# Family Religious Context and Educational Outcomes in Late Adolescence\*

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper explores how family religious context relates to educational aspirations and achievements in the secondary schooling years and just beyond. We theorize how parent religious affiliation and public religious involvement work through adolescent public religious involvement to shape aspirations as well as how these processes vary by gender. Our outcomes of focus are grades in the final years of secondary school, educational aspirations during secondary school, odds of high school graduation, and odds of enrolling in college a couple of years out of secondary school. Using longitudinal data from the National Study of Youth and Religion, we find that having a more religiously active parent is related to higher grades in high school. Having a Mainline Protestant or Catholic parent raises educational aspirations for boys and the likelihood of college enrollment for boys and girls. And, families in which a parent and the focal child are both religiously active leads to the highest educational aspirations for boys and the highest likelihood of college enrollment for both boys and girls. These findings suggest that above and beyond families' socioeconomic resources, family religious life shapes educational outcomes in a variety of interesting ways.

### Family Religious Context and Educational Outcomes in Late Adolescence

The economic, social, and health benefits that result from higher educational attainment motivate continued efforts to identify factors that facilitate attainment. A great deal of research has focused on how school performance, educational aspirations, high school completion, and college enrollment influence educational accumulation and degree conferment (Campbell 1983; Eccles, Vida, and Barber 2004; Sewell and Hauser 1980; Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf 1980). Indeed, it is important to understand what shapes educational success and aspirations during late adolescence, a time in the life course when decisions about higher education are crucial and a range in trajectories is set in place (Elman and O'Rand 2004). Prior research has mostly focused on the influence of family socioeconomic factors such as parental income, education, and occupational status. These studies demonstrate that greater family resources translate into higher educational aspirations and achievements among youth (Sewell et al. 1980; Teachman 1987); however, as Teachman and Paasch (1998) explain, less than half of the between-family variance in educational outcomes can be explained by standard measures of family socioeconomic status. This suggests that a more robust understanding of how educational aspirations and achievements are shaped requires attention to other family characteristics. In this paper, we examine how religious characteristics of families may influence high school grades, educational aspirations, high school graduation, and college enrollment, also considering the relationships among these variables in explaining religion's influence.

Several prior studies have identified relationships between individual-level religious characteristics, such as religious affiliation, religious service attendance, and the importance of religion, and school success and educational expectations and achievement (Lehrer 2004a). Although evidence is amassing to suggest that educational outcomes vary by religious affiliation and that religiosity is positively related to educational aspirations and achievement, these studies often differ in their measurement of religion, outcomes of focus, and birth cohorts of respondents. Some studies focus exclusively on relationships between religious affiliation or beliefs in childhood (e.g., Beyerlein 2004; Darnell & Sherkat 1997; Glass and Jacobs 2005; Keysar and Kosmin 1995; Lehrer 1999; Sherkat & Darnell 1999), and some studies focus solely on religious involvement (Glanville, Sikkink, & Hernandez 2008; Lehrer 2004b; Loury 2004;

Muller & Ellison 2001; Regnerus 2000). Given the strong relationships between religious affiliation and attendance rates, it is important to examine the relationships of both to educational outcomes controlling for the other.

Studies of religion and education often focus on different outcomes as well. Many examine relationships between religious affiliation or involvement and educational attainment (e.g., Beyerlein 2004; Darnell & Sherkat 1997; Glass & Jacobs 2005; Keysar & Kosmin 1995; Lehrer 1999; 2004b; Loury 2004; Sherkat & Darnell 1999). Others focus more on educational performance in secondary school and aspirations or expectations (e.g., Glanville et al. 2008; Lehrer 2006; Muller & Ellison 2001; Regnerus 2000). Given these educational outcomes are related to each other and later success, it is important to consider for which outcomes religion is most related.

Another variant across studies of religion and education are ages, or birth cohorts of respondents. Many attainment studies use cohorts who have moved well into adulthood, therefore the time at which religion was shaping educational outcomes was years ago, before the expansion of college attendance to include more women and minorities, as well as more conservative and religious youth (Sherkat 2007). More recent data are needed to chart the relationships between religion and education in more recent decades.

In addition, the body of evidence on religion and education has given little attention to religious dynamics between parents and children and how the influence of religion may vary by gender (see Darnell and Sherkat 1997 and Sherkat and Darnell 1999 as exceptions). This paper builds on the growing line of research into religion's relationship to educational outcomes by examining how both parent and youth religious characteristics (including how one interacts with the other) are related to grades, educational aspirations, high school graduation, and college enrollment. Further, we examine how the influence of religious affiliation or public religiosity may vary by gender.

We start this paper by outlining previous findings and common theories for understanding how various dimensions of religion might influence educational aspirations. We focus on key differences in theory based on gender. Our theorizing results in a set of hypotheses that we then test using the National Study of Youth and Religion's longitudinal survey data to explore

whether there may be independent relationships between family religious characteristics reported at one point in time and subsequent youth educational outcomes (including grades and educational aspirations during high school, high school graduation, and college enrollment).

## **Background and Theory**

Family and youth religious characteristics have been shown to be related to a variety of economic and family behaviors in young adulthood (Lehrer 2004a). Religious characteristics of individuals and their families of origin are likely to influence their educational aspirations because religion serves as system of meaning suggesting certain courses of action and religious involvement orders a person's social interactions (Glass and Jacobs 2005; Sherkat and Darnell 1999). Below, we theorize how parental religious affiliation and religious involvement and youths' own public religiosity may relate to educational performance, aspirations, and achievement, how parents' and children's religiosity may interact, and how results might vary for girls and boys.

#### **Parental Affiliation**

The religious affiliation of parents usually signifies some degree of identification with a religious group and its religious beliefs and values. Therefore, we describe how various religious traditions in the U.S. view educational achievement and argue these views will influence how parents encourage or restrict various educational activities and aspirations.

In the United States, during the 1970s and 80s, research on religious affiliation and education focused on Catholic-Protestant differences in educational attainment, but later when convergence seemed apparent there was a shift in focus to showing higher attainment for Jews and lower attainment for Conservative Protestants (either Evangelical or Fundamentalist) (Lehrer 2004a). The finding that Conservative Protestants have lower educational outcomes, than other religious groups, are argued to result from several ideological factors. First, Conservative Protestant parents may feel that the values and messages taught in secular educational contexts are in conflict with tenets of their faith such as biblical inerrancy and children needing to submit to the will of their parents (Sherkat and Darnell 1999). Second, an Conservative Protestant

parent may be more likely to parent in an authoritative manner discouraging critical inquiry and unconventional modes of thinking, perhaps resulting in less investment in child quality, or at least the qualities that are associated with greater human capital achievement over the life course (Darnell and Sherkat 1997). Beyerlein (2004) offers evidence that it is the more Fundamentalist of Conservative Protestants, or those who prefer to remain separate from the secular world rather than engage with it, who acquire fewer years of education. Based on these ideas, those youth who are raised by Conservative Protestant parents (especially Fundamentalists, or those who believe in the inerrancy of the Bible) will aspire to fewer years of education, will be less likely to graduate from high school, and will be less likely to enroll in college. What to theorize about grades achieved in high school is less clear, because although Conservative Protestant parents may place less emphasis on higher education, they may emphasize obedience and discipline in secondary school. Perhaps due to these competing forces, studies have not found significant relationships between religious affiliation and grades (Darnell & Sherkat 1997).

In addition to evidence and theory suggesting that those raised by Conservative Protestants have lower aspirations, it is proposed that those whose parents have no religious affiliation will also tend to have lower aspirations and achievement (Keysar and Kosmin 1995; Glass 1999). This may be because no religious affiliation is highly correlated with low religious activity, and for reasons we elaborate below, low religious involvement may translate to lower youth aspirations and achievement. Therefore, we expect that those youth who have a parent with no religious affiliation will have lower grades, lower aspirations, be less likely to graduate from high school and less likely to enroll in college than youth whose parents affiliate with a religion.

We expect the relationships between having a Conservative Protestant parent and educational outcomes to vary by gender. Another feature of Conservative Protestant ideology is the predominance of support for a breadwinner-housewife model of family organization. Therefore, these religious groups tend to emphasis that women should focus their activities in the home and raising children and men should focus their energies outside the home earning an income. This ideology may further dampen the investment and emphasis girls raised with a Conservative Protestant parent place on educational activities, aspirations, and achievements

(Glass and Jacobs 2005).

## **Parental Religious Service Attendance**

Another dimension of parental religious life that may influence offspring educational outcomes is religious involvement. Generally, religious involvement is a marker of the degree to which individuals identify with religious messages disseminated by their religious group. Also, the social capital generally available within religious institutions of all types may increase the value parents and youth place on educational performance, aspirations, and achievement (Glanville et al. 2008). Parents who attend religious services usually bring along their children, and in doing so, expose them to the ideas that are present within their religious institution. Controlling for religious affiliation, there are some values promulgated in almost any American religious organization, such as conventionality, civic behavior, and altruism, that can and do promote dedication to educational activities and achievement (Glanville et al. 2008; Muller and Ellison 2001). Further, to the extent that a religious congregation contains adults who have higher levels of education, or value that, the social closure of adults will likely result in higher aspirations of the youth in those congregations (Smith 2003). For these reasons, we hypothesize that, controlling for parent's religious affiliation, parents level of religious service attendance and participation in other religious activities will be positively related to the educational outcomes of their children. Again, although religiosity in general is expected to promote educational aspirations and achievement, we believe this relationship may be stronger for boys for two reasons. First, throughout all mainstream American religious groups there is an undercurrent of support for two-parent families in which women do the majority of housework and childcare (Edgell 2005); This suggests that higher religiosity may also generally encourage women to dampen educational investments, aspirations, and achievement in favor of prioritizing family formation and maintenance. Second, because girls tend to have higher grades and educational aspirations than boys in general, there may be less variance to explain, and there may be less room for gains as a result of parental religious involvement.

### **Youth Religious Involvement**

Many studies of the influence of family religious characteristics on youth outcomes, show that parental religious influence works through the intergenerational religious socialization process. In other words, children often maintain the same religious affiliation as their parents and attend religious services at similar rates (Smith and Denton 2005), thus often (but not always) accepting the religious ideas of their parents. For these reasons, we expect that the religious involvement and activities of youth will operate in a similar manner to those of their parents in relation to educational outcomes. In fact, we hypothesize that the influence of parent religiosity may primarily work through their child's own religiosity. We also expect similar gender differences in the relationships between religiosity and educational outcomes.

## **Interactions between Parent and Youth Religiosity**

Although parent and child religiosity are usually highly correlated (Smith and Denton 2005), when parents and children differ from one another religiously they have been found to have lower quality parent-child relationship quality (Pearce & Axinn 1998) and be at higher risk for delinquent behavior (Pearce & Haynie 2004). Therefore, we argue that the combination of high religious involvement from both parent and child may especially promote higher grades, higher aspirations, high school graduation, and college enrollment. Again this interaction may be dampened by the extent to which girls are less encouraged towards educational success in religious settings or if they are expected to conform and achieve at a higher level than boys regardless of religious influences.

## **Summary of Hypotheses**

Based on the ideas outlined above, we generally expect to find those with a Conservative Protestant parent to have lower educational aspirations, be less likely to graduate from high school, and to be less likely to enroll in college than those with other affiliated parents. We expect those raised by a parent with no religious affiliation to have lower grades, lower aspirations, and to be less likely to graduate from high school or enroll in college than those with a parent affiliated with any religion. We are unable to test for any differences between those raised with a Jewish parent and others given the small percent Jewish in our sample. Further, we

expect that the negative influence of having a Conservative Protestant parent will be especially pronounced for daughters.

When it comes to parental religious involvement, we expect that higher involvement will be positively related to grades, aspirations, and achievement. We expect that youth religiosity will similarly be positively related to educational outcomes, and often explain the influence of parental religious involvement. We also expect parent and child religious involvement to interact with one another, so that the combination of both a parent and child that are highly religious will lead to the most positive educational outcomes. We expect all these relationships to be less strong for girls than for boys.

### **Data and Method**

For our analyses, we use the two waves of survey data available from the National Study of Youth and Religion (NSYR). This longitudinal telephone survey began as a telephone survey of one adolescent and one parent in 3,290 English and/or Spanish speaking households nationwide. The sample, obtained through a random-digit dial (RDD) method, was designed to represent all U.S. households with at least one teenager between the ages of 13 and 17. This baseline survey was conducted, with the teen respondents and one of their parents, between July 2002 and April 2003 by researchers at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. An additional oversample of 80 Jewish households was included, but we delete these cases for the purposes of our analyses, because even with their inclusion, Jewish youth make up too small a subgroup to allow for reliable comparisons. The second wave of the NSYR longitudinal telephone survey is a re-survey of the Wave 1 teen respondents only.

Like Wave 1, the Wave 2 survey was conducted by telephone using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The survey was conducted from June 2005 through November 2005 when the respondents were between the ages of 16 and 21. Every effort was made to contact and survey all original NSYR respondents, including those out of the country and in the military. Of the original respondents, 2,604 participated in the second wave of the survey resulting in an overall retention rate of 78.6 percent. The predominant source of attrition in the second wave was non-located respondents. The Wave 2 cooperation rate was 89.9 percent.

The refusal rate for Wave 2, calculated as the number of eligible respondents (N = 3,312) that refused to take part in the survey, was 4.0 percent. The overall combined response rate for waves 1 and 2 of the NSYR telephone survey is 44.8 percent, a standard rate for telephone surveys. Diagnostic analyses comparing NSYR data with U.S. Census data on comparable households and with comparable adolescent surveys---such as Monitoring the Future, the National Household Education Survey, and the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health---confirm that the NSYR provides a nationally representative sample without identifiable sampling and nonresponse biases of U.S. teenagers ages 13-17 and their parents living in households (for details, see Smith and Denton 2003).

For the purposes of our analyses, we further limit the NSYR sample to subsamples that fit the purpose of each model we estimate. Details for how we restrict the sample for each analysis and the resulting *N*s are provided in Table 1.

## [Table 1 about here]

We use a survey weight in all analyses to adjust for the probability of inclusion in the study at wave 1 and the extent to which census region and income is related to attrition between waves 1 and 2. We also use the subgroup survey command in Stata to adjust the application of weights to the subgroups we analyze in our multivariate models.

## **Dependent Variables**

In this paper we focus on four different educational outcomes: grades, educational aspirations, high school graduation, and college enrollment. For grades we use a survey measure that asked all respondents currently enrolled in school, "What kind of grades do you usually get in school?" Respondents were asked to indicate whether they received: all As, mostly As, As and Bs, mostly Bs, Bs and Cs, mostly Cs, Cs and Ds, mostly Ds, Ds and Fs, mostly Fs, or mixed grades. These response categories were coded to match a 0-4.0 scale from "Fs" to "As." The mean and standard variation of this and all other dependent variables are shown in Table 2.

The second dependent variable for this study is an ordinal variable indicating the youth's educational aspiration. This variable was obtained by asking survey respondents "How much education would you like to get?" This variable is coded as: Less than high school (1), high

school graduate (2), technical or vocational school (3), some college or associate's degree (4), college graduate (5), and post graduate studies (6). Slightly over half of the study sample aspired to complete their bachelor's degree, whereas less than 1% did not desire to finish high school. See Table 1 for descriptive statistics of all variables of interest.

Third, we analyze the odds of graduating from high school by 2005, for those who are eligible to have completed school by that time. In this case, the dependent variable is a dummy variable coded "1" if a respondent reports having received a high school diploma and "0" if not.

Last, we examine the odds of having enrolled in college by 2005 for the same subsample of respondents who were eligible to have graduated from high school by the time of that survey. This is also a bivariate measure where "1" = having ever enrolled in college and "0" = never enrolling.

## **Independent Variables**

Parent's religious affiliation was created by the parent's report of the "religious tradition," denomination, or church" with which they identified most closely. For some of the more general forms of religious faith (for example, Baptist or Methodist), respondents were asked to classify their congregation more specifically. Using these responses, parent's affiliation was then categorized into seven indicator variables: Conservative Protestant, Mainline Protestant, Catholic, other religious affiliation, and not religious. In our models, being Conservative Protestant is the reference category. In analyses not shown here, we divided Conservative Protestants into "Fundamentalist" and "Evangelical" Protestant categories, based on selfidentification with these groups. However, there were no statistically significant differences in the effects of having a parent in either group compared to the other as found by Beyerlein (2004). We therefore leave the Conservative Protestant group together, and although its coding matches that for the group Steensland et al. (2000) label "Evangelical Protestant," we change the wording to avoid confusion with Beyerlein's (2004) and others' more exact definition of Evangelical Protestants. We also define the categorization of "Mainline Protestant" based on Steensland et al.'s (2000) approach, but we take the "African American Protestant" group from that coding scheme and divide them into "Conservative" and "Mainline" Protestant based on similar criteria

used to divide Whites into these groups. We do this because the correlation between being Black and affiliating with an African American denomination causes multicollinearity issues. For the distribution of these categories in our data, as well as descriptive statistics for all other independent variables, please see Table 2.

# [Table 2 about here]

We also incorporate the responding parent's religious involvement into our models using an index comprised of two measures: religious service attendance and involvement in other religious activities. The attendance variable indicates how often the responding parent had attended religious services in the previous 12 months. The categories were: never (0), a few times a year (1), many times a year (2), once a month (3), two to three times a month (4), once a week (5), and more than once a week (6). The parent religious activities variable indicates how many times the responding parent had attended non-worship related activities at his or her religious institution. The categories were: never (0), a few times a year (1), once a month (2), two to three times a month (3), once a week (4), two times a week (5), and three or more times a week (6). These two measures of parent religious involvement were correlated, with an alpha of 0.81. We created a scale based upon the average of these two variables.

We then examined youth's "public" religious practices. This was a scale of several responses to questions about the teen's religious activities which were considered "public". We define public religious involvement as religious action that takes place in a social context. This scale was comprised of whether the respondent had: 1) attended a religious music concert, 2) publicly spoken about his or her faith in religious service or meeting, 3) participated in a religious music group or choir, 4) taught a religious education class, 5) been a part of a religious group that meets at school, 6) been a part of a prayer or study group, or 7) shared his or her religious faith with someone not of his or her faith within the last year. The measure also included whether the respondent had ever participated in a religious rite of passage, and how often in the past year the teen had attended religious services, a religious youth group, and/or a religious education class. These components correlated well, with a Cronbach's Alpha of .75. We used principle components analysis to create a scale for these variables. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy for these variables was 0.91, indicating that a principle

components analysis was warranted.

#### **Controls**

Demographic information such as youth's age, gender, race/ethnicity, family socioeconomic status, and family structure are included as controls in our models. Family socioeconomic status is controlled for through measures of the highest level of education any parent in the household achieved, as well as household income. Family structure was measured by a dichotomous indicator of whether the youth lived with his or her married (biological or adoptive) parents in 2002. Parent respondents were asked whether their income fell within a range, such as ten thousand to twenty thousand dollars per year. This information was then roughly grouped into categories of less than 150% of the poverty line, 150 to 250% of the poverty line, 250% to four times the poverty line, and over four times the poverty line. We also included a variable for missing income values. The lowest income category was the reference category.

# **Analytic Strategy**

For both our analyses of grades achieved in 2005 and educational aspirations in 2005, interval level measures that approximate continuous variables, we use ordinary least squares regression. Our regression coefficients may be interpreted as the change in our dependent variable, given a one unit increase in our independent variable. For our analyses of grades, this corresponds to a change in grade point average (for example, a coefficient of 0.5 would suggest an increase of half a point to one's grade point average for every one unit increase in X). In both our analyses of grades and educational aspirations in 2005, we include a control variable for the same measure in 2002. Thus, our dependent variables are lagged, allowing us to establish baseline grades and aspirations levels and observe the impact of religiosity in maintaining or improving upon these baselines.

In our analysis of high school graduation and college enrollment we use logistic regression, because both outcomes are bivariate. We show coefficients from these regression

<sup>1</sup> Given that we only had income given in \$10,000 categories, we came as close to these figures as possible. The exact groupings were as follows: 0 dollars to 155% of poverty line, 155% to 258% of poverty line, 258% to 413% of

models that represent the increase or decrease in the log odds of graduating from high school or attending college for each one unit increase for the independent variable. We convert some coefficients to odds ratios for further discussion in the text.

In all models, we will first test the relationship between parent's affiliation and each outcome controlling for all demographic variables. Next, we assess the relationship between parental religious involvement and the outcomes, followed by checking for a relationship between youth's own religious involvement and the outcome, and whether that relationship explains parental influence. Next we examine whether there is an interaction between parent and youth religious involvement. The results of these tests are only presented in models where the interaction was found to be significant. Finally, where there are significant relationships between religion and educational outcomes, we assess the extent to which prior occurring educational outcomes help explain religion's influence (e.g., whether higher grades are a mechanism for religion's influence on college enrollment). We have run all models separate by gender and tested any apparent gender differences with gender interactions. Where there were statistically significant differences in the influence of religion variables, we show models separately for males and females.

### Results

We have hypothesized that parent affiliation, parent religious involvement, and youth religious involvement are related to youth educational outcomes. Furthermore, we have suggested that these processes may work differently for girls and boys. Below we discuss our results in order of the outcomes we examined

## Grades

Our analyses of grades revealed no gender differences in the way any of our predictors relate to grades, so we present full models of these dynamics, controlling for gender. In the first model of Table 3, we examine whether the religious affiliation of a parent has any relationship to a youth's usual grades in school. Here we find no statistically significant differences, and this is consistent with previous research (Darnell & Sherkat 1997). It does not appear that achieving

high grades is any more or less emphasized or supported in families of different religious groups.

[Table 3 about here]

We also did not find any effect of parent or teen religious involvement on youth's grades. In analyses not shown here, we tested an interaction between parent and youth religious involvement and it was not statistically significant. Thus, surprisingly, we find little evidence for a direct effect of religiosity or family religious participation on grades, controlling for prior performance. In analyses not shown here, we did find associations between parent and teen religious involvement and youth's grades in 2002. However, it is unclear in which direction this relationship operates. It may be that doing well in school and other conforming behavior makes it easier and more desirable and families to be involved in religious institutions. These issues are not completely solved by using lagged dependent variables and two waves of data, but we do limit ourselves to a more conservative test of these relationships.

### **Educational Aspirations**

Our models of educational aspirations revealed multiple gender differences in the influence of religion, so we present all models separate by gender in Table 4. In both versions of Model 1, we examine the influence of parent religious affiliation. We find that for boys, having a parent who is a Conservative Protestant lowers educational aspirations compared to having a Mainline Protestant or Catholic parent. Having a Conservative Protestant parent leads to educational aspirations similar to those of boys whose parent affiliates with another religion or no religion at all. In analyses not shown here, we found that those boys with a parent who is Mainline Protestant or Catholic have significantly higher aspirations than all other boys. We estimate that boys with Mainline Protestant parents hold educational aspirations that are a quarter unit higher than boys with a Conservative Protestant parent. Boys with Catholic parents have an even greater advantage, amounting to a .41 unit increase in aspirations. This is after controlling for family socioeconomic status and demographic characteristics. There is something about being raised in a Mainline Protestant or Catholic context that raises boys' educational aspirations. For girls, there were no differences among the type of religious affiliation of the parent, except that girls whose parents had no religious affiliation had lower aspirations than all other girls.

Next in Models 2 and 3, we checked for relationships between parent and youth religious involvement and educational aspirations. We found that for boys, there seems to be a positive relationship between their own religious involvement and educational aspirations, and as shown in Model 4, this effect is heightened by having a parent who is highly religiously involved. This interaction effect is displayed graphically in Figure 1. This figure demonstrates that among teens with religiously involved parents, teen religious participation is related to higher educational aspirations. Among teens whose parents are not religiously involved, however, religious participation among teens is unrelated to educational aspirations. In this figure, parents are classified as being highly involved in religious activities if they scored above the mean level of religious participation for the sample.

In Model 5, we include our measure of high school grades to see whether religion's influence on grades helps explain religion's influence on educational aspirations. The inclusion of this variable leads to no significant changes in the coefficients for religion's influence on educational aspirations, suggesting the processes are relatively independent.

We found no relationships between parent or teen religious involvement and educational aspirations for girls. Girls' aspirations are higher than boys, and therefore have less variance. It may be that societal messages and structure so strongly encourage high aspirations among girls, that there is not much room for religion to have an influence.

## **High School Graduation**

For our analysis of high school graduation, we also found some gender differences, so Table 5 shows models separate by gender, and where we report differences, we have run separate models using gender interaction terms to confirm evidence that these are statistically significant gender differences. In Model 1 for boys, you can see that those who have a parent with no religious affiliation are less likely to graduate from high school than those with a Conservative Protestant parent. Other models reveal that having a parent with no religious affiliation is related to lower odds of high school graduation than being a son of a parent with any religious affiliation. There is something about being raised in the presence of any religious affiliation that raises the odds of high school graduation for boys. For girls there were no relationships between

parent affiliation and high school graduation.

### [Table 5 about here]

In the subsequent models of Table 5, we find no statistically significant relationships between either parent or youth religious involvement and high school graduation.

### **College Enrollment**

In our analyses of college enrollment, we found no statistically significant differences in the relationships between religion and the outcome by gender. Therefore, we present combined models of the relationship between religion and college enrollment in Table 6.

## [Table 6 about here]

When it comes to parent affiliation and college enrollment, the results mirror those for boys' educational aspirations. Girls and boys who have a Mainline Protestant or Catholic parents have higher aspirations than those with a Conservative Protestant parent. The coefficients in Table 6 indicate that youths with Mainline Protestant parents experience a 0.78 increase in their log odds of attending college, as compared to those with Conservative Protestants. This is equivalent to an odds ratio of 2.18, suggesting that youths with Mainline Protestant parents are more than two times as likely to enroll in college as youths whose parents are Conservative Protestants. Catholics also enjoy an advantage over Conservative Protestants; these youth are about 1.7 times as likely to enroll in college as the comparison group.

Although there is no statistically significant direct relationship between either parent or teen religious involvement and college enrollment, an interaction between the two is significant. This multiplicative relationship is demonstrated in Figure 2. Teen religious participation appears to increase the probability of attending college at high levels of parent religious participation. Among teens whose parents are less involved in religious activities, however, religious participation does not provide an additional advantage. In this figure, parents are classified as being highly involved in religious activities if they scored above the mean level of religious participation for the sample.

### [Figure 2 about here]

In Model 5 of Table 6, we include the measures of grades and educational aspirations. Other

analyses not shown here reveal that it is the inclusion of educational aspirations that leads to a reduction in the difference between those with a Mainline Protestant or Catholic Parent and those with a Conservative Protestant parent. Also educational aspirations help to explain the interaction between teen and parent religious involvement. This coefficient loses statistical significance in this model, suggesting that the extent to which jointly religious parent-child dyads lead to higher odds of college enrollment for the youth may be explained via the higher aspirations that these youth develop in high school.

#### **Discussion & Conclusions**

Our findings reveal fewer associations between religion and educational outcomes than prior research would suggest or than we predicted, but interesting differences in the domains of religion that have influence, and thought-provoking gender differences in some of the relationships emerge.

Parent religious affiliation appears to have no relationship to grades in high school, but boys with a parent that has a religious affiliation is more likely to graduate from high school than boys whose parent/s have no religious affiliation. At least for high school graduation, some kind of family religious affiliation is protective for boys. When it comes to educational aspirations and college enrollment, boys with a parent who is Mainline Protestant or Catholic fair better in both outcomes, and girls with a parent who is Mainline Protestant or Catholic are more likely to enroll in college than those with a Conservative Protestant parent. These results suggest that girls aspirations are so high that parental religious affiliation does not have much of an impact in high school, but that when it comes to actually enrolling in high school, girls (and boys) with parents who are Conservative Protestant are less likely to achieve this goal.

Regardless of parental religious affiliation, parent and teen religious involvement have interesting relationships with some educational outcomes. There is an interactive relationship between parent and teen religious involvement when it comes to boys' educational aspirations and boys' and girls' college enrollment. When parent and child are both high on religious involvement, the most positive educational outcome occurs. When a parent is highly involved and a child is not, the lowest outcome occurs, probably reflecting high parent-child conflict over

a child not being as religiously active as the parent.

In the case of the parent and teen religious involvement interaction and college enrollment, it seems the positive influence of religion works through religion's influence on educational aspirations. Therefore, one way that religiosity appears to encourage college enrollment and possibly future attainment is by encouraging high school students to set high goals.

Our results suggest a complex relationship between multiple dimensions of religion, multiple family members' religiosity, and different types of educational outcomes. It seems that religion does play a role, independent of standard socioeconomic indicators, in the educational outcomes of youth. That results were not entirely consistent across models and some varied from the findings of other studies calls for continued investigation. Previously theorized and demonstrated relationships between religion and education may be changing over time as college enrollments increase, including a more diverse set of college students. It is important that we continue to investigate the role religious ideas and practices play in shaping school performance, aspirations, and achievement in youth. Youth, their parents, adults that work with youth, and society in general would benefit from understanding the barriers and facilitators of educational success present in the culture and structure of America's religious institutions.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for All Independent Variables Used in Analyses (National Study of Youth and Religion, 2002: N=3290)

Variable	Range	Mean	Std Dev
Parent Religious Affiliation			
Conservative Protestant	0 to 1	0.46	0.50
Mainline Protestant	0 to 1	0.15	0.36
Catholic	0 to 1	0.25	0.43
No Religion	0 to 1	0.06	0.24
Other Religion	0 to 1	0.07	0.25
Parent Public Religious Practice	0 to 6	2.57	1.87
Youth Public Religious Practice	-2.6 to 5.2	0.01	2.07
Youth Age			
13 yrs old	0 to 1	0.19	0.39
14 yrs old	0 to 1	0.20	0.40
15 yrs old	0 to 1	0.21	0.41
16 yrs old	0 to 1	0.20	0.40
17 yrs old	0 to 1	0.20	0.40
Female	0 to 1	0.49	0.50
Race/Ethnicity of Youth			
White	0 to 1	0.65	0.48
African American	0 to 1	0.18	0.38
Latino	0 to 1	0.12	0.32
Other	0 to 1	0.05	0.22
Highest Parent Education			
Less than high school	0 to 1	0.25	0.43
Graduated from high school	0 to 1	0.25	0.43
Some college	0 to 1	0.12	0.33
Four year college degree	0 to 1	0.19	0.39
Postgraduate degree	0 to 1	0.18	0.39
Two Parent Bio/Adoptive Family	0 to 1	0.51	0.50
Household Income			
Below 150% of the poverty line	0 to 1	0.23	0.42
150-250% of the poverty line	0 to 1	0.27	0.44
250-400% of the poverty line	0 to 1	0.25	0.43
Above 400% of the poverty line	0 to 1	0.20	0.40
Missing data	0 to 1	0.06	0.24
Grades	0 to 4	3.10	0.69
Educational Aspirations	1 to 6	4.94	0.95

Table 2. Sample Restrictions and Descriptive Statistics for Each Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	Sample Restriction	Range	Mean	Std Dev
Grades (2005)	Respondents who were still in secondary school as of 2005 survey (N=1486)	0 to 4	3.07	0.72
Educational Aspirations (2005)	Respondents who were still in secondary school as of 2005 survey (N=1474)	1 to 6	4.99	1.00
High School Graduation (2005)	Respondents who were in 10 <sup>th</sup> or 11 <sup>th</sup> grade or not in school and age 15 or above at Wave 1 (N=963)	0 to 1	0.90	0.29
College Enrollment (2005)	Respondents who were in 10 <sup>th</sup> or 11 <sup>th</sup> grade or not in school and age 15 or above at Wave 1 (N=962)	0 to 1	0.75	0.43

Table 3. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Coefficients from Models Estimating Relationships between Religion and High School Grades (National Study of Youth and Religion, 2002 & 2005)

between Kengion and Trigit Belloof Grades (	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Parent Religious Affiliation (2002) <sup>a</sup>			
Mainline Protestant	-0.024	-0.012	-0.026
	(-0.52)	(-0.25)	(-0.55)
Catholic	0.047	0.057	0.060
	(1.09)	(1.32)	(1.36)
No Religion	-0.016	0.027	0.021
	(-0.24)	(0.37)	(0.28)
Other Religion	-0.057	-0.048	-0.043
	(-0.86)	(-0.73)	(-0.64)
Parent Public Religious Practice (2002)		0.014 (1.43)	0.014 (1.26)
Youth Public Religious Practice (2002)			0.0032 (0.33)
Youth Age (2002) <sup>b</sup>			
14 yrs old	0.0059	0.0035	-0.0059
	(0.15)	(0.09)	(-0.14)
15 yrs old	0.12***	0.11***	0.089**
	(2.86)	(2.72)	(2.16)
16 yrs old	0.078	0.075	0.061
	(1.35)	(1.30)	(1.04)
Female	0.18***	0.18***	0.19***
	(5.59)	(5.61)	(5.74)
Race/Ethnicity of Youth <sup>c</sup>			
African American	-0.046	-0.057	-0.062
	(-0.97)	(-1.19)	(-1.27)
Latino	-0.092	-0.095*	-0.083
	(-1.60)	(-1.65)	(-1.43)
Other race/ethnicity	-0.025	-0.028	-0.031
	(-0.34)	(-0.37)	(-0.42)
Highest Parent Education (2002) <sup>d</sup>			
Less than high school	-0.052	-0.049	-0.047
	(-1.08)	(-1.03)	(-0.98)
Some college	-0.00011	-0.0013	0.025
	(-0.00)	(-0.02)	(0.46)
Four year college	0.12**	0.12**	0.13***
	(2.56)	(2.41)	(2.64)
	25		

Postgraduate education	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***
	(2.74)	(2.61)	(2.61)
Household Income (2002) <sup>e</sup>			
150-250% of the poverty line	0.0057	0.0059	0.0030
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.06)
250-400% of the poverty line	0.054	0.056	0.053
	(1.03)	(1.08)	(1.01)
Above 400% of the poverty line	0.10*	0.11*	0.10*
	(1.68)	(1.76)	(1.65)
Missing data	-0.052	-0.050	-0.065
	(-0.65)	(-0.61)	(-0.79)
Two Parent Bio/Adoptive Family	0.077**	0.069**	0.070**
	(2.23)	(1.98)	(2.00)
Grades (2002)	0.48***	0.48***	0.47***
	(18.96)	(18.90)	(18.44)
Intercept	1.33***	1.29***	1.31***
	(14.31)	(13.60)	(13.29)
N	1486	1486	1446
$adj. R^2$	0.30	0.30	0.30
<ul> <li>a Reference category is "Conservative Protestant"</li> <li>b Reference category is "13 years old"</li> <li>c Reference category is "White"</li> <li>d Reference category is "High school degree"</li> <li>e Reference category is "Less than 150% of poverty line"</li> <li>t-ratios in parentheses (one-tailed tests); *p&lt;.05, **p&lt;.01, **</li> </ul>	** <i>p</i> <.001		

Table 3. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Coefficients from Models Estimating Relationships between Religion and Educational Aspirations (National Study of Youth and Religion, 2002 & 2005)

,			Males					Females		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Parent Religious Affiliation (2002) <sup>a</sup> Mainline Protestant	0.25**	0.26**	0.29***	0.29***	0.30***	0.087	0.096	0.094	0.097	0.12 (1.43)
Catholic	0.41*** (4.08)	0.42*** (4.14)	0.50*** (4.78)	0.51*** (4.94)	0.52*** (4.97)	0.045 (0.56)	0.052 (0.65)	0.060 (0.72)	0.073 (0.87)	0.10 (1.23)
No Religion	0.38** (2.52)	0.43**	0.52***	0.47***	0.49*** (2.86)	-0.26* (-1.89)	-0.23 (-1.55)	-0.23 (-1.55)	-0.25* (-1.71)	-0.19 (-1.33)
Other Religion	0.085 (0.56)	0.099 (0.64)	0.19 (1.21)	0.19 (1.20)	0.14 (0.88)	0.19 (1.51)	0.19 (1.53)	0.19 (1.52)	0.19 (1.51)	0.21* (1.74)
Parent Public Religious Practice (2002)		0.015 (0.67)	-0.034 (-1.28)	-0.035 (-1.30)	-0.033 (-1.23)		0.0095 (0.53)	0.014 (0.69)	0.0083 (0.40)	0.011 (0.55)
Youth Public Religious Practice (2002)			0.09***	0.039 (1.01)	0.025 (0.65)			-0.0028 (-0.16)	-0.029 (-1.06)	-0.041 (-1.49)
Parent Public Religious Practice* Youth Public Religious Practice				0.018* (1.71)	0.019* (1.82)				0.0099 (1.24)	0.010 (1.29)
Youth Age (2002) <sup>b</sup> 14 yrs old	0.031 (0.32)	0.030 (0.32)	0.034 (0.35)	0.036	0.035 (0.37)	0.12 (1.59)	0.12 (1.56)	0.13*	0.13 (1.62)	0.15*
15 yrs old	0.12 (1.26)	0.12 (1.20)	0.11 (1.08)	0.099 (1.02)	0.11 (1.15)	0.099 (1.32)	0.096 (1.27)	0.096 (1.27)	0.093 (1.23)	0.10 (1.35)
16 yrs old	-0.090 (-0.71)	-0.091 (-0.72)	-0.057 (-0.45)	-0.058 (-0.46)	-0.021 (-0.17)	0.095 (0.78)	0.093 (0.76)	0.094 (0.77)	0.089 (0.73)	0.13 (1.11)
Race/Ethnicity of Youth African American	0.33*** (2.97)	0.32*** (2.84)	0.36***	0.38***	0.43***	-0.0019 (-0.02)	-0.0087	0.0039 (0.04)	0.018 (0.20)	0.055
Latino	-0.027 (-0.21)	-0.025 (-0.19)	-0.0026 (-0.02)	-0.0062 (-0.05)	-0.015 (-0.11)	0.058 (0.53)	0.054 (0.50)	0.070 (0.64)	0.069 (0.63)	0.075
Other race/ethnicity	0.47*** (2.65)	0.47***	0.48***	0.47***	0.53***	0.11 (0.74)	0.10 (0.73)	0.10 (0.71)	0.100 (0.70)	0.096 (0.69)
Highest Parent Education (2002) <sup>d</sup>	,	,		, , , , , ,		,		,	,	

Less than high school	-0.31*** (-2.62)	-0.31*** (-2.60)	-0.27** (-2.33)	-0.27** (-2.30)	-0.30** (-2.54)	-0.11	-0.11 (-1.23)	-0.11 (-1.29)	-0.11	-0.097 (-1.12)
Some college	0.24* (1.89)	0.24* (1.86)	0.29** (2.21)	0.29**	0.24* (1.87)	-0.072 (-0.71)	-0.071 (-0.70)	-0.076	-0.073 (-0.73)	-0.083 (-0.84)
Four year college	0.28** (2.49)	0.27** (2.41)	0.29*** (2.63)	0.28** (2.54)	0.26** (2.37)	0.062 (0.68)	0.058 (0.63)	0.065 (0.70)	0.065 (0.71)	0.038 (0.41)
Postgraduate education	0.46***	0.45***	0.47***	0.45***	0.40***	0.20** (1.99)	0.20* (1.96)	0.20** (1.99)	0.20** (2.00)	0.13 (1.28)
Household Income (2002) <sup>e</sup> 150-250% of the poverty line	0.039 (0.34)	0.037 (0.32)	0.055 (0.48)	0.047	-0.0065	0.17* (1.81)	0.17* (1.83)	0.17* (1.86)	0.17* (1.86)	0.14 (1.59)
250-400% of the poverty line	0.089 (0.73)	0.089 (0.74)	0.12 (0.97)	0.11 (0.94)	0.057 (0.46)	0.097	0.10 (1.02)	0.080 (0.81)	0.072 (0.73)	0.035 (0.36)
Above 400% of the poverty line	0.21 (1.55)	0.21 (1.56)	0.18 (1.31)	0.18 (1.32)	0.089 (0.64)	0.20* (1.76)	0.21* (1.81)	0.20* (1.72)	0.19* (1.68)	0.14 (1.24)
Missing data	0.18 (0.98)	0.18 (0.97)	0.15 (0.81)	0.16 (0.84)	0.057 (0.30)	0.30** (1.97)	0.30** (1.99)	0.26* (1.68)	0.25 (1.60)	0.19 (1.21)
Two Parent Bio/Adoptive Family	0.11 (1.32)	0.095 (1.16)	0.072 (0.88)	0.069 (0.84)	0.033 (0.40)	0.052 (0.79)	0.047 (0.71)	0.057	0.054 (0.82)	0.039 (0.59)
Grades (2002)					0.25*** (4.43)					0.27*** (5.35)
Educational Aspirations (2002)	0.34***	0.34***	0.32*** (7.49)	0.32*** (7.46)	0.29*** (6.82)	0.18*** (4.36)	0.18*** (4.36)	0.16***	0.16***	0.14***
Intercept	2.60*** (10.52)	2.55***	2.77*** (10.57)	2.75*** (10.51)	2.17*** (7.37)	3.98*** (17.36)	3.95*** (16.81)	4.02*** (16.70)	4.00*** (16.62)	3.27*** (11.99)
N adj. R²	737 0.205	737 0.205	714 0.217	714 0.219	699 0.238	737 0.076	737 0.075	723 0.070	$723 \\ 0.071$	715 0.105
<sup>a</sup> Reference category is "Conservative Protestant"										

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Reference category is "Conservative Protestant"

<sup>b</sup> Reference category is "13 years old"

<sup>c</sup> Reference category is "White"

<sup>d</sup> Reference category is "High school degree"

<sup>e</sup> Reference category is "Less than 150% of poverty line" t-ratios in parentheses (one-tailed tests); "p-.05, \*\*p-.01, \*\*\*p-.001

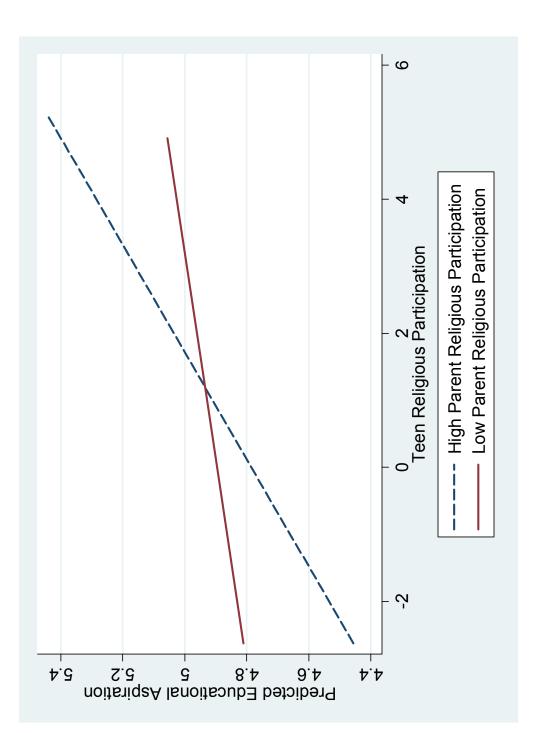


Figure 1: Predicted Educational Aspirations by Parent and Teen Religious Participation, Male Respondents Only

Table 5. Logistic Regression Coefficients from Models Estimating Relationships between Religion and High School Graduation

Males

		Males			Females	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Parent Religious Affiliation (2002) <sup>a</sup> Mainline Protestant	0.36 (0.64)	0.43	0.47 (0.83)	0.053 (0.08)	0.12 (0.20)	0.15 (0.23)
Catholic	0.050 (0.10)	0.14 (0.28)	0.16 (0.33)	0.49 (0.92)	0.56 (1.04)	0.56 (1.04)
No Religion	-1.60*** (-2.91)	-1.32** (-2.14)	-1.18* (-1.85)	0.35 (0.43)	0.59 (0.68)	0.36 (0.41)
Other Religion	-0.43 (-0.58)	-0.46 (-0.62)	-0.41 (-0.55)	1.02 (0.93)	1.03 (0.93)	1
Parent Public Religious Practice (2002)		0.099 (0.96)	0.084 (0.79)		0.097	0.050 (0.39)
Youth Public Religious Practice (2002)			0.053			0.066
Youth Age (2002) <sup>b</sup> 16 yrs old	-0.57 (-1.34)	-0.53 (-1.25)	-0.52 (-1.22)	0.69 (1.57)	0.71 (1.62)	0.79*
17 yrs old	-0.24 (-0.51)	-0.18 (-0.39)	-0.14 (-0.30)	-0.044 (-0.10)	-0.047 (-0.10)	-0.14 (-0.30)
Race/Ethnicity of Youth <sup>c</sup> African American	-0.87** (-2.17)	-0.98** (-2.33)	-1.00** (-2.38)	-0.13 (-0.29)	-0.22 (-0.50)	-0.23 (-0.49)
Latino	-0.30 (-0.51)	-0.35 (-0.59)	-0.37 (-0.63)	0.68 (0.84)	0.56 (0.68)	0.55 (0.66)
Other race/ethnicity	0.59 (0.72)	0.61 (0.73)	0.56 (0.66)	-0.63 (-0.74)	-0.62 (-0.73)	-0.83 (-0.97)
Highest Parent Education (2002)" Less than high school	0.32 (0.80)	0.29 (0.72)	0.29	0.38	0.35 (0.83)	0.26 (0.61)

	(1.54)	(1.47)	(1.41)	(1.22)	(1.18)	(0.92)
Four year college	1.23 ** (2.14)	1.20** (2.09)	1.17** (2.03)	1.08 (1.52)	0.94 (1.28)	0.85 (1.15)
Postgraduate education	2.00** (2.41)	1.96**	1.91**	1.28 (1.54)	1.17	0.93
Household Income (2002) <sup>e</sup> Under 150% of the poverty line	-2.13** (-2.55)	-2.14** (-2.56)	-2.09** (-2.50)	-1.38** (-2.09)	-1.40** (-2.12)	-1.42** (-2.11)
150-250% of the poverty line	-1.57* (-1.92)	-1.61** (-1.97)	-1.60* (-1.95)	-1.81*** (-3.05)	-1.83*** (-3.08)	-1.86** (-3.10)
250- 400% of the poverty line	-0.90 (-1.04)	-0.95 (-1.09)	-0.93 (-1.08)			!
Missing data	-1.07 (-0.99)	-1.11 (-1.02)	-1.15 (-1.06)	-1.78** (-2.27)	-1.81** (-2.30)	-1.87** (-2.35)
Two Parent Bio/Adoptive Family	0.34 (0.93)	0.29 (0.78)	0.28 (0.75)	1.21*** (2.59)	1.16** (2.46)	1.14** (2.40)
Intercept	3.26*** (3.38)	3.02*** (3.03)	3.05*** (3.04)	2.30*** (3.18)	2.14*** (2.87)	2.33*** (3.04)
$\frac{N}{Pseudo~R^2}$	460 0.22	460	455 0.22	503 0.21	503 0.21	453 0.21
<sup>a</sup> Reference category is "Conservative Protestant" <sup>b</sup> Reference category is "13 years old" <sup>c</sup> Reference category is "White" <sup>d</sup> Reference category is "High school degree" <sup>e</sup> Reference category is "Less than 150% of poverty line" <sup>r</sup> Pratios in parentheses (one-tailed tests); *p<.001, ***p<.001	***p<.001					

Table 6. Logistic Regression Coefficients from Models Estimating Relationships between Religion and College Enrollment (National Study of Youth and Religion, 2002 & 2005)

Enrollment (National Study of Youth and Relig	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Parent Religious Affiliation (2002) <sup>a</sup>					
Mainline Protestant	0.78***	0.76***	0.77***	0.76***	0.73**
	(2.84)	(2.76)	(2.78)	(2.73)	(2.44)
Catholic	0.55**	0.54**	0.55**	0.57**	0.63**
	(2.45)	(2.35)	(2.39)	(2.49)	(2.54)
No Religion	0.17	0.12	0.11	0.039	-0.19
	(0.50)	(0.33)	(0.30)	(0.10)	(-0.48)
Other Religion	0.15	0.15	0.30	0.29	0.26
	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.88)	(0.83)	(0.68)
Parent Public Religious Practice (2002)		-0.017 (-0.34)	-0.037 (-0.67)	-0.045 (-0.83)	-0.079 (-1.34)
Youth Public Religious Practice (2002)			0.035 (0.78)	-0.031 (-0.44)	-0.090 (-1.20)
Parent Public Religious Practice* Youth Public Religious Practice				0.026 (1.21)	0.039* (1.67)
Youth Age (2002) <sup>b</sup>	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.093
16 yrs old	(1.01)	(0.99)	(1.03)	(1.00)	(0.44)
17 yrs old	-0.026	-0.030	0.013	0.00062	-0.079
	(-0.12)	(-0.14)	(0.06)	(0.00)	(-0.33)
Female	0.66***	0.65***	0.62***	0.61***	0.47**
	(3.89)	(3.85)	(3.56)	(3.49)	(2.48)
Race/Ethnicity of Youth <sup>c</sup>	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.32	0.62**
African American	(1.20)	(1.24)	(1.23)	(1.34)	(2.43)
Latino	0.33	0.34	0.28	0.28	0.28
	(1.08)	(1.10)	(0.91)	(0.91)	(0.85)
Other race/ethnicity	0.29	0.29	0.25	0.25	0.57
	(0.75)	(0.76)	(0.64)	(0.65)	(1.28)
Highest Parent Education (2002) <sup>d</sup> Less than high school	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.10
	(0.67)	(0.68)	(0.66)	(0.65)	(0.42)
Some college	0.59**	0.60**	0.62**	0.61**	0.25
	(2.03)	(2.05)	(2.11)	(2.08)	(0.78)
Four year college	0.92*** (3.40)	0.93*** (3.42)	0.93*** (3.39)	0.91*** (3.34)	0.62** (2.10)

Postgraduate education	1.35*** (4.25)	1.36*** (4.26)	1.41*** (4.33)	1.38*** (4.24)	1.23*** (3.41)
Household Income (2002) <sup>e</sup>					
150-250% of the poverty line	0.52**	0.53**	0.51**	0.50**	0.61**
1 3	(2.32)	(2.33)	(2.22)	(2.19)	(2.44)
250-400% of the poverty line	0.67***	0.68***	0.68***	0.66**	0.66**
	(2.63)	(2.65)	(2.62)	(2.55)	(2.36)
Above 400% of the poverty line	1.26***	1.26***	1.20***	1.18***	1.31***
	(3.94)	(3.93)	(3.73)	(3.66)	(3.73)
Missing data	0.88**	0.88**	0.82**	0.81**	0.83*
<u> </u>	(2.26)	(2.27)	(2.10)	(2.06)	(1.95)
Two Parent Bio/Adoptive Family	0.37**	0.38**	0.35*	0.35*	0.46**
	(2.08)	(2.11)	(1.93)	(1.90)	(2.29)
Grades (2002)					0.90***
					(6.49)
Intercept	-0.92***	-0.88***	-0.81**	-0.80**	-3.27***
	(-3.09)	(-2.74)	(-2.45)	(-2.44)	(-6.07)
N	962	962	949	949	912
$Pseudo R^2$	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Reference category is "Conservative Protestant"

<sup>b</sup> Reference category is "13 years old"

<sup>c</sup> Reference category is "White"

<sup>d</sup> Reference category is "High school degree"

<sup>e</sup> Reference category is "Less than 150% of poverty line" *t*-ratios in parentheses (one-tailed tests); \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001

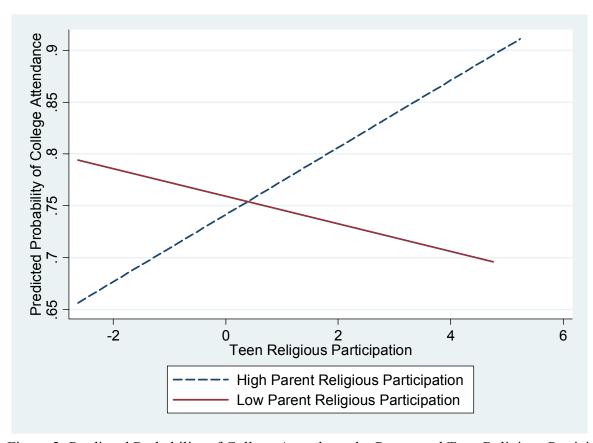


Figure 2: Predicted Probability of College Attendance by Parent and Teen Religious Participation