# Handing Down the Faith: Parents, Religion, and Congregations

Presentation by

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The City University of New York





### Professor Amy Adamczyk

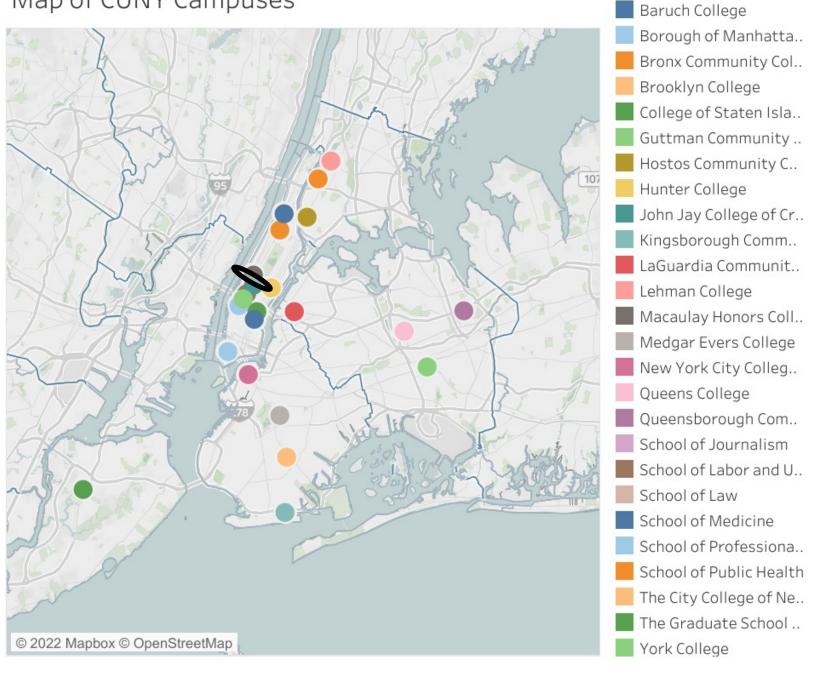
- Trained as a sociologist of religion
- Much of my research" has examined the role of religion in shaping attitudes and behaviors related to "moral" or "deviant" issues
  - Abortion, same-sex relations, underage drinking, drug use, premarital an extramarital sex, prostitution, pornography, etc.
  - Religion has a lot of power to shape these issues, but less power to shape illegal behaviors like murder and rape
  - Much of my research has also focused on young people.
  - www. AmyAdamczyk.com

### What is the City University of New York?

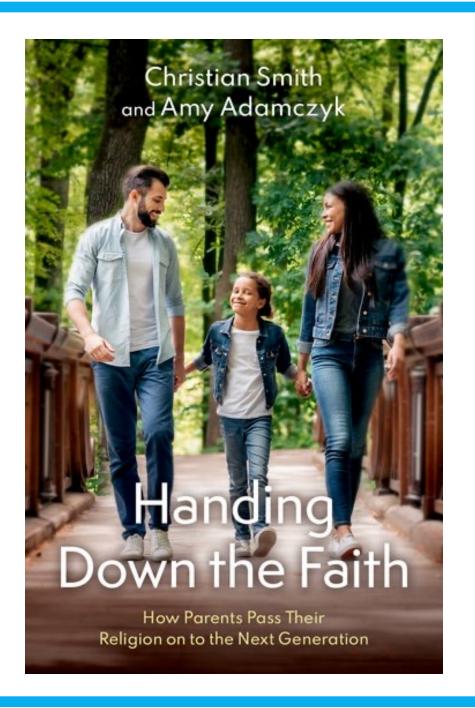
- Largest urban university in the country
- Consists of 25 campuses, including a law school, school of social work, medical school and Ph.D. granting graduate school
- The first college was founded in 1847
- CUNY enrolls 275,000 students
- Public university
- Best deal in town



#### Map of CUNY Campuses



Campus



- The book is available at Amazon and Barnes and Noble.
- If you would like a specific chapter, send me an email and I will email it to you.
- AdamczykAmy@gmail.com
- AmyAdamczyk.com







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# Passing on Faith: Cultural Models of Religious Parenting

#### Introduction

- Chapter 1: Cultural Models of Religious Parenting
- Chapter 2: Parent Religiousness, Parenting Styles, and Intergenerational Religious Transmission
- Chapter 3: Why are Parents the Crucial Players?
- Chapter 4: The Big Picture of American Religious Parenting
- Chapter 5: The New Immigrants and Religious Parenting
- Chapter 6: The Influence of Parent's Experiences Growing Up
- Chapter 7: Parents' Expectations of Religious Congregations
   Conclusion

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- Chapter 6: The Influence of Parent's Experiences Growing Up
- Chapter 7: Parents' Expectations of Religious Congregations

#### Conclusion

### Outline

#### Previous work and data/methods

#### Parental closeness

Two-way communication and strictness

What do parents want to pass on and how?

Congregations and the context of parenting

Why parents rely so much on themselves

How congregations are useful to parents

Conclusion and discussion

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### Previous research

- Smith et. al. (2009; 2011; 2014) have written three books examining developments in religious beliefs as adolescents move into adulthood.
- <u>Several other studies</u> have examined parent/child similarity and difference (Glass et al. 1986; Jennings et al. 2009; Kitamura et al 2009)
- But, <u>relatively little research</u> (but see Bengtson, 2017) on how parents try to transmit religious belief to their children.
  - What do they think they are doing and why?
- Our work extends previous work on young people, as well as the work done on parents.

## **Interviews:** Over 250 mothers and fathers across the United States from different religious traditions

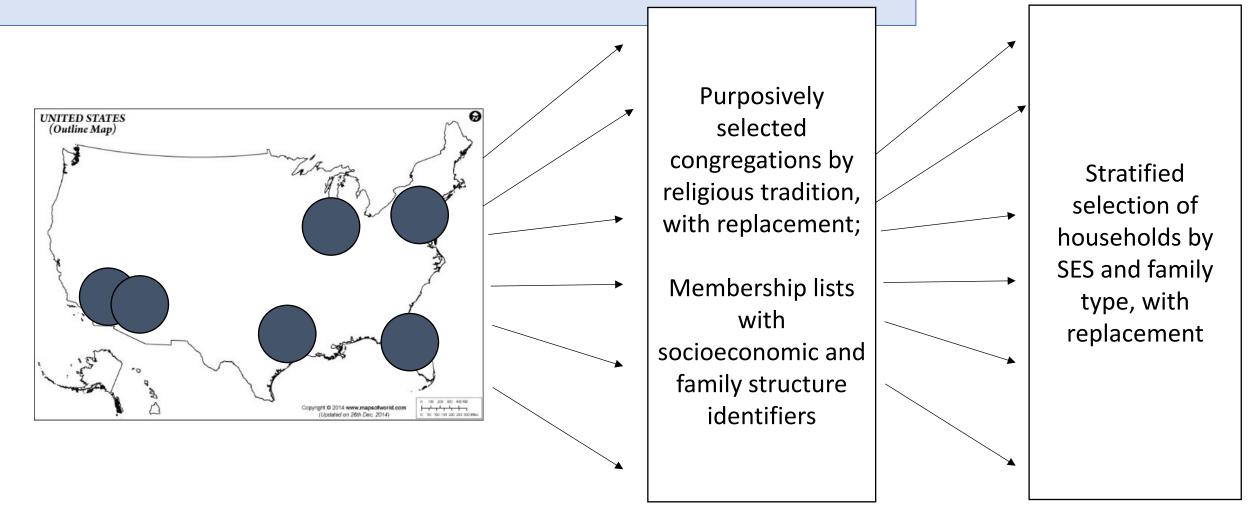


Illustration courtesy of Price (2018)

### Survey data

•Interviews are supplemented with representative survey data from other studies.

They were reanalyzed for this book

### Important takeaway

- Across different religions, many of the findings about how parents transmit religious belief are similar
- Even non-religious parents, function like religious parents in how they thought about value transmission

- There were <u>some differences</u> for the "strict" religions (i.e., conservative and Black Protestants, Mormons, and Muslims).
  - I will note them

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Dominant theme: Parents own experiences growing up

 What are the similarities and differences between adult children and their parents in their childrearing style?

# Parent and adult child associations of relational closeness

	Whi Clos			
Respondent's feelings towards	Very	Close	More	Total
children now	close		distant	
Very close	76	46	39	46
Close	15	39	38	35
More distant	8	15	22	19
	Whi			
	Close			
Respondent's feelings towards	Very	Close	More	Total
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Very close	67	40	36	46
Close	24	41	39	35
More distant	9	19	25	19

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 Adult children who were very close with their mothers or fathers tended to self-report feeling very close to their children now

 This closeness translated into feelings that their parents were a positive model for parenting

 Adult children then wanted to emulate their parents' parenting with their own children.

# Percentage reporting close or distant relationship with **fathers** by likelihood of emulating him

	While growing up: Closeness to <i>father</i>			
	Very dose	Close	More distant	Total
The way I was raised is mostly a <b>positive</b> model of parenting, much of which I try to follow with my own children	55	45	29	35
The way I was raised was a <b>mixed</b> bag; I repeat some aspect and reject others with my own children	36	47	50	47
The way I was raised is mostly a <b>negative</b> example that I reject in favor of better approaches	8	4	15	12
The way I was raised is mostly <b>irrelevant</b> ; I seldom think about the way I was raised	2	3	7	5

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# Percentage reporting close or distant relationship with **mothers** by likelihood of emulating her

	While growing up: Closeness to <i>mother</i>			
	Very close	Close	More distant	Total
The way I was raised is mostly a <b>positive</b> model of parenting, much of which I try to follow with my own children	50	40	24	35
The way I was raised was a <b>mixed</b> bag; I repeat some aspect and reject others with my own children	41	51	49	47
The way I was raised is mostly a <b>negative</b> example that I reject in favor of better approaches	7	6	18	12
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## Interview data showed similar relationships

 Adult children who had close and warm relationships with their parents wanted to transmit similar values, beliefs, and traditions to their children.

"So just growing up in that type of [close] family environment and the structuring with God in our household has led me to believe that I am going to do the same for my family." (mother from Black Protestant church)

# About 50% of interviewees wanted to emulate their parents, but many did not:

- "My parents did not have the knowledge or education to direct me in the right direction to be able to do something that I can absolutely say I love it. It's important to me that we provide our children with more guidance." (mother from Black Protestant Church)
- "I grew up with zero boundaries. Zero. I had no bedtime. Nobody bathed me. Nobody said, "You stink, go take a bath. I just don't know what the hell was happening because we're so attentive [to our children]." (Jewish mother)

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## Nearly all of the parents interviewed

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### Two-way communication and strictness

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## What did adult children reflect on from their own parents?

- 1. Communication style:
  - One-way
  - Two-way

• 2. Strictness and punishment

Implications for religious faith transmission

### Two-way communication

- 25%: As children they enjoyed genuine two-way communication:
  - "My mother was a real scholar of the gospel, so we grew up talking about the gospel all the time. . . hopefully I'm leaving the same impression on my children." [Mormon mother]
- 25% Little communication:
  - "While my religious views have not changed, I have conversations with my kids, as opposed to my parents where [they] just dragged us to the mosque. I want my kids to think more." (Muslim father)
- 50%: Communication with one-way conversations
  - "When I say that my dad never spoke to me as a father [clears throat], he spoke more to me as a pastor. The discussion would be, 'Well that's not what Christians believe, so that's wrong." (Conservative Protestant father)

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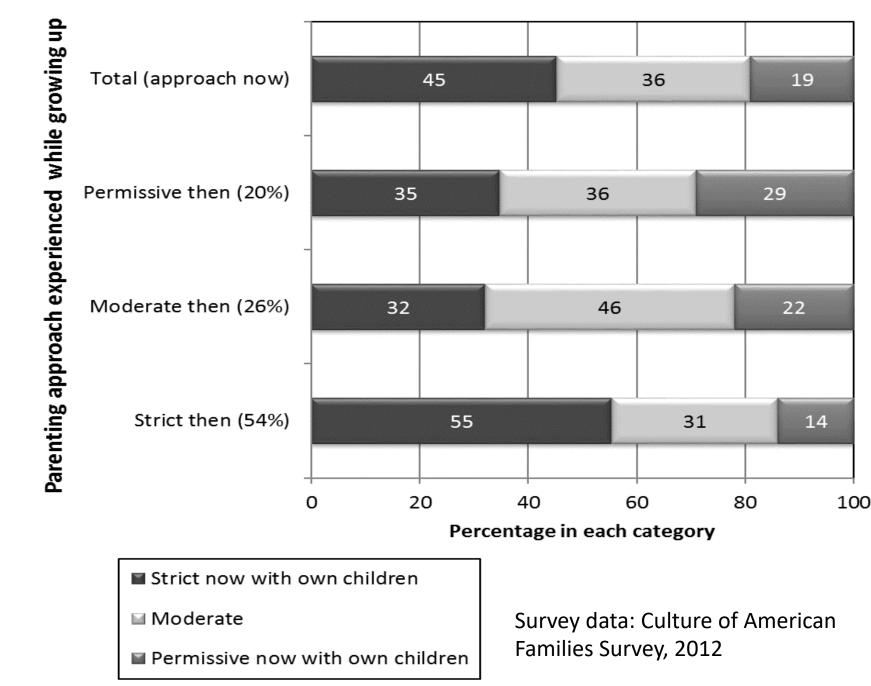
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### Strictness

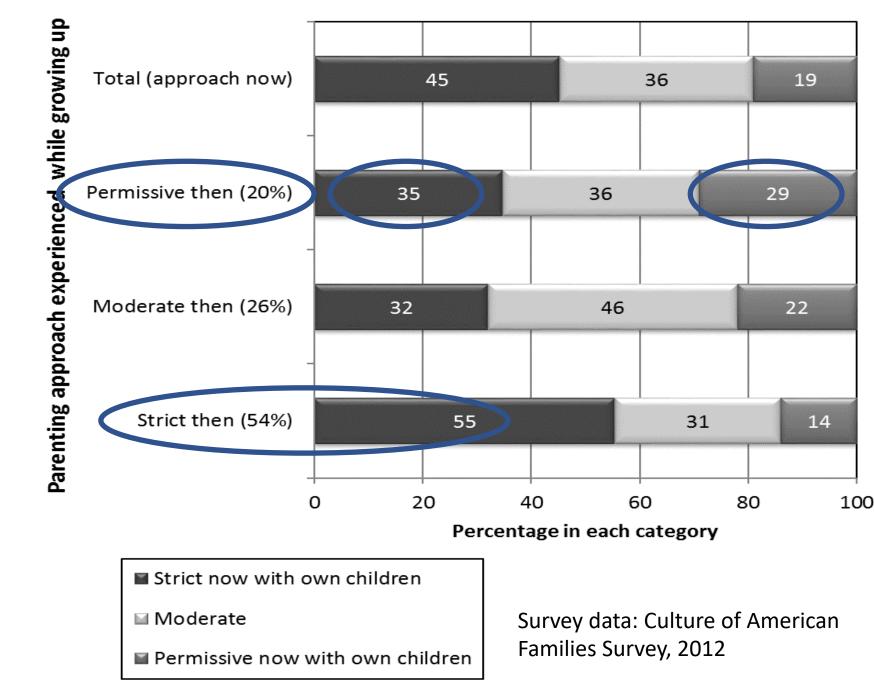
- 65% of parents told us their parents had been strict.
  - Some liked their strict upbringing and wanted to emulate it, while others hated it:
- "I think parents should whoop, not chastise, but whoop a kid! You know people are all, 'are they abusing them?' But certainly, I think that leads them to be a better person." (Black Protestant mother)
- "I was raised with everything so strict, there was no joy in anything. It was all about making sure that it was done correctly, to the strictest letter of the law." She and her partner now try to make things more enjoyable for their three sons. (White Jewish mother)

# How does being raised in a strict environment shape later parenting style?

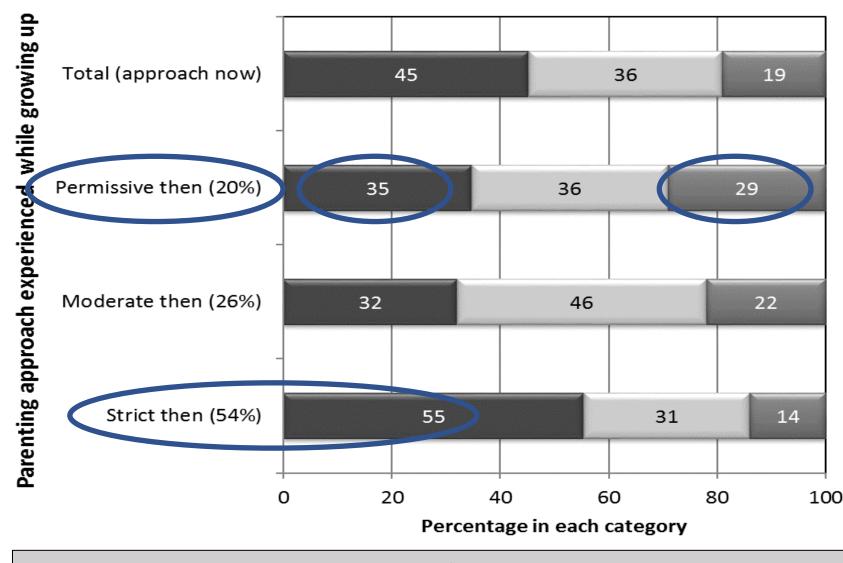
Parenting
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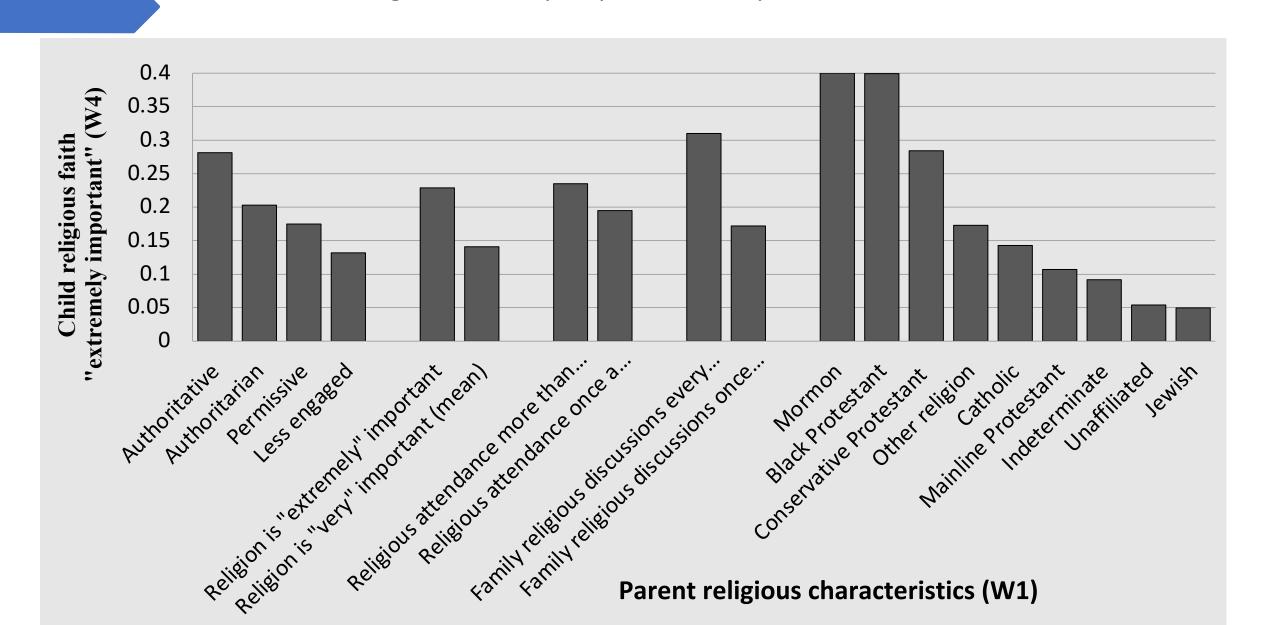


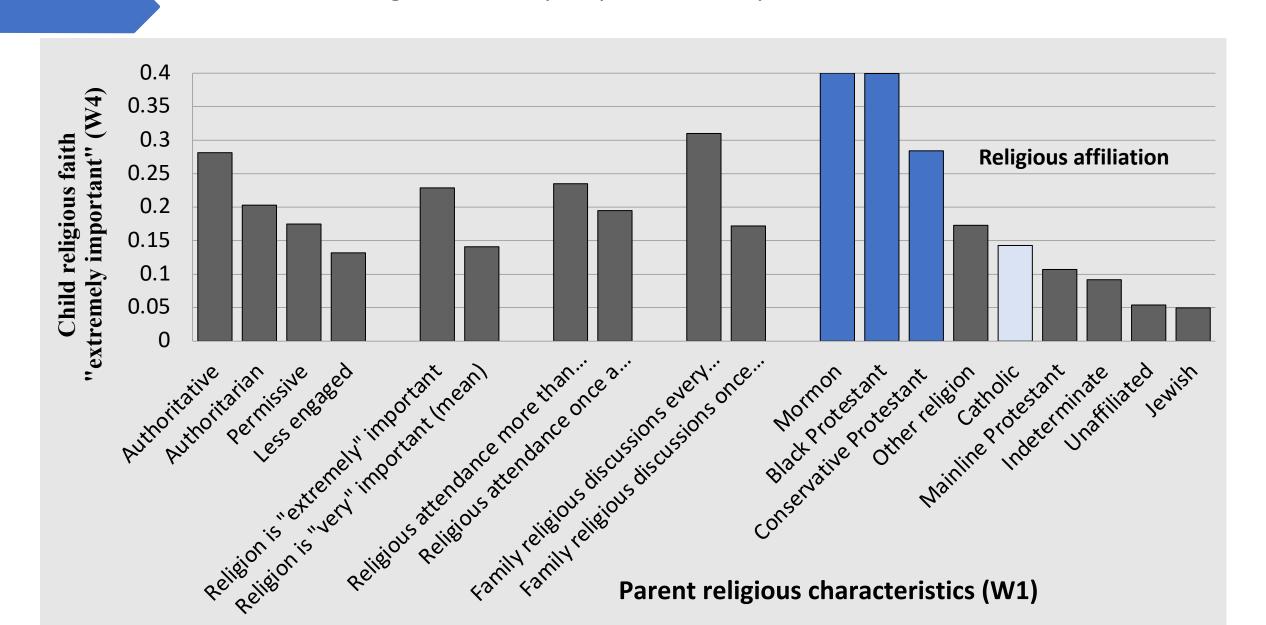
Strict parents are more successful in passing on a <u>strict</u> parenting approach to their adult children than permissive parents

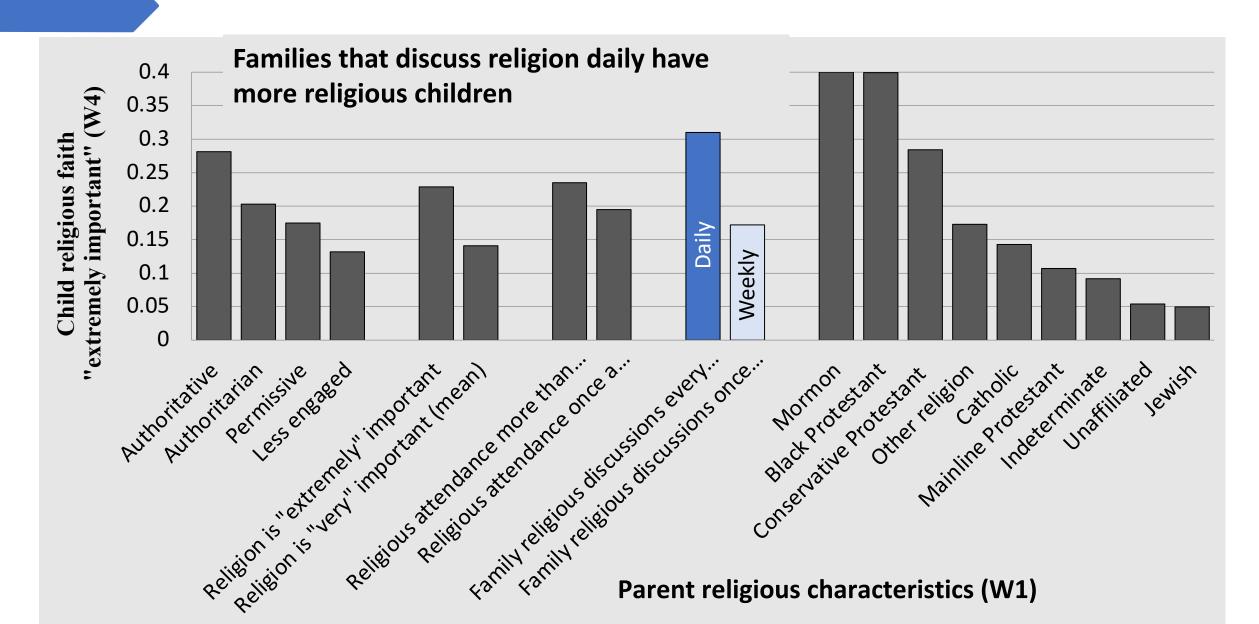
# What are the parent factors related to success in transmitting religious faith 10 years later?

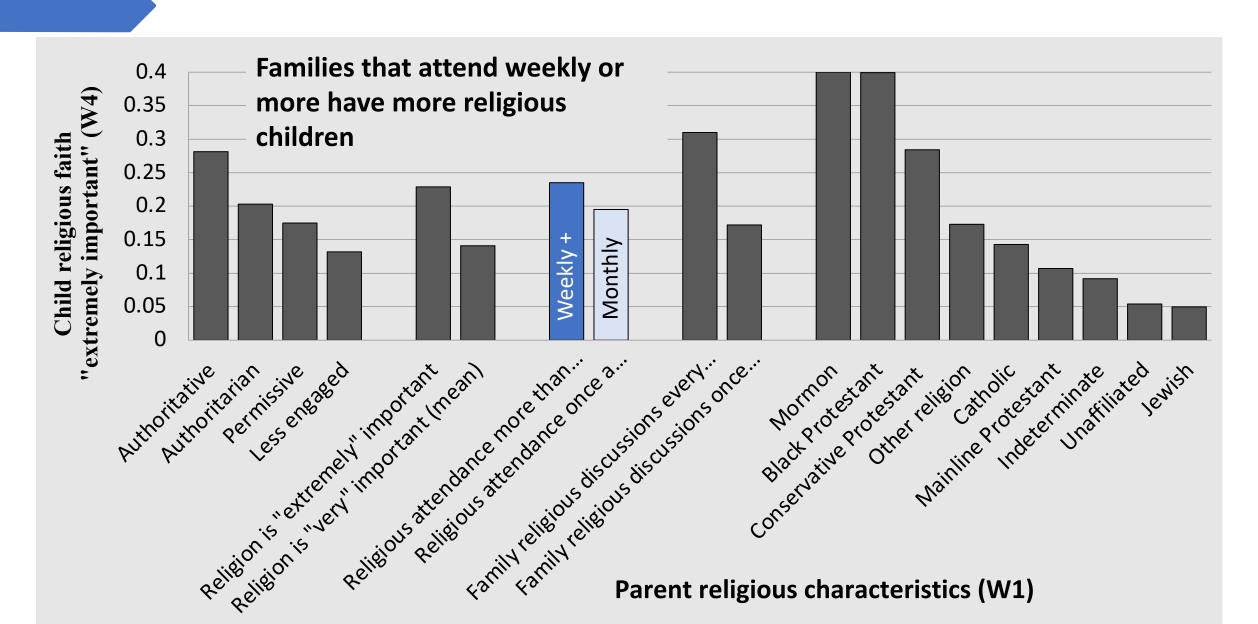
 We used survey data from parents to examine the likelihood that their children (now adults) would feel that religion is "extremely important."

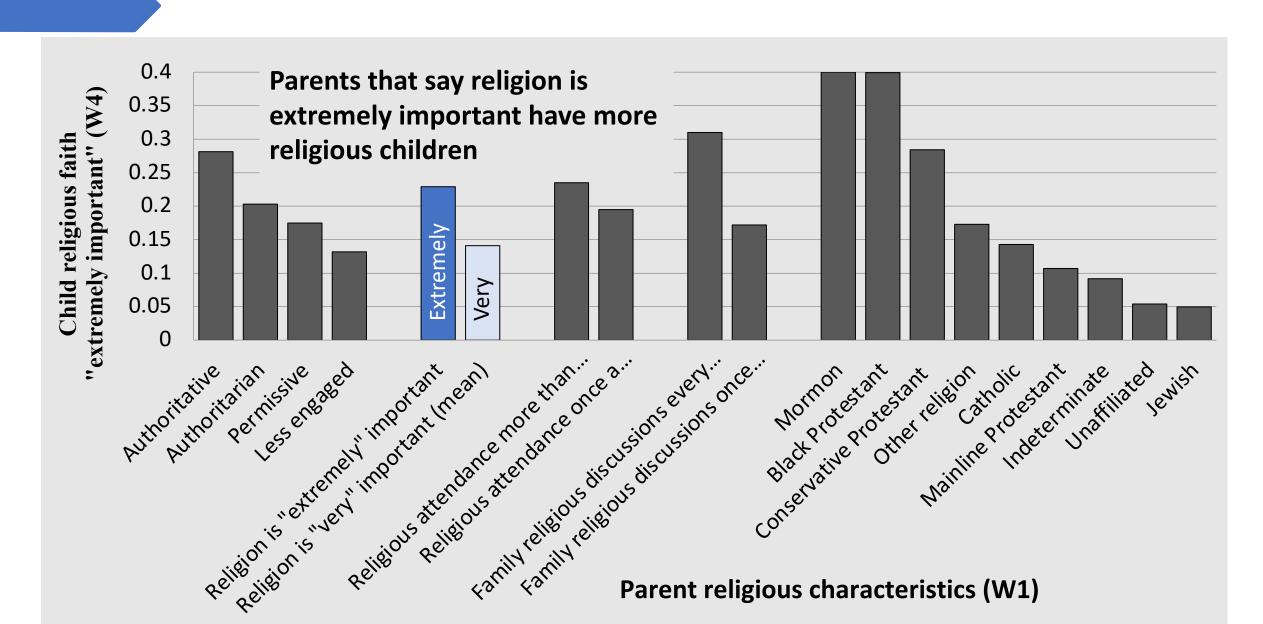
• The following factors all have an independent influence on children's strength of religious belief.

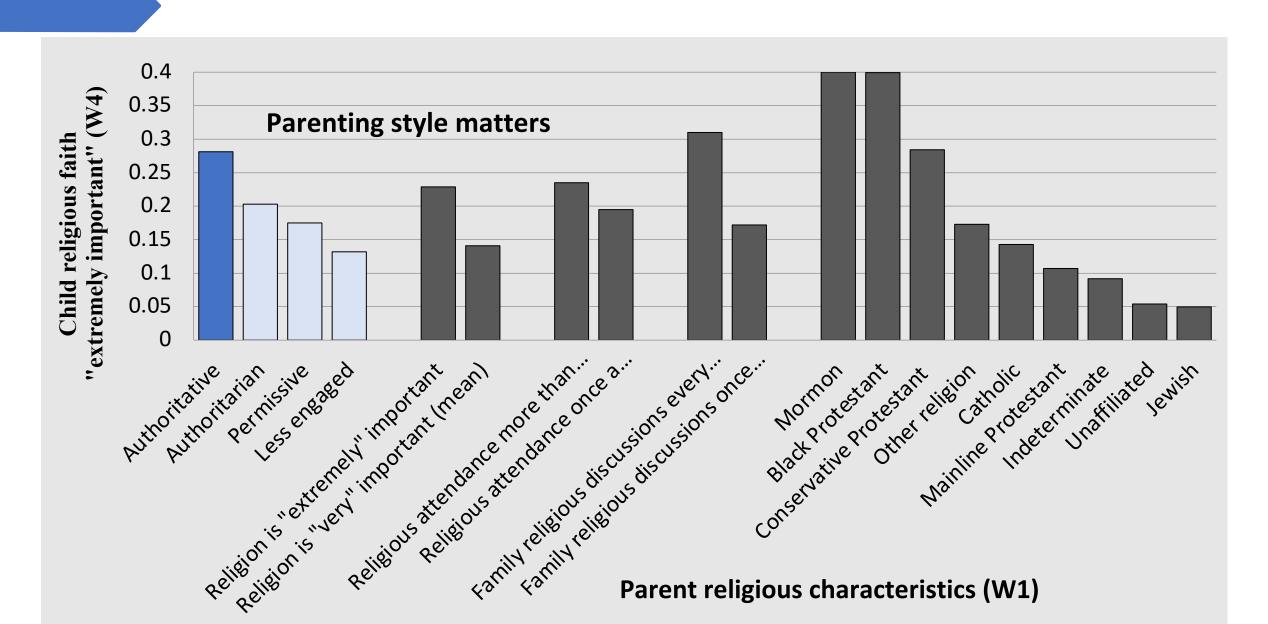












## Parenting styles

- Authoritative: Demanding and strict, but lots of emotional warmth
- 2. Authoritarian: Demanding and strict, but also colder and more distant
- **3. Permissive**: Lots of closeness and empathy, but fewer boundaries and expectations
- **4. Passive**: Not much affection or warmth, or clear expectations or standards. Not much sense of what is happening with their child.

## Most effective parenting style

- Authoritative: (A) Strict parenting with (B) Emotional warmth, support and affection.
  - These children know that their parents care deeply
  - They also know that there are high standards because they love them.
  - There are consequences to not meeting standards
  - But, parents never withdraw their live
  - Adult children liked their parents and want to emulate them, including religious practices

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## What did the parents want to transmit?

- Similar religion to the one in which they were raised
- Religious service attendance, prayer, singing in choir, etc.
- Moderate levels of religion

## Adult Children and Religious Transmission

- **80**% of adult children currently <u>share their parents</u> <u>religious tradition</u>:
  - "My personality is **loyal**, like I've been with this company for 23 years. **So that's how I am about my religion**. It all goes back to the pleasing thing, I never wanted to let my parents down." [Catholic mother]
  - When asked whether he had ever considered changing parishes, a
    Hispanic Catholic father said no, "because it is the belief of my father,
    my mother, and my town."
- Most wanted to pass on the same faith tradition
- But, few felt so strongly about passing on their religion that they would end their relationship with their child if he/she broke religion ties.

### Key practices parents want to transmit

- Religious service attendance, prayer, singing in choir:
  - Many see them as helping to <u>lay a foundation</u> for <u>religiously inspired</u> values and moral character:
- "It wasn't like she was forcing us to go [to church], but we just knew it was the right thing and she did teach the value in us. Church attendance is important because It's just right to have that value instilled in you, because that's something you wanna pass onto the kids." [Black Protestant father]
- We always knew that we would be passing down our faith. It would be bad if religion wasn't in the household, because we teach our kids to pray, to know right from wrong, and to know the Lord and Jesus Christ." [Black Protestant mother]

## Passing on Moderate Religion

- Many parents wanted to pass on <u>only moderate levels</u> of religious commitment
- For some, this had been their experience:
  - A Catholic father said that, similar to his own upbringing, he was not expecting his children to say a lot of prayers or read scripture. Rather, he wanted simply to show them, "this is just how we are."
- For others, they were pushing back against their upbringing:
  - "We've never said to them, you have to believe. I think part of why I rebelled when I did, as far as the church was that it was seen as 'you're going to go to church no matter what." [Catholic mother]

## Passing on Moderate Religion

- Many parents wanted to pass on <u>only moderate levels</u> of religious commitment
- Parents from "strict" religions -Mormons,
  Muslims, and conservative and black Protestantswere less interested in transmitting moderate
  religion
  - "We've never said to them, you have to believe. I think part of why I rebelled when I did, as far as the church was that it was seen as 'you're going to go to church no matter what.'" [Catholic mother]

## Strategy for transmitting faith

#### Osmosis vs. Intentional Influences

- Intentional religious socializers (60%):
  - Deliberate in the process
- Osmosis (13%):
  - Subtly cultivate religion in their children
  - Provide opportunities for them to observe
- Mixture of both (30%)

### Osmosis vs. Intentional Influences

- Intentional religious socializers (60%):
  - "Uh no she's coming to church. [laughs] My house, my rules. That's how my mom did it, that' Just like I was drugged [to church], they were drugged." s how I'm gonna do it." (Catholic mother)
  - " (Black Protestant father)
- Osmosis (13%):
  - Growing up, one of my favorite memories was the drive home from church with the Irish radio program on **NPR**, which I now do with my kids, which is pretty awesome, the exact same one. And then the critique of the sermon [laughs]. (Catholic father)
  - My father would sit downstairs and read his Bible for hours, "So I want [my son] to see me physically doing that." (Black Protestant mother)
- Mixture of both (30%):

## Children Straying: Demands and Freedoms

Many parents feared their children would stray

- Most (80%) thought it was either natural or acceptable
- Not preferred
- Most parents were unwilling to end relationship over it

## Children Straying: Demands and Freedoms

### How might it be handled?

- Many <u>emulated their parents</u>
  - Have faith that their children would return
  - Some would force them to continue attending services

• A substantial minority were scared of <u>pushing them away</u>: "We never told them that they have to believe because, "I think part of why I rebelled from the church was because my parents said, 'this is what you're going to do, you're going to go to church." (Catholic father)

## Summary

 Adult children who were very close with their parents tended to self-report feeling very close to their children now

- The most successful parents were more religious themselves, regularly talked with children about religion, and had authoritative (strict and warm) parenting style.
  - They then wanted to emulate their parents' parenting

## Summary

- Most popular themes to emulate:
  - Communication style (two-way conversations)
  - Strictness and punishment

 Parents wanted to transmit a similar religion and moderate levels of belief

They used a mixture of <u>osmosis</u> and <u>intentional</u> approaches

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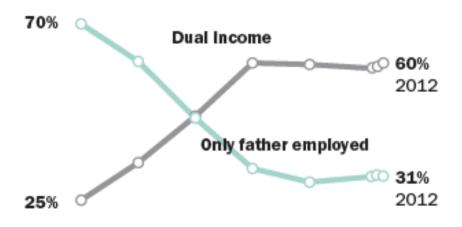
How congregations are useful to parents

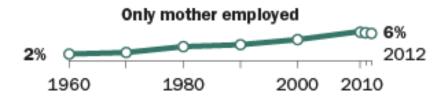
Conclusion and discussion

## Context: Parenthood has changed drastically in the United States since the 1960s

#### The Rise in Dual Income Households

% of married couples with children under 18



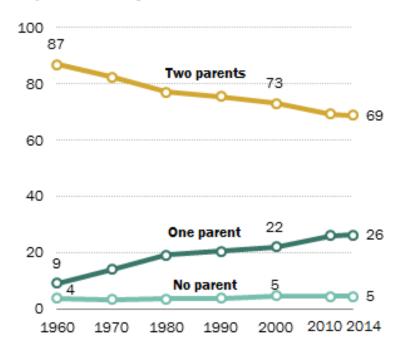


Source: Pew Research Center analysis of the Decennial Census and American Community Surveys (ACS) Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) files

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

#### The two-parent household in decline

% of children living with ...



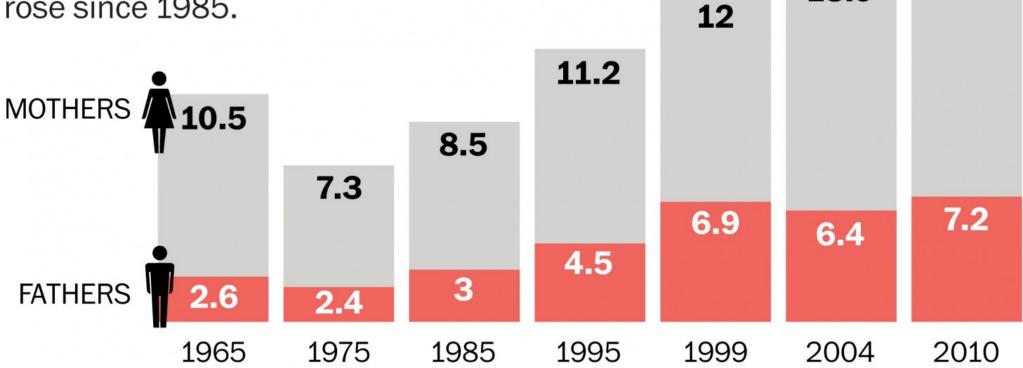
Note: Based on children under 18. From 1990-2014, a child living with cohabiting parents is counted as living with two parents. Prior to 1990 cohabiting parents are included in "one parent."

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 1960-2000 Decennial Census and 2010 and 2014 American Community Survey (IPUMS)

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Spending time with the kids

The average number of hours parents spent with their children each week rose since 1985.



Source: Journal of Marriage and Family

THE WASHINGTON POST

13.7

13.9

## Parents are different today

- Parents like spending time with them
- They want to invest in their children
- Parents have higher levels of education
- They have kids later in life, changing childrearing norms and values 

  more child centric
- More concern about children's safety
- Children spend less time in unstructured activities with other kids
- Extracurricular activities have proliferated
- Parents ferry them, long commutes with kids (more time to talk!)

To what extent do parents rely on <u>themselves</u> vs. their <u>congregations</u> for religious faith transmission?

## Parents see themselves as primarily responsible

- "I think parents are more important because the kids need to see you practicing what you say. They can see other people but if their own parents are doing it, I think that's more effective." [Mother from the Black Church]
- "I feel like **it starts at home**. . . . at home my kids learned the Our Father prayer, it's not like they learned it in church and then they came home . . ." [mainline Protestant father]
- "I don't think [the congregation's] sole purpose is to, help us as parents. They're not supposed to raise our children." [Mormon father]

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Why do they rely on themselves so much?

## Why do they rely on themselves so much?

- 1. They feel comfortable talking about religion
- 2. They question their own faith and have trouble reconciling inconsistencies
- 3. Their choice of congregation is based on practical concerns

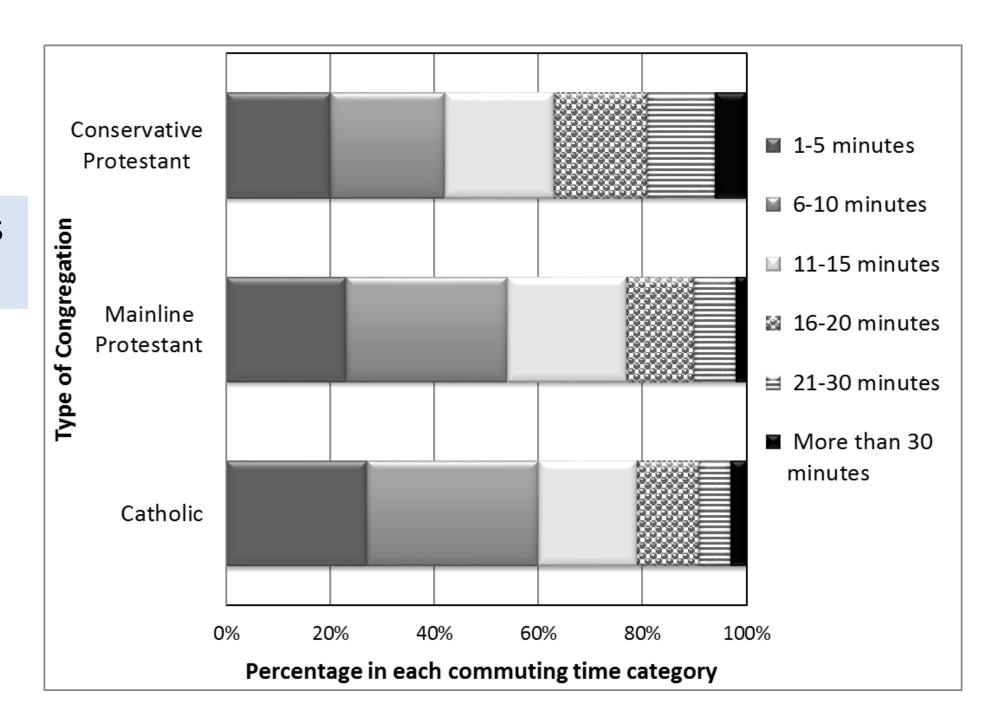
# Parents feel relatively comfortable talking about religion

- "We're very open about talking about what happens to the body, to be absent from the body is to be present with God, so they understand that because **I've** talked to them about repenting. . . ." [mother with the traditional Black Church]
- "[Around Passover] I really clean the house. . . . And I do that also to transmit that to my children. That they see it and we talk about it." [Jewish mother]
- A mother from the Black Church added that she "purposively" studies the Bible at home where her son can see doing it in her bedroom.
  - To answer their children's questions more devoted parents felt they should regularly read religious texts.

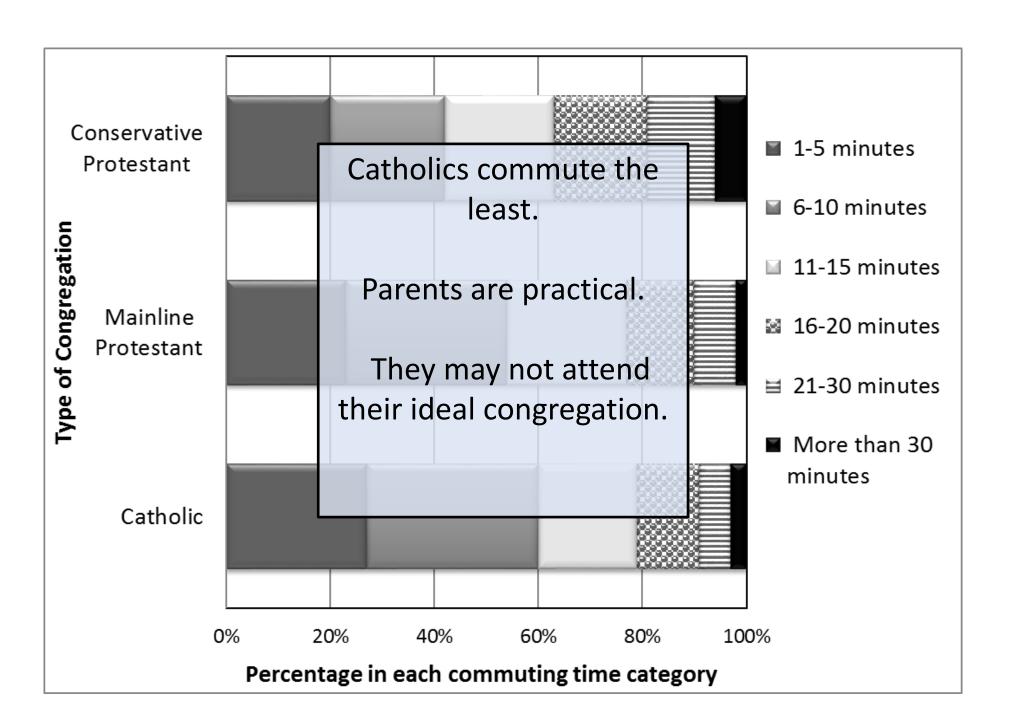
## Parents struggle with their own faith

- Religious inconsistencies
- Questioning own faith
- ➤ Possibly because of their own struggles, many were hesitant to rely solely on congregations.
- They want to be involved to elaborate on religion
- They are hugely involved in everything in their children's life and religion is no exception

# Proximity is important



# Proximity is important



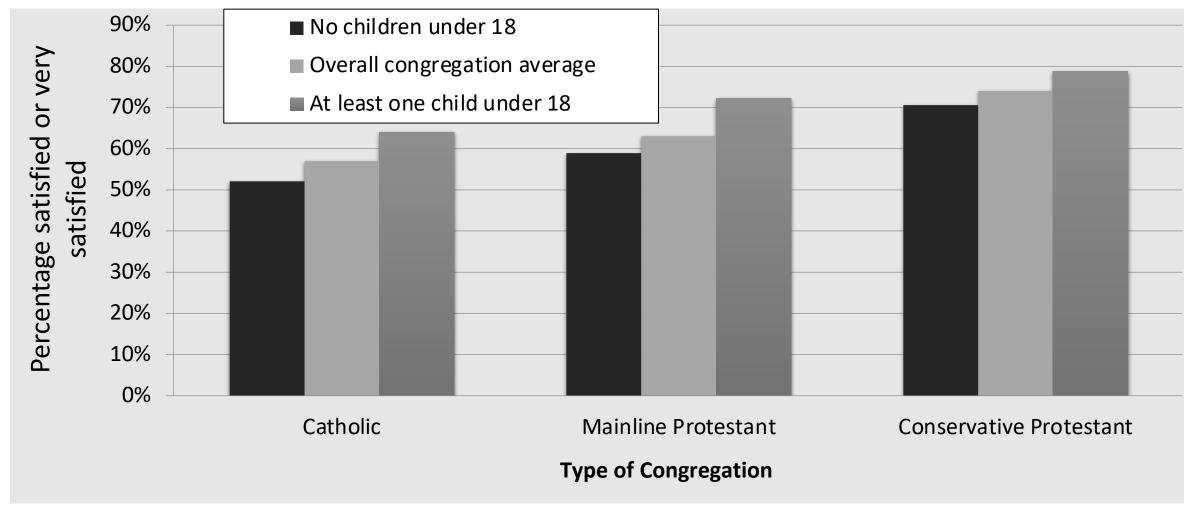
## Proximity important for selecting a congregation

- [Because they were driving 45 minutes each way] "distance was an issue" and "we found ourselves missing more than going and we decided it was time to find a church that was local." [Conservative Protestant father]
- Another conservative Protestant father explained that when they first moved to the area "we had no idea where we were going to go to church. So we looked up [the name of their town], found it on a church search website and to us it didn't seem that far. It's about twenty-five minutes."

## Proximity important

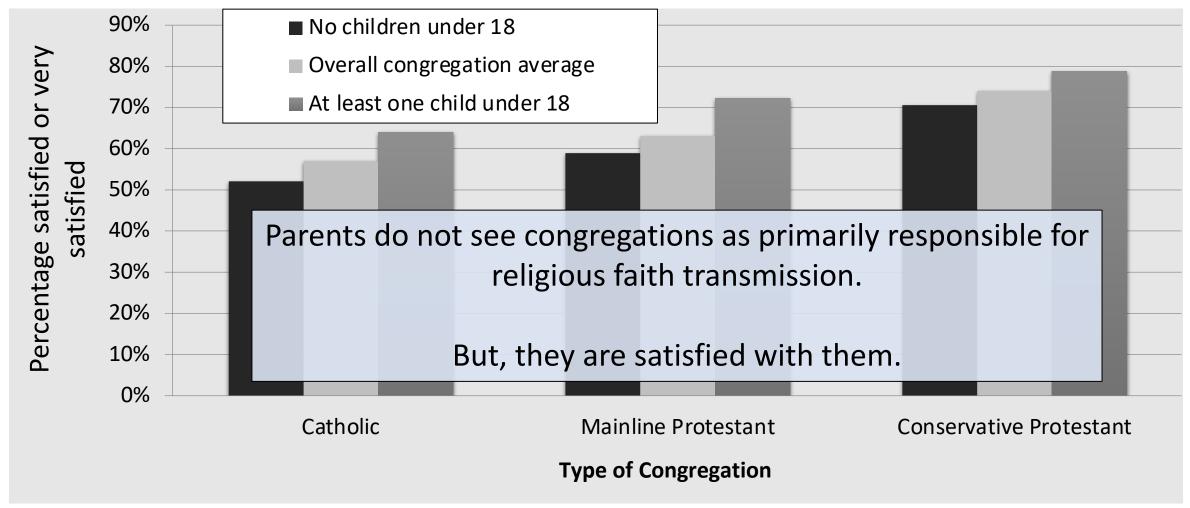
- Practical concerns help them select congregations.
- Hence, the congregation may not be ideal, but they are "good enough."
- Since it may not be ideal, parents want to be involved to make sure they know what their children are learning
- The more limited choice for Catholics means that parents want to be more involved

### Percentage satisfied or very satisfied with what their congregation is offering for youth (age 18 and under)



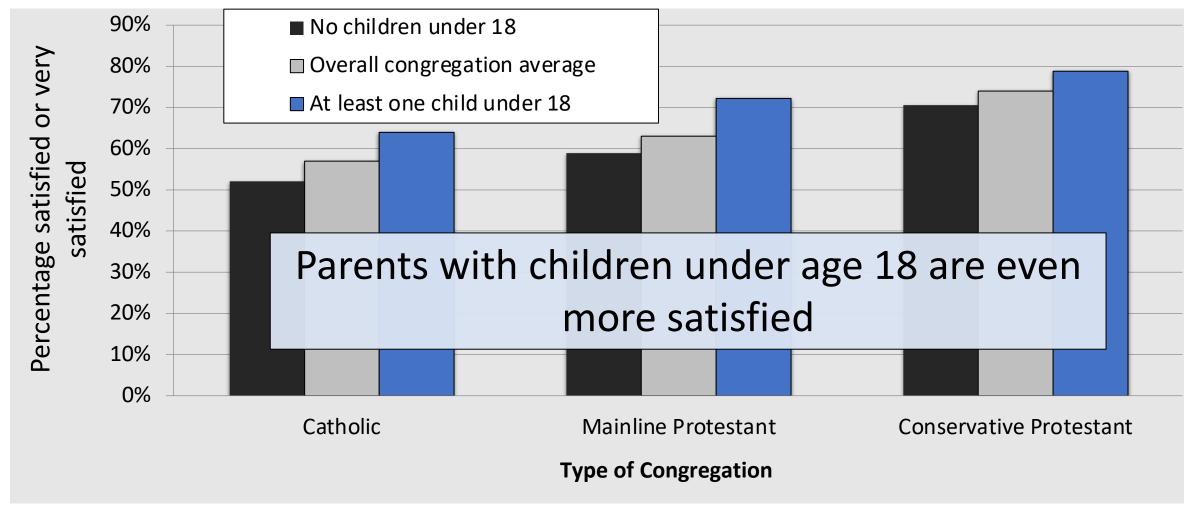
• Source: U.S. Congregational Life Survey, Wave 2, 2008/2009, Random Sample Attender Survey

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### Outline

#### Previous work and data/methods

#### Parental closeness

Two-way communication and strictness

What do parents want to pass on and how?

Congregations and the context of parenting

Why parents rely so much on themselves

How congregations are useful to parents

Conclusion and discussion

- Religious education!
- Parents talked about religious education as being something valuable that congregations provided. They were largely focused on the nuts and bolts of religion, like the Ten Commandments.
- Religious education was seen as something formally taught through religious services or classes.
- Religious sermons were important because they helped them engage their children.
  - I am going to ask you what you learned?
  - What did you think the main point of that sermon was?

# Sermons and religious classes teach basic elements of religion in a formal setting:

- "It's a place for them to get an extended lesson on God, a professional lesson on God."
   [Mother from the traditional Black church]
- "[We like the] curriculum where the kids understand what the trinity is" and "that God has always been here. . . Christ didn't just come in the New Testament." [conservative Protestant mother].
- "I'm looking for **old school hard core-** you know where my children can take Koran lessons, for example, they take it at the local Islamic center. Because the Sheikh, the person who teaches the Koran, is an immigrant from Egypt, but he's got it, you know, he's got that old school style of recitation, he's got that beautiful way of saying it." [Muslim mother]

#### Instill right and wrong!

- Religious education provide moral foundation
- Help make them "good" people
- Give them a moral compass
- Learn to be nice to others
- Make good decisions

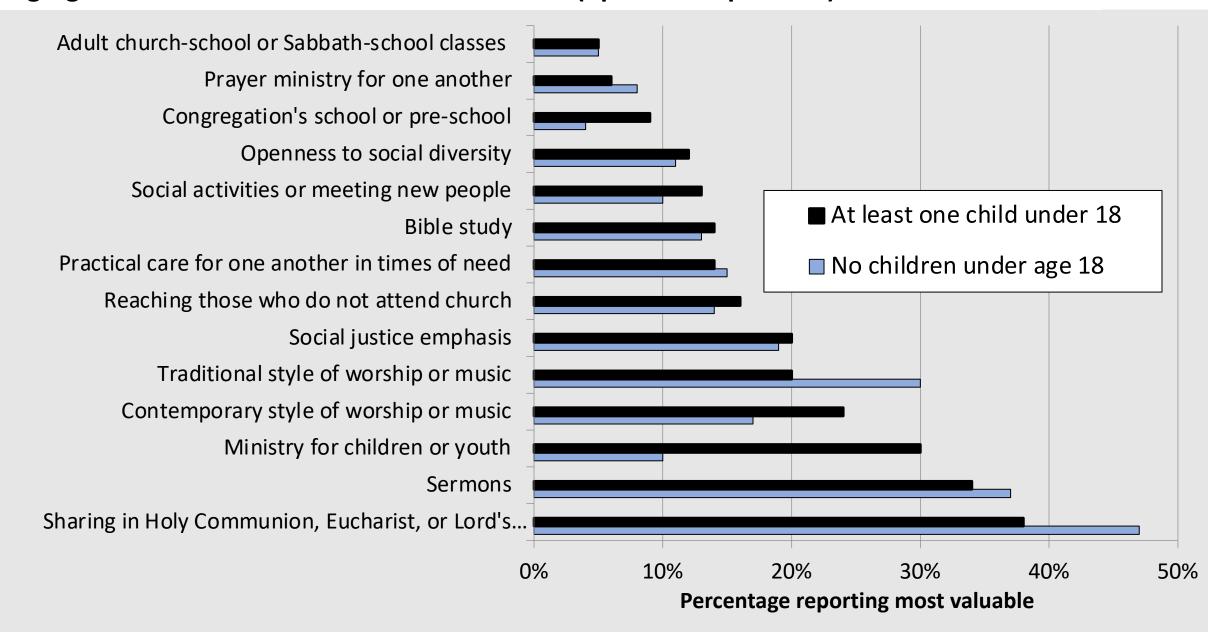
#### Religious instruction and moral development

- A Muslim mother told her children that when they are asked about their religion, "I
  would say just say we want to be good people, we want to be compassionate, we
  want to not hurt our neighbors."
- "We try to do the best we can for our children . . . so that they become **good men in the future**." [Hispanic Catholic father]
- And when responding to a question about what would happen if religion was removed a conservative Protestant father explained, "I think it would probably be tragic. . . . I feel like maybe my kids wouldn't be on the right track because there are so many temptations."

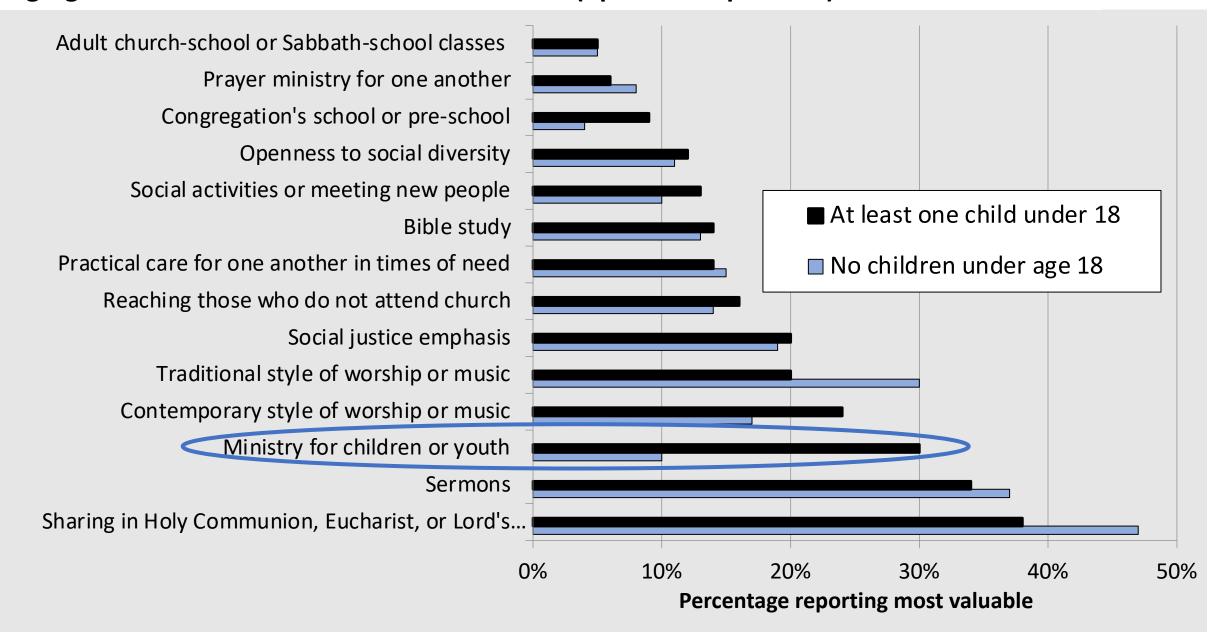
# Problem with congregations providing children's moral foundation through instruction:

- Religious education is important for providing a strong moral foundation for children
- But, parents do not seem to feel that religious education classes are important for adults
- Once children become young adults (and before they have children), what is the place for congregations?

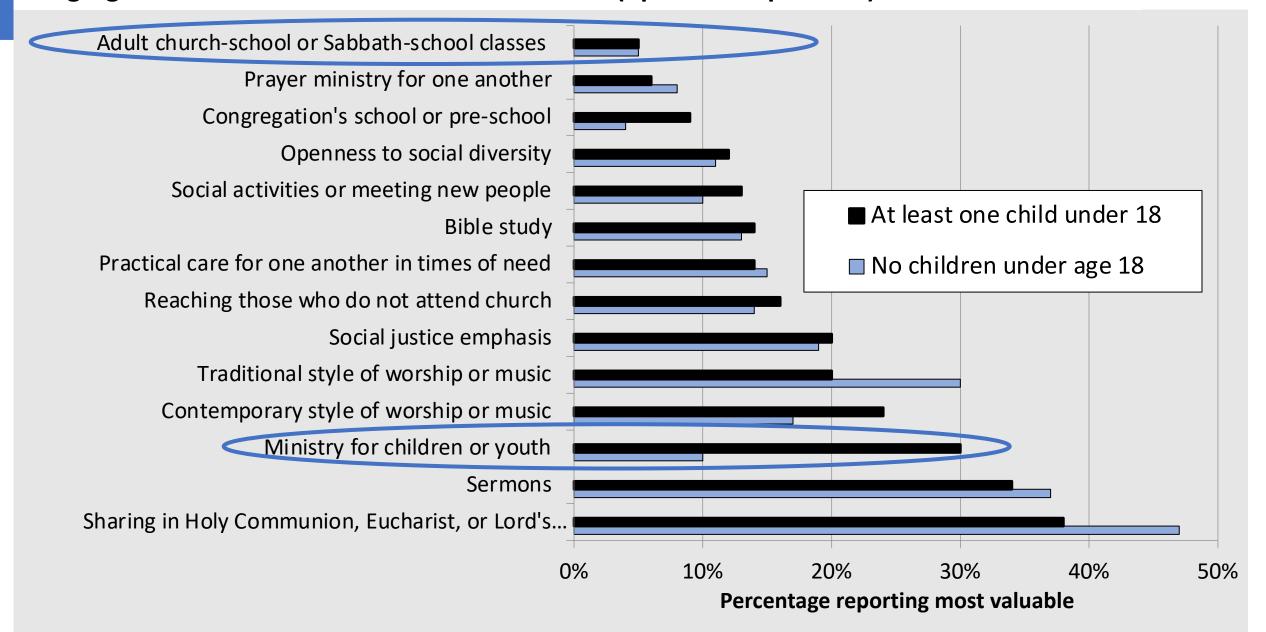
#### Most valuable aspects of the congregation for congregants with and without children under 18 (up to three possible)



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Congregations make religious activities fun!

More than half of the parents we interviewed told us that their children liked attending religion-related functions.

#### Children mostly like attending

Congregations make religious activities fun!

- "They understand going to church. 'Because they ask, are we going to Bible study?
   Are we going to Wednesday nights? Yes, we're going. And so they're real
   cooperative, they're not like ohhh I don't wanna go!" [mother from the traditional
   Black Church]
- "She likes to be with her godmother a lot, she likes going to church." [Hispanic Catholic mother]
- "[My daughter] is a thoughtful Christian and she's very, very committed. **She goes** every morning by her own volition to this early morning seminary . . . at 6:00 in the morning!" [Mormon mother]

# Some parents and children skip services, why?

- Extracurricular activities (most popular reason)
- Sports and related activities are scheduled on Sundays
- Parents are highly engaged with their children, so they allow them to participate, even on Sundays

Opportunities for them to meet other kids!

- Do their children have friends in the congregation?
- Friends encourage children to participate in religion
- Friends make it fun.
- Channel children into friendship groups
- Meet romantic partners with similar values

### Youth group, friends, and other activities

Opportunities for them to meet other kids!

- "If she didn't have that little group of five, it would be a totally different situation. But the fact that those kids are there week after week with her, it turns the religion into a social gathering . . ." [Catholic father]
- "I find it kind of amazing that my kids are willing to attend mass without me. But, I think it's because they were hoping to see their friends" [Catholic mother]
- "They should start attending at the age of two because that's when they
  develop their friends, their friendships and their bonds [Buddhist father]

Opportunities for them to meet other kids!

We asked about other youth activities (e.g., volunteer, summer camp).

But, parents felt that they were really only helpful in providing friends.

Congregations offer a group of people that care strongly for their children

- They provide a safe haven where children can go if they need help.
- Congregations are different from communities created through school and extracurricular activities → Parents thought this was a good thing
- Show children that they are not outcasts by being religious
- There are other religious families

#### Congregational community

- Meet other religious people from a variety of different age groups
- "It gives her that **safe, secure home**. I mean she is so comfortable there and she makes good safe connections." [conservative Protestant mother]
- "[It is good for the kids to connect with the congregation] So that they have peer groups or other adults from that faith community who can be a kind of **support network** for the kids." [Muslim father]
- One mother who belongs to a traditional Black Church told us that her congregation was important for her child "because this is my extended family because I [have] been here so long and I've watched people grow."

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## Summary: Parents do not rely on congregations as much as themselves

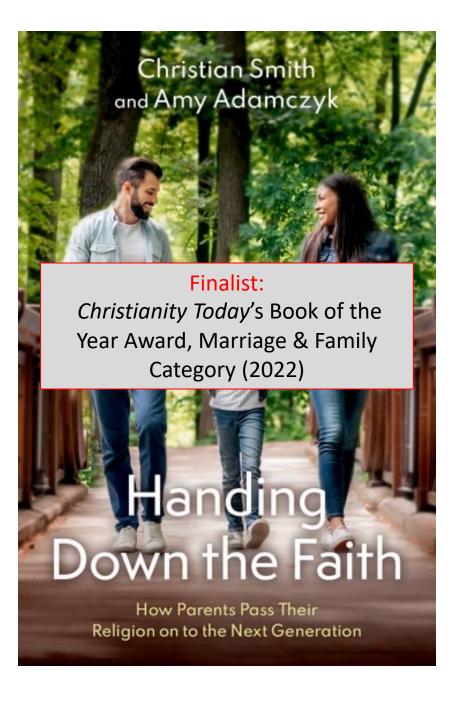
- Parents have a lot of choice over whether they want children.
- Parents who have kids, tend to really want them.
- They want to be actively involved in everything they do, including religious activities
- Parents feel comfortable with religion and answering questions.
  - But, they struggle with inconsistencies and sometimes question their faith.
- Parents select their congregation for practical reasons, like proximity
  - It may not be ideal, so they stay heavily involved.

### Summary: What do congregations provide?

- Religious education provides opportunities for parents to:
  - Talk with their child about religion
  - Test their knowledge
  - Make sure they understand what was said
- Make religious activities enjoyable
- Channel them into friendship groups and relationships (similar values)
- Lay moral foundation
- Provide a community of people who looks out for them
- Transmit shared culture and history

#### Concluding thoughts:

- Many factors shape parenting approaches to transmitting religion.
- Most important influence is <u>how they were raised</u>.
- Adults children are not "cultural dopes" blindly following their parents' attempts
  - Important to understand adult children's relationship with their parents
  - Consider what they did and did not like about how they were raised
  - Also consider how the times and issues/concerns change (MTV vs. IPad)



 The book is available at Amazon and Barnes and Noble.

- If you would like a specific chapter, send me an email and I will email it to you.
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