Using Maximum Likelihood Estimators

	Respondent's 2004 Religion matches parents religion	Youth believes they do NOT need religion for good values	Youth Asks God for Help with Decisions	Youth feels God has NOTHING to do with what happens to them	Youth Prays more than once per day
Parenting Style[a]					
Uninvolved (0,1)	.833*	1.237	.970	1.345	.980
Permissive (0,1)	.843*	1.026	.897	1.053	1.037
Authoritarian (0,1)	.653***	1.168	.715*	1.289	.935
Child age 1997 (12-17)	1.01	1.0394	.996	1.00	1.057
Lives with both bio (0,1)	1.19*	.791**	1.10	.869	1.172
Religion[b] (0,1)					
Catholic	3.746**	.500	1.602	.417	2.663
Other Protestant	4.928***	.391*	1.973	.324*	3.538*
Pentecostal	.931	.318*	2.724*	.239**	3.526*
Jewish	2.534	.874	.581	1.65	1.216
Mormon	5.001**	.353	11.485***	.032**	12.894***
Other Religion	1.603	.864	.738	.992	1.681
Muslim	3.69*	.218*	2.192	.471	5.499*
Eastern Religion	1.147	8.235	.318	.2629	.717
Atheist	.244	.791	.622	.790	1.250
Race[c] (0,1)					
Black	1.96***	.361***	5.560***	..3777***	2.907***
Hispanic	1.178	.722**	1.716***	1.176	1.346**
Other	1.074	.711	1.821	1.111	2.445*
Male (0,1)	.853*	1.33***	.544***	1.369**	.613***
Youth Education	1.105**	1.058	.979	.929	.952
Income in 2005	1.010	..999	1.01	.999	.999
Employed in 2005 (0,1)	1.001	.847	1.173	.773*	.972
Youth has children (0,1)	1.192	.792*	1.623***	.940	1.093
Marital Status in 2005[d]					
Married	1.287*	.591***	1.415**	.624**	1.582***
Sep, divorced or widowed	1.236	.772	2.13*	1.17	1.389
Dependent Control (0,1)					
Matched in 1997	5.672***				
Parent don't need God		1.675***			
Parent asks God for help			2.468***		
God has nothing to do				1.475***	
Parent prays >1 per day					1.996***
N	5175	3838	3902	3622	3854

Notes
Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth-1997 and 2005 waves
Reference categories: (a) authoritative parenting style (b) no religion (c) White (d) never married
*** $p<.001$ **$p<.01$ *$p<.05$ (two-tailed test)

Table 3 portrays the resulting odds ratios of five logistic regression models. Where there is a relationship, authoritative parenting on the part of mothers is found to produce young adults who are more religious than all other parenting styles. Children of uninvolved mothers are 17% less likely to maintain their parents' religion, children of permissive parents are 16% less likely to maintain their parents' religion, and children of authoritarian parents are 35% less likely to maintain their parents' religion compared to children of authoritative mothers. Children of authoritarian parents are also 29% less likely to ask God for help with decisions as adults compared to authoritarian parents.

When it comes to maintaining a parent's religion as an adult, several control variables are also significant. Catholics, Mormons, Other Protestants, and Muslims are more likely to maintain their parents' religion compared to those with no religion. Black respondents are more likely than white respondents to maintain their parents, religion. Males are less likely than females to maintain their parents' religion. The more education a respondent possesses, the more likely they are to maintain their parents' religion. Married respondents are more likely than the never married to maintain their parents' religion. Finally, and not surprisingly, those who had the same religion as their parents as an adolescent are much more likely to maintain their parents' religion as an adult compared to those who did not have the same religion as their mother as an adolescent.

The second variable estimates whether the youth believe they do NOT need religion for good values. Parental style of the mother during adolescence is not associated with whether the respondent feels they do not need religion for good values. Those who lived with both biological parents as an adolescent are 21% less likely to feel they do not need religion for good values. Other Protestants, Pentecostals, and Muslims are less likely to believe they do not need religion for good values compared to those with no religion. Black and Hispanic respondents are less likely to believe they do not need religion for good values compared to white respondents, and male respondents are more likely to believe they do not need religion for good values compared to female respondents.

The second regression estimates whether the respondent believes that they do NOT need religion for good values. Those who lived with both biological parents as an adolescent are less likely to believe this than respondents who did not reside with both biological parents. Furthermore, those who are Pentecostal, Protestant, or Muslim are less likely to believe this than those who have no religion. Black and Hispanic respondents are both less likely to believe this than white respondents, and females are less likely than males to feel this way. Those who have children and those who are married are less likely than those who are unmarried and do not have children. The third regression predicts whether the youth asks God for help with decisions. Pentecostal and Mormon respondents are far more likely than those with no religion to do so. Black and Hispanic respondents are more likely than those who are white to ask God for help with decisions. Males are less likely than females, and those who are married or have

children are more likely than those without children or those who are never married, respectively.

The fourth regression estimates those that feel God has nothing to do with what happens to them. Protestants and Pentecostals and Mormons are all less likely than those with no religion to feel this way. Black respondents are less likely than whites to feel that way, and those who are married and those with children are less likely to feel this way than never married and those without children. The final regression predicts whether the respondent prays more than once a day. Protestants, Pentecostals, Mormons, and Muslims are all more likely than those with no religion to pray more than once a day. Whites are less likely than all other racial groups to pray more than once a day. Those who are married are more likely than those who have never married to pray more than once a day, and males are less likely than females to pray more than once a day.

Logistic Regressions for Residential Fathers

Table 4 displays the results of logistic regressions estimating various dependent variables on the parenting experienced as adolescents. Like mothers' parenting style, when relationships exist, authoritative parenting is found to produce more religiosity than other parenting styles. Uninvolved and authoritarian fathers have children who are less likely to maintain their religion compared to authoritative fathers. Children of authoritarian fathers are less likely than children of authoritative fathers to ask God for help with decisions. Children of permissive or authoritarian fathers are more likely than those with authoritative fathers to feel that God has nothing to do with what happens them. Lastly, authoritarian fathers are less likely than authoritative fathers to have children who pray more than once a day as an adult.

Table 4: Estimates of Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Models of Religiosity Variables by Father's Parental Type, Using Maximum Likelihood Estimators

	Respondent's 2004 Religion matches parents religion	Youth believes they do NOT need religion for good values	Youth Asks God for Help with Decisions	Youth feels God has NOTHING to do with what happens to them	Youth Prays more than once per day
Parenting Style[a]					
Uninvolved (0,1)	.632**	1.216	1.02	1.27	.798
Permissive (0,1)	.944	1.113	.9307	1.303*	.974
Authoritarian (0,1)	.749**	1.202	.677**	1.504**	.756*
Child age 1997 (12-17)	.941	1.045	1.019	.996	1.066
Lives with both bio (0,1)	1.262*	.754**	1.099	.770*	1.238*
Religion[b] (0,1)					
Catholic	4.22**	.583	1.24	.258**	2.155
Other Protestant	5.70***	.486	1.369	.208**	2.79
Pentecostal	1.149	.441	1.73	.141***	2.973
Jewish	2.867*	.931	.479	.803	1.077
Mormon	4.589**	.394	10.27**	.0285**	10.289**
Other Religion	1.76	1.11	.5415	.759	1.259
Muslim	4.623*	.211*	1.962	.310	5.669*
Eastern Religion	1.22	.1.00	.1557	2.97	.851
Atheist	.237	1.202	.609	.576	.8756
Race[c] (0,1)					
Black	2.018***	.375***	4.820***	.378***	2.865***
Hispanic	1.11	.678**	1.55**	1.328*	1.212
Other	.904	.733	1.659	.982	1.432
Male (0,1)	.8156*	1.305**	.550***	1.514***	.632***
Youth Education	1.11*	1.03	.947	.965	.946
Income in 2005	1.01	.999	1.00	.999	.999
Employed in 2005 (0,1)	1.09	.867	1.157	.804	1.103
Youth has children (0,1)	1.201	.768*	1.522**	.914	1.142
Marital Status in 2005[d]					
Married	1.249	.562***	1.33*	.629**	1.474**
Sep, divorced or widowed	.899	.905	2.096*	.838	1.33
Dependent Control (0,1)					
Matched in 1997	5.894***				
Parent don't need God		1.76***			
Parent asks God for help			2.575***		
God has nothing to do				1.311*	
Parent prays >1 per day					2.134***
N	3868	2907	2947	2721	2926

Notes
Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth-1997 and 2005 waves
Reference categories: (a) authoritative parenting style (b) no religion (c) White (d) never married
*** p<.001   **p<.01   *p<.05   (two-tailed test)

Linear Regressions

Table 5 shows the results of linear regressions with ordinary least squares estimators. In addition to increasing the likelihood that a child maintains the parent's religion, it also increases the frequency of church attendance. Children of mothers perceived as authoritative have higher church attendance than both children of permissive and authoritarian mothers. Children of fathers perceived as authoritative have higher church attendance than children of both uninvolved and authoritarian fathers.

Table 5: Estimates of Unstandardized Coefficients and Standard Errors from Linear Regression Model of Worship Attendance by Mother and Father Parental Type, Using Ordinary Least Squares Estimators

	Mother's parenting style	Father's parenting style
Parenting Style[a]		
Uninvolved (0,1)	-.0726 (.099)	-.373 (.105)***
Permissive (0,1)	-.143 (.060)*	.011 (0.074)
Authoritarian (0,1)	-.0906 (.093)	-.264 (.084)**
Child age 1997 (12-17)	-.053 (.019)**	-.049 (.022)*
Lives with both bio (0,1)	.165 (.059)**	.117 (.072)
Religion[b] (0,1)		
Catholic	.124 (.293)	.048 (.282)
Other Protestant	.463 (.291)	.3511 (.289)
Pentecostal	.506 (.320)	.459 (.332)
Jewish	-.157 (.355)	-.279 (.359)
Mormon	1.515 (.378)***	1.383 (.384)***
Other Religion	.182 (.299)	.131 (.300)
Muslim	1.108 (.510)*	1.062 (.542)*
Eastern Religion	-.172 (.467)	-.193 (.531)
Atheist	.189 (.360)	..185 (.384)
Race[c] (0,1)		
Black	.563 (.075)***	.516 .(092)***
Hispanic	.175 (.076)**	.178 (.089)*
Other	.117 (.298)	.421 (.337)
Male (0,1)	-.156 (.055)**	-.159 (.063)*
Youth Education	.178 (.028)***	.164 (.032)***
Income in 2005	-.0007 (.00049)	-.00008 (.00004)
Employed in 2005 (0,1)	.034 (.065)	.077 (.075)
Youth has children (0,1)	-.028 (.069)	-.044 (.081)
Marital Status in 2005[d]		.
Married	. 723 (.080)***	.681 (.090)***
Sep, divorced or widowed	.528 (.180)**	.438 (.221)*
Frequency Parent goes to church	.267 (.015)***	.288 (.017)***
	5157	

Notes
Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth-1997 and 2005 waves
Reference categories: (a) authoritative parenting style (b) no religion (c) White (d) never married
*** p<.001   **p<.01   *p<.05   (two-tailed test)

Discussion

Our three hypotheses receive mixed results. The first prediction was that children of authoritative parents would exhibit more religiosity as young adults than children of all other parenting styles. We found support for this prediction. Authoritative mothers have children who attend church more frequently than children of authoritarian and permissive mothers (though there is no difference between attendance of authoritative and uninvolved). Children of authoritative fathers attend religious services more frequently than children of authoritarian and uninvolved fathers (though there is no difference between permissive fathers and authoritative fathers). We find children of authoritative fathers are more likely than uninvolved and authoritarian to maintain their parents' religion, more likely than authoritarian to ask God for help with decisions, less likely than permissive or authoritarian to believe God has nothing to do with what happens to them, and less likely than children of authoritarian to pray more than once per day. Children of authoritative mothers are more likely than uninvolved, permissive, and authoritarian to maintain their parents' religion and more likely than authoritarian to ask God for help with decisions.

While it is not universal, it does appear that authoritative parenting is associated with more religiosity in adulthood compared to other styles of parenting. However, it does not hold for all the measures. For mothers' parenting style it is limited to maintaining religion and frequency of attendance of religious services. Also, it appears more salient for fathers' parenting style than it does for mothers' parenting style, with results extending into asking God for help with decisions, into believing that God has nothing to do with what happens, and into frequency of prayer.

The other two predictions are less clear. The second prediction was that children of uninvolved parents would exhibit the lowest religiosity as adults compared to those with parents of all other parenting styles. This is not supported, as the results are not significant. In hindsight, these findings are not all that surprising. As mentioned previously, adolescents with uninvolved parents may ask God for help more frequently because their parents were not there to help them. This reasoning also applies to frequency of prayers. Since they receive little support from their parents, they learned to become more dependent on God for assistance, leading to more prayer and asking God for assistance. As for the differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles, it may be that different aspects of religiosity are influenced more by different parental figures (for example, fathers perhaps having more of a role in discipline, which then makes their children feel more likely in face of high demand and low warmth to believe that God has nothing to do with what happens to them). Though, the results hold for both mothers and fathers for most variables, the strength of these relationships varies between

the parenting genders, which makes the discussion of different parenting roles a compelling one. This will be analyzed and investigated in future research.

Prediction three contained the most inconsistency. The prediction was that adolescents who experience authoritarian parenting styles and adolescents who experience permissive parenting styles would not differ from one another as adults in terms of their religiosity. For the most part this is not supported. Appendix A shows the results of all the regressions using authoritarian as the reference category. When it comes to maintaining parents' religion, permissive mothers are more likely than authoritarian mothers to have children who maintain their religion. Authoritarian is the least likely of all the types of mothers to maintain their parent's religion as adults. Children of permissive fathers are more likely than authoritarian fathers to maintain their parent's religion, to ask God for help with decision, and to pray more than once per day. They also attend religious services more than authoritarian fathers.

Certain control variables also are salient. Not surprisingly, the respondents' religious orientation plays a role. Those of Eastern Religions, Muslims, and Mormons have the highest continued religiosity in young adulthood. Also playing a fundamental role in future religiosity is the dependent control for the parents' religious practices. The role modeling which parents provide seems to trump the parenting style (though not completely mitigating it).

Conclusion

This study dove into the deciding factors of varying parenting styles and how they affected children's religiosity into their adulthood. After looking through numerous studies and what their conclusions were about various topics surrounding this issue, we found that none had focused on this particular variable. These studies looked at the advantages of religiosity for young adults, at parenting styles and their effect on children, and at religion and its relation to parenting techniques. There were a couple of main themes that were produced as a result of these studies, the first being that religious involvement increases the mental, emotional, and obviously spiritual well-being of young adolescents. Children involved in regular church activities showed higher levels of self-esteem and self-worth, and were more satisfied with life. They were also correlated with having lower delinquent behaviors like crime rates, drug and alcohol use, promiscuity, and suicide. The second theme is that across the board, children of authoritative parents had the best outcomes overall as adults. They engaged in more healthy life choices and maintained more stable adult lives. Like those adolescents that were involved in church life, children of authoritative parents were also less likely to be sexually permissive and engage in drug and alcohol use. The third and final theme throughout previous studies was the prominent role of religion on one's parenting style.

After surveying all of these topics and our own conclusions, we found support for our primary hypothesis that children of authoritative parents would exhibit the highest rates of

religiosity later in their adult lives. The shift toward more authoritative parenting in Christian communities and the broader society may in fact stem the tide of emerging adults secularizing that has been lamented by many Christian scholars.

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Appendix A: Coefficients with Authoritarian the Reference Category

	Respondent's 2004 religion matches parents religion	Youth believes they do NOT need religion for good values	Youth Asks God for Help with Decisions	Youth feels God has NOTHING to do with what happens to them	Youth Prays more than once per day
Uninvolved Mothers	1.27	1.05	1.35	1.04	1.04
Permissive Mothers	1.29*	0.87	1.25	.817	1.10
Authoritative Mothers	1.53***	0.85	1.40*	.775	1.06
Uninvolved Fathers	.842	1.01	1.51*	.84	1.05
Permissive Fathers	1.25*	.925	1.37*	.86	1.28*
Authoritative Fathers	1.33*	.831	1.47**	.66**	1.32*

Controls are the same as in main analysis

	Frequency of religious attendance
Uninvolved Mothers*	.017
Permissive Mothers	-.052
Authoritative Mothers	.0906*
Uninvolved Fathers	-.109
Permissive Fathers	.275**
Authoritative Fathers	.264**

Controls are the same as in main analysis