Catholic Schooling and Disaffiliation from Catholicism

Paul Perl and Mark M. Gray*

Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, Georgetown University

*Contact: Paul Perl
Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate
pmp2@georgetown.edu
Home office: 5859 Aylesboro Ave.
         Pittsburgh, PA 15217
         412-904-2822

Catholic Schooling and Disaffiliation from Catholicism

Abstract

Using event history analysis of 849 adults raised Catholic, this research note examines effects of attending Catholic elementary school and high school on the likelihood one remains Catholic. Attending Catholic high school for at least three years significantly reduces the likelihood that one disaffiliates from Catholicism, reducing both the likelihood that one converts to another faith and the likelihood that one chooses to have no religion at all. Additional analyses show that Catholic high school has no significant effect on adult Mass attendance when considering respondents who are currently Catholic. But when analyses include all respondents raised Catholic, Catholic high school produces a positive effect on attendance. This may help explain seemingly conflicting findings in the literature on Catholic schooling and religious commitment.

Existing research presents conflicting evidence on whether attending Catholic grade and high school increases the likelihood that Catholics display high levels of religious commitment as adults. Early studies discovered strong effects of Catholic schooling on a wide range of Catholic practices and beliefs among adults (Greeley and Rossi 1966; Greeley, McCready, and McCourt 1976; Fee, Greeley, McCready, and Sullivan 1981). However, most research conducted in recent years has found small effects, if any (Gallup Poll 1993; D'Antonio, Davidson, Hoge, and Wallace 1989, 1996; Davidson et al. 1997; O'Connor, Hoge, and Alexander 2002). In this research note we focus on one hypothetical source of these discrepant findings: the possibility that attending Catholic school reduces the likelihood that one leaves Catholicism. Recent surveys used to examine effects of Catholic schooling have excluded former Catholics, thus failing to capture the inherently lower Catholic commitment of disaffiliates. We use data on cradle Catholics—both stayers and leavers—to examine effects of Catholic grade and high school on disaffiliation. And we explore the possibility that Catholic schooling influences adult Mass attendance largely by reducing the likelihood that cradle Catholics leave the Church.

Catholic Grade and High School Attendance and Adult Commitment: Existing Research

Examining effects of Catholic schooling is part of a larger scholarly inquiry to determine how childhood and adolescent experiences predict religious commitment (e.g., Ozorak 1989; Hoge, Johnson, and Luidens 1993; Myers 1996)—and in particular to determine whether involvement in formal religious organizations affects the religious commitment of young people above and beyond the socialization provided by their parents (Dudley 1999; Gunnoe and Moore 2002; O'Connor et al. 2002). A number of studies have examined effects of young people's involvement in congregational programs. Positive outcomes of such involvement have generally

1

been interpreted as reflecting the influence of social networks, particularly peer groups (e.g., Dudley 1999; O'Connor et al. 2002). There has been less theorizing about possible outcomes of Catholic school attendance, though scholars are similarly inclined to attribute them to social networks (e.g., Greeley 1997). Whether Catholic schools create future generations of committed Catholics is also important to Church leaders who devote enormous resources to operating more than 7,000 elementary and high schools nationwide. Many leaders believe the content of religious education provided in Catholic schools is crucial to forming active Catholics (e.g., United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2005) though others remain unconvinced. They suspect parish-based religious education for young Catholics (often called "CCD"), which is much cheaper but typically also more cursory, achieves the same ends as schooling. Finally, the effectiveness of Catholic schooling at instilling commitment is important to parents considering whether the religious socialization provided in Catholic schools justifies tuition costs. However, existing evidence about effects of Catholic schooling is mixed.

Virtually all research conducted prior to the mid-1980s shows substantial positive effects of Catholic schooling on Catholic practices and beliefs later in life (Greeley and Rossi 1966; Greeley, McCready, and McCourt 1976; Fee et al. 1981). In most cases, these effects are largely reducible to differences between those who attended Catholic school for the great majority (9-12 years) of their primary and secondary education and all others. There are few differences between those with less than nine years of Catholic schooling and no Catholic schooling at all (Greeley and Rossi 1966: 160-165; Greeley, McCready, and McCourt 1976: 205-216). Because relatively few people attend Catholic high school without first attending Catholic elementary school, it is difficult to determine if the results reflect something special about Catholic high school or a "cumulation" effect (Greeley and Rossi 1966: 161).

One of these studies, by Fee and colleagues (1981), is particularly revealing because it used a unique sample: young adults ages 18 to 30 who had been raised Catholic. Approximately 15 percent of the respondents no longer identified as Catholic at the time of the survey (1981: 5). Findings showed that Catholic schooling produced substantial effects on later religious commitment. Specifically, high levels (more than eight years) of attendance of Catholic grade and high school significantly predicted adult Mass attendance, communion reception, involvement in parish organizations, belief in life after death, and opposition to abortion (115-117). In comparison, CCD attendance displayed smaller and mostly non-significant effects on these outcomes (122-124). The researchers did not formally distinguish the Catholic stayers from disaffiliates in the analyses. However, they did find that feelings of "closeness" to the Church, along with marriage to a devout Catholic spouse, were important in mediating the relationship between Catholic schooling and adult Catholic commitment (120-121).

Subsequent research has obtained very different results (D'Antonio et al. 1989, 1996; Gallup Poll 1993; Davidson et al. 1997). Effects of Catholic grade and high school in these more recent studies are often non-existent. The effects that do appear are typically small in size and sometimes in the inverse direction, indicating that those who have attended Catholic school are *less* religiously committed than those with no Catholic schooling at all. The most extensive of these studies is that of Davidson and colleagues (1997), who examined adults who were raised Catholic and remained Catholic at the time they were interviewed. Catholic schooling was generally unrelated to a variety of Catholic practices and actually appeared to decrease agreement with Church teaching on sexuality. The researchers summarized their findings as lacking consistency and at odds with previous work documenting strong effects of Catholic

schooling (102). They concluded that other forms of instruction in the Catholic faith, such as

CCD, have more consistent positive effects on adult Catholic commitment.

Why do findings from the Fee et al. and Davidson et al. studies differ so greatly? We

suspect the most salient difference is omission of Catholic disaffiliates from the Davidson et al.

data. The stronger schooling effects found by Fee and associates may reflect a reduced

likelihood of disaffiliation among those who attended Catholic school. Disaffiliates seem,

almost by definition, less likely than stayers to practice the Catholic faith and adhere to its

beliefs. This interpretation is supported by the mediating effect of feeling "close to the Church"

in the Fee et al. data—something that seems likely to capture, in part, whether respondents still

considered themselves Catholic. Instead of directly bolstering religious practices and beliefs,

Catholic schooling may be reducing the likelihood that Catholics leave the Church entirely.

Conceptualizing religious identification (i.e., affiliation with a particular denomination) as a

fundamental aspect of religious commitment, we examine the relationship between Catholic

schooling and disaffiliation.

Data, Method, and Measures

Data

The data come from a 2003 national telephone poll conducted by the Center for Applied

Research in the Apostolate at Georgetown University. Though current Catholics were the main

target of the poll, a small number of questions were asked to other respondents who were raised

Catholic. Including current and former Catholics, interviews were completed with 982

individuals raised Catholic. Those who no longer identified themselves as Catholic were asked

how long ago they left the Church. We exclude 53 respondents who left before they were 14

years old, agreeing with Sherkat (1991:176) that religious switching prior to adolescence is likely

to reflect the decisions of one's parents.[1] After listwise deletion of cases with missing data on variables used in the analyses, there are 849 respondents who were still Catholic at age 14. Of these, 182 (21 percent) are no longer Catholic. Seventy-seven (9 percent) have no religious affiliation and 105 (12 percent) identify with a religion other than Catholicism.

Method

To analyze disaffiliation from Catholicism we use the Cox proportional hazard model, a particular type of event history analysis (Allison 1984). Event history analysis is useful for estimating the likelihood that an event takes place (in this case, leaving Catholicism) when data suffer from a problem known as right-hand censoring. Here, the problem is that some respondents, particularly young adults, will eventually leave the Church but have not yet done so. Because it models the *rate* at which an event takes place over time, event history analysis eliminates this problem and is superior to other parametric statistical techniques such as logistic regression (Allison 1984; Sherkat 1991). Modeling a rate requires creation of a time variable. For former Catholics, the time variable equals the number of years that intervened between age 13 and age at disaffiliation. For those still Catholic, it equals the number of years between age 13 and age at the interview.

Measures

In addition to examining disafilliation, we conduct regression analyses of current Mass attendance. Respondents were asked how frequently they attend Mass, "aside from weddings and funerals." To reduce potential confusion for the respondents who had already reported being former Catholics, the following statement preceded the question when asked to disafilliates: "Some people who have left Catholicism still attend Catholic Mass on occasion. How about

you?" Six response categories ranged from "rarely or never" to "more than once a week." We dichotomize the response scale into those who attend at least once a week and all others. Fourteen percent of former Catholics said they attend Mass a few times a year, and an additional 12 percent said they attend at least monthly.[2]

The independent variables are measures of religious education. Respondents were asked how many years, if any, they attended Catholic elementary school and how many years they attended Catholic high school. There are a number of ways this information could be transformed into independent variables for analysis. Using the total number of years of schooling as a continuous variable is likely to be inadequate because previous research suggests that those with a few years of Catholic schooling display similar levels of religious commitment as those with no Catholic schooling at all. We also wish to distinguish the primary and secondary levels because of the possibility that they produce different effects on disaffiliation (e.g., Gunnoe and Moore 2002). We do so by creating two sets of dichotomous variables that reflect differing amounts of schooling within the primary and secondary levels. The first set includes three variables designating elementary (including middle) school education: one to three years of Catholic elementary school only, four to seven years, and eight or more years (with no Catholic elementary school as the suppressed reference category). The second set includes two dichotomous variables designating high school education: one to two years of Catholic high school (with no Catholic high school as the suppressed reference category).

Much of the debate over effects of Catholic schooling on religious commitment centers on whether schooling is superior to parish-based religious education (CCD). For this reason, we create parallel sets of dichotomous variables to measure the amount of parish-based Catholic education respondents received during their elementary years and during their high school years

(i.e., one to three years of CCD during elementary age, four to seven years during elementary age, etc). We also create a separate dichotomous variable to designate those who participated in a parish youth group for at least one year when they were of high school age. Youth group participation may also predict adult religiosity (O'Connor et al. 2002).

Controlling family religiosity during respondents' youth is important because it predicts adult religious commitment (e.g., Myers 1996) and the likelihood of disaffiliation from Catholicism (Fee et al. 1980: 41, 121). Additionally, religiously-committed parents are probably more likely to enroll their children in Catholic school (Greeley and Rossi 1966).[3] We use two measures of family religiosity. The first is the usual frequency with which respondents attended *weekend* Mass "while growing up." The measure excludes weekday attendance because some Catholic schools hold mandatory Mass during school hours. Young people's weekend Mass attendance is more likely to reflect their own religious commitment or that of their parents. Responses are positively skewed, with 60 percent of respondents reporting that they attended weekend Mass "every week" and 22 percent that they attended "almost every week." For this reason, we create a series of dichotomous variables: attended less than once a month, attended once or twice a week, and attended almost every week (with weekly attendance as the suppressed reference category). The second measure of family religiosity is the frequency with which parents discussed religion with respondents while they were growing up. This five-point ordinal variable ranges from "never" to "very frequently." It is taken from Davidson et al. (1997: 240, 248), who found that it exerts relatively strong effects on several aspects of adult religiosity. It is particularly useful because it is likely to reflect, in part, parents' desire to instruct their children in the Catholic faith.

We control several demographic characteristics. These include gender (coded 1 for women and 0 for men) and year of birth. Race is operationalized with two dichotomous variables designating African Americans and those of other non-white races (with white as the suppressed reference category).[4] A dichotomous variable designating Hispanic ethnicity is independent of the race categories. Education is a five-point ordinal measure ranging from less than a high school degree to post-graduate study. Strictly speaking, education is a time-varying variable and should be treated as such in event history analysis. For example, the effect of attendance of college on disaffiliation is presumably of limited relevance for those who had not yet reached college age when they left the Church. The data include no information that would allow us to determine the age at which various stages of education were completed, but we nevertheless include education in the analyses, treating it as constant over time. To exclude it would be to omit a variable that may be related to Catholic disaffiliation (Fee et al. 1980: 41). Moreover, it is possible that attending or not attending Catholic high school sets some teens on a trajectory that determines post-secondary education (Greeley and Rossi 1966: 194; Evans and Schwab 1995). Finally, in some models we control marital status, treating it as constant over time even though it too is time-varying. Religious exogamy is strongly related to the likelihood that one leaves the religion in which he or she was raised (Sandomirsky and Wilson 1990; Sherkat 1991; Musick and Wilson 1995). We use three dichotomous measures. The first two designate those whose first spouses are or were Catholic and those whose first spouses are or were non-Catholic (with never-married as the suppressed reference category). The third measure designates those who are remarried after divorce (with all others as the reference category). Catholics who have divorced and remarried, something forbidden in Catholicism without

annulment, may be more likely to leave the Church than those who have either never been divorced or who are divorced but have not remarried (Hout 2000).

Results

As with previous research, our data show that most respondents who attended Catholic high school also attended Catholic elementary school. For example, 93 percent of those with three or more years of Catholic high school attended Catholic elementary school for at least a time, and 71 percent attended for eight years or more. This leads to relatively high correlations among the high school and elementary variables. To avoid potential problems related to multicollinearity, we use separate models for these respective measures. However, results are generally the same in models that include both sets of measures (not shown).[5]

Table 1 presents event history analyses in which the measures of elementary education are used to estimate the rate of disaffiliation from Catholicism. The exponents of the coefficients (sometimes called "hazard rates" in event history analysis) can be interpreted the same way as those obtained from logistic regression. For example, in Model 1, the exponent of the coefficient for year of birth is greater than one: 1.02. This means that, net of effects of other factors controlled in the model, a cradle Catholic is 2 percent more likely to leave the Church in a given year of his or her life than somebody born one year before. In contrast, the coefficient for Hispanic is less than one: 0.57. Hispanics are only 57 percent as likely as non-Hispanics to leave the Church in a given year of their life. As expected, those who attended weekend Mass less than monthly while growing up leave Catholicism at a higher rate than those who attended every week. Contrary to expectations, the frequency with which one's parents discussed religion is statistically unrelated to disaffiliation.

[Table 1 About Here]

9

Our main interest, of course, lies with effects of the education variables. None of the elementary schooling measures exerts a statistically significant effect on the rate of disaffiliation in Model 1. In other words, attending Catholic elementary school is unrelated to the likelihood that one will later leave the Catholic Church. Model 2 adds the measures of CCD attendance. Normally, parents do not send their children to parish-based religious education at the same time they are enrolled in Catholic school. So relatively few respondents coded as having eight years of Catholic elementary schooling are coded as having any CCD during their elementary years. This complicates interpretation of the coefficients somewhat, but the result is the same regardless of whether variables are entered into the model singly or simultaneously: those who had four to seven years of CCD at the elementary level are significantly less likely to leave Catholicism than those who never attended CCD. Curiously, eight years of CCD does not significantly affect the likelihood of leaving the Church.

Table 2 presents models that include the measures of high school education. Model 1 shows that those who attended Catholic high school for at least three years (22 percent of respondents) are only 47 percent as likely as those who never attended Catholic high school to leave the Church in a given year. Model 2 creates a more rigorous test of the effect of Catholic high school. It adds a dichotomous variable designating those who never attended a Catholic high school even though one was available in their area. Many of these individuals are presumably people whose parents, due to lower levels of religious commitment, were not interested in sending their children to Catholic school.[6] This changes the reference category for the measures of Catholic high school. In Model 1 the reference category consisted of all those who never attended Catholic high school. In Model 2, it becomes only those for whom no Catholic high school was available in their area. This group presumably includes some

10

individuals whose parents would have sent them to a Catholic high school had one been available. If there is actually something special about attending Catholic high school—and not just the religious commitment of one's parents—that inhibits disaffiliation, then those who attended Catholic high school should differ from those whose parents very well might have sent them to Catholic high school had the opportunity been present (Greeley and Rossi 1966). Results show that those who attended Catholic high school for three to four years are only 55 percent as likely as those who grew up in areas without Catholic high schools to disaffiliate from Catholicism in a given year. In Model 2 attending Catholic high school for one or two years predicts a rate of disaffiliation twice that of those without a Catholic high school in their area. Just 31 respondents (4 percent) attended Catholic high school for one or two years, so this result should be treated with caution. Still, we tentatively speculate that it reflects negative feelings toward the Church among parents who pull their children out of Catholic high school after just a few years.

[Table 2 About Here]

Model 3 in Table 2 adds measures of CCD attendance and parish youth group participation. Attending CCD during one's high school years is unrelated to the likelihood of disaffiliation. However, those who participated in a youth group during high school are only 61 percent as likely to leave the Church in a given year of their life as those who did not participate.[7] With these additional variables added to the model, the effects of attending Catholic high school remain essentially unchanged.

The result that Catholic high school depresses disaffilliation while Catholic elementary school produces no effect echoes previous findings that receiving fewer than about nine years of Catholic schooling is unrelated to adult religious commitment. We suspect adolescence is

11

simply a more important time in the religious formation of young people than the pre-adolescent years. We have already noted that religious switching prior to adolescence is more likely to reflect the decisions of one's parents than one's own religiosity. In fact a great deal of literature suggests that the teen years are the time when many people begin seriously examining their faith and start down a path toward either accepting or rejecting it (e.g., Potvin, Hoge and Nelson 1976; Roehlkepartain, and Benson 1993; Kooistra and Pargament 1999). Our next analyses examine where the path takes those who reject Catholicism.

Table 3 further explores the effect of attending Catholic high school for at least three years. It shows "competing risk" models of the rate of leaving the Church in each of two distinct ways: converting to another faith or choosing to affiliate with no religion.[8] Catholics who convert to other faiths are generally more religiously active than Catholic stayers and often more orthodox on general Christian beliefs (though less likely to agree with specifically Catholic teachings such as Papal infallibility or the sinfulness of missing Mass) (Fee et al. 1981). In contrast, Catholics who lapse into non-affiliation are typically less religiously active and less orthodox than Catholic stayers (Fee et al. 1981). If Catholic high school depresses both types of disaffiliation, it becomes easier to interpret the results as a rather direct effect on loyalty to Catholicism and not a side effect of other processes such as systematic changes in orthodoxy. The first pair of models in Table 3 (those labeled number "1") show that attending Catholic high school has a roughly similar effect on the likelihood of departing Catholicism in these two ways. Those who attended three or more years of Catholic high school are 50 percent as likely as those who never attended Catholic high school to convert to another faith in a given year of their life. They are 44 percent as likely to switch to no religious affiliation in a given year.

[Table 3 About Here]

12

In each of the models labeled "2" in Table 3 a control is added to designate those who did not attend Catholic high school even though one was available. Again, this changes the reference category for the Catholic high school variables to those for whom no Catholic high school was available. In both cases the effect of three to four years of Catholic high school becomes non-significant. In the models labeled "3" the control for availability of Catholic high school is removed and replaced with controls for marital status and the religious affiliation of spouses – among the strongest correlates of religious switching. These models should be considered exploratory because marital status varies across time and some respondents undoubtedly left the Church before marrying (Sherkat 1991). Those whose first spouse is or was Catholic are significantly less likely than those who have never married to leave Catholicism in either way. Those whose first spouse is or was *non*-Catholic are significantly *more* likely than those who have never married to convert to another religion. With marital status controlled, the effect of Catholic high school is statistically non-significant for both types of disaffiliation. This suggests that choice of spouse may be one means by which the effect of Catholic high school persists over time. The most important conclusion to draw from Table 3 is that—though the effects are not highly robust—attending Catholic high school decreases the likelihood both of converting to another faith and becoming a religious non-affiliate.

With the knowledge that Catholic secondary schooling predicts disaffiliation, we examine the implications for one aspect of adult Catholic commitment: Mass attendance. Table 4 shows binary logistic regressions of current weekly Mass attendance on three or more years of Catholic high schooling. The regressions control CCD attendance during high school and youth group participation. The first model includes all respondents, but the second is limited to those who remain Catholic. In this model Catholic high school produces a positive effect on adult

13

Mass attendance. Those who attended Catholic high school for three or more years are 56 percent more likely to attend Mass weekly than all others raised Catholic. In the second model, the effect is statistically non-significant; among those who remain Catholic, having attended Catholic high school is unrelated to current Mass attendance.[9] Though Mass attendance is just one measure of Catholic commitment (the only one available in the dataset) these results may begin to reconcile seemingly discrepant findings in the literature.

<div align="center">

[Table 4 About Here]

Discussion

</div>

We conclude that at least three years of Catholic high schooling decreases the likelihood that young people leave the Church later in life. At least with regard to Mass attendance, it may have little additional impact on religious participation among those who do remain Catholic. In other words, Catholic high schooling affects religious identification more directly than it affects religious practice. Conversely, attending CCD during the high school years has no affect on Catholic identification but does increase the likelihood of Mass attendance among those who remain Catholic. Our data cannot determine the mechanisms behind these effects, but the stark contrast between attending Catholic high school and CCD leads us, like other researchers, to speculate about social networks. Attending Catholic high school occupies a large portion of day-to-day life and seems likely to enmesh one in an array of close, dense social ties—creating an experience of living in the midst of a Catholic community. Such an experience might make it important to young people to remain Catholic for the sake of maintaining that network of dense social ties in daily life, though not necessarily important to attend Mass because the parish is not the primary locus of those relationships. And it might make them continue to seek such relationships throughout their life, a desire that would presumably manifest itself in their choice

of spouses. Attending CCD, which typically involves no more than a few hours a week, might also establish important social ties but seems unlikely to create the same density of ties and sense of community. Moreover, because CCD takes place in a parish setting, attending Mass might be important for sustaining the types of social ties created there.

Even if true, this speculation leaves unanswered the question of which types of high school social ties are most important in sustaining Catholic identity. Friendships with other students certainly seem likely to be crucial, particularly given evidence that peer groups influence adolescent religious commitment (Dudley 1999; O'Connor et al. 2002; Gunnoe and Moore 2002). However, other possibilities exist. Relationships with those who teach in high schools, particularly priests or nuns, may also be important.[10] Our own unpublished analyses of survey data show that those who attended Catholic school are more likely than other Catholics to have had personal relationships with priests or nuns. Relationships with priests and nuns may help sustain some Catholic practices and commitment to the Church (Greeley 1990: 147; Perl 2005). Finally, social closure (Smith 2003) among families who send their children to the same Catholic high school could conceivably reinforce Catholic identity. A good deal of research has examined effects of social closure in Catholic schools on academic and behavioral outcomes, but little has examined its impact on religious outcomes. Testing among possible mechanisms by which Catholic high school attendance reduces disaffiliation should be a focus of future research.

Endnotes

[1]Additionally, we wish to exclude those who had probably not yet begun high school when they left the Church. Including them in event history models would make it more difficult to interpret effects of the high school measures (described below).

[2]The full distribution for non-affiliates follows: "rarely or never"=75%, "a few times a year"=14%, "once or twice a month"=8%, "almost every week"=2%, "every week"=1%, and "more than once a week"=<1%. For current Catholic affiliates: "rarely or never"=17%, "a few times a year"=19%, "once or twice a month"=16%, "almost every week"=16%, "every week"=26%, and "more than once a week"=6%.

[3]See Greeley and Rossi (1966) for a thorough discussion of methodological issues in research on effects of Catholic schooling.

[4]Sample sizes are small for African Americans (N=26) and members of other non-white races (N=15). Therefore we urge caution in interpreting coefficients for these variables in models presented below.

[5]These exploratory results are not shown but are available upon request.

[6]Of course, others were undoubtedly unable to pay tuition or motivated by other concerns about Catholic schools (Greeley and Rossi 1966: 204).

[7]Note that, unlike attending CCD, participating in a parish youth group at the same time one is enrolled in Catholic school is common.

[8]The "destination" is inferred from respondents' current religious affiliation. It is possible that current affiliation differs from the one respondents held immediately after leaving Catholicism.

[9]This model differs from other analyses of cradle Catholics, such as those of Fee et al. (1981), because we have excluded 53 respondents who left the Church prior to age 14. However if these individuals are included in the model, the results (not shown but available upon request) are virtually identical.

The findings in Table 4 are similar if Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is used instead of logistic regression. See the Appendix for Reviewers.

[10]A reviewer of an earlier version of this manuscript asked to what extent an analysis of cohort can illuminate this topic. Cohort is highly correlated with the type of religious education teachers (laity versus priests or nuns) Catholics had as young people (Davidson et al. 1997: 244, 247). With our data, controlling either year of birth or cohort (results not shown but available upon request) does not substantively mitigate the effect size of three to four years of high school on disafilliation. (Note also that the effect of high school does not vary by cohort.) We speculate that the fact of having priests or nuns as teachers may itself be unimportant if one does not develop a close personal relationship with any of those teachers.

Works Cited

Allison, P. D. 1984. *Event history analysis: Regression for longitudinal event data*. Beverly

    Hills, CA: Sage.

D'Antonio, W. V., J. D. Davidson, D. R. Hoge, and R. A. Wallace. 1989. *American Catholic*

    laity in a changing Church. Kansas City: Sheed and Ward.

—. 1996. *Laity: American and Catholic: Transforming the Church*. Kansas City: Sheed and

    Ward.

Davidson, J. D., A. S. Williams, R. A. Lamanna, J. Stenftenagel, K. Maas Weigert, W. J.

    Whalen, and P. Wittberg. 1997. *The search for common ground: What unites and*

    divides Catholic Americans. Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division.

Dudley, R. L. 1999. "Youth religious commitment over time: A longitudinal study of

    retention." *Review of Religious Research* 41: 110-21.

Evans, W. N. and R. M. Schwab. 1995. "Finishing high school and starting college: Do

    Catholic schools make a difference?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 110: 941-974.

Fee, J. L., A. M. Greeley, W. C. McCready, and T. A. Sullivan. 1981. *Young Catholics in the*

    United States and Canada: A report to the Knights of Columbus. New York: Sadlier.

Gallup Poll. 1993. "Catholic schools have little effect on religious attitudes." *Gallup Poll*

    Monthly. No. 335 (August): 26-31.

Greeley, A. M. 1990. *The Catholic myth: The behavior and beliefs of American Catholics*.

    New York: Scribner.

---. 1997. "Catholic school research at the crossroads." Presented at a Conference on the Future

    of Catholic Education. Catholic University of America. Washington, DC.

Greeley, A. M., W. C. McCready, and K. McCourt. 1976. *Catholic schools in a declining*

Church. Kansas City: Sheed and Ward.

Greeley, A. M. and P. H. Rossi. 1966. *The education of Catholic Americans*. Chicago: Aldine.

Gunnoe, M. L. and K. A. Moore. 2002. "Predictors of religiosity among youth aged 17-22: A
longitudinal study of the National Survey of Children." *Journal for the Scientific Study
of Religion* 41: 613-622.

Hoge, D. R., B. Johnson, and D. A. Luidens. 1993. "Determinants of church involvement of
young adults who grew up in Presbyterian churches." *Journal for the Scientific Study of
Religion* 17: 359-379.

Hout, M. 2000. "Angry and alienated: Divorced and remarried Catholics in the United States."
America 183 (December 16): 10-12.

Kooistra, W. P. and K. I. Pargament. 1999. "Religious doubting in parochial school
adolescents." *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 27: 33-42.

Musick, M. and J. Wilson. 1995. Religious switching for marriage reasons. *Sociology of
Religion* 56: 257-270.

Myers, S. M. 1996. "An interactive model of religiosity inheritance: The importance of family
context." *American Sociological Review* 61: 858-866.

O'Connor, T. P., D. R. Hoge, and E. Alexander. 2002. "The relative influence of youth and
adult experiences on personal spirituality and church involvement." *Journal for the
Scientific Study of Religion* 41: 723-732.

Ozorak, E. W. 1989. "Social and cognitive influences on the development of religious beliefs
and commitment in adolescence." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28: 448-
463.

Perl, Paul. 2005. "Religious Commitment and Social Justice Attitudes among Participants in the

Jesuit Volunteer Corps." Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate. Available at: http://cara.georgetown.edu/Number%207%20JVC%/20Paper.pdf

Potvin, R. H., D. R. Hoge, and H. M. Nelson. 1976. *Religion and American youth, with emphasis on Catholic adolescents and young adults*. Washington, DC: Office of Research Policy and Program Development, U.S. Catholic Conference.

Roehlkepartain, E. C. and P. L. Benson. 1993. *Youth in Protestant churches*. Minneapolis: Search Institute.

Sandomirsky, S. and J. Wilson. 1990. "Processes of disaffiliation: Religious mobility among men and women." *Social Forces* 68: 1211-1229.

Sherkat, D. E. 1991. "Leaving the faith: Testing theories of religious switching using survival models." *Social Science Research* 20: 171-187.

Smith, C. 2003. "Religious Participation and Network Closure Among American Adolescents." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42: 259-267.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. 2005. *Renewing our commitment to Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the third millennium*. Washington, DC: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Table 1:
Cox Proportional Hazard Models of the Rate of Leaving Catholicism:
Effects of Elementary Education

Predictor Variables	Exp(b) (Hazard Rate)	
	Model 1	Model 2
Catholic Elementary Schooling		
1-3 Years of Catholic Elementary School[a]	1.09	1.06
4-7 Years of Catholic Elementary School[a]	1.01	0.98
8 or More Years of Catholic Elementary School[a]	1.05	0.88
Parish Education		
1-3 Years of CCD During Elementary School[b]	--	1.05
4-7 Years of CCD During Elementary School[b]	--	0.58*
8 or More Years of CCD During Elementary School[b]	--	0.76
Religiosity While Growing Up		
Weekend Mass Attendance[c]		
A Few Times a Year or Less Often	2.64*	2.41*
Once or Twice a Month	1.49	1.41
Almost Every Week	0.96	0.94
Frequency Discussed Religion with Parents	0.96	0.98
Demographic Controls		
Female	0.89	0.91
Education	0.96	0.97
Year of Birth	1.02*	1.03*
Hispanic	0.57*	0.52*
African American	2.21*	2.05*
Other Race	0.29	0.26
Chi square (df)	55.9 (13)	62.6 (16)

N=849
[a]The suppressed reference category is no attendance of Catholic elementary school.
[b]The suppressed reference category is no CCD attendance during elementary school.
[c]The suppressed reference category is every week.
*$p<.05$

Table 2:
Cox Proportional Hazard Models of the Rate of Leaving Catholicism:
Effects of High School Education

Predictor Variables	Exp(b) (Hazard Rate)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Catholic High Schooling			
Catholic High School Available, but did not Attend	--	1.25	1.27
1-2 Years of Catholic High School[a]	1.71	2.00*	2.06*
3 or More Years of Catholic High School[a]	0.47*	0.55*	0.56*
Parish Education and Youth Group Participation			
1-2 Years of CCD During High School[b]	--	--	0.67
3 or More Years of CCD During High School[b]	--	--	0.93
Participated in a Parish Youth Group During High School	--	--	0.61*
Religiosity While Growing Up			
Weekend Mass Attendance[c]			
A Few Times a Year or Less Often	2.35*	2.31*	2.09*
Once or Twice a Month	1.39	1.36	1.28
Almost Every Week	0.88	0.87	0.86
Frequency Discussed Religion with Parents	0.97	0.97	0.99
Demographic Controls			
Female	0.94	0.94	0.95
Education	0.99	0.98	1.00
Year of Birth	1.03*	1.03*	1.03*
Hispanic	0.56*	0.58*	0.58*
African American	2.10*	2.06*	1.94*
Other Race	0.30	0.28	0.30
Chi square (df)	71.3 (12)	72.8 (13)	83.9 (16)

N=849
[a]In Models 1, the suppressed reference category includes all those who did not attend Catholic high school. In Models 2 and 3, the reference category includes only those for whom no Catholic high school was available.
[b]The suppressed reference category is no CCD attendance during high school.
[c]The suppressed reference category is every week.
*$p<.05$

Table 3:
Cox Proportional Hazard Models of the Rate of Leaving
Catholicism for Another Religion and for no Religion:
Effects of High School Education

Predictor Variables	Exp(b) (Hazard Rate)					
	Other Religion			No Religion		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Catholic High Schooling						
Catholic High School Available, but						
did not Attend	--	1.48	--	--	1.01	--
1-2 Years of Catholic High School[a]	1.83	2.41*	1.97	1.56	1.57	1.42
3 or More Years of Catholic High School[a]	0.50*	0.66	0.67	0.44*	0.44	0.54
Religiosity While Growing Up						
Weekend Mass Attendance[b]						
A Few Times a Year or Less Often	1.91*	1.86	1.64	3.15*	3.15*	2.79*
Once or Twice a Month	0.98	0.94	0.95	2.15*	2.15*	1.95
Almost Every Week	0.72	0.72	0.63	1.14	1.14	1.04
Frequency Discussed Religion with Parents	0.91	0.91	0.94	1.06	1.06	1.07
Marital Status						
First Spouse is or was Catholic[c]	--	--	0.42*	--	--	0.30*
First Spouse is or was non-Catholic[c]	--	--	3.13*	--	--	1.63
Currently Remarried after Divorce[d]	--	--	1.41	--	--	0.50
Chi square	33.0	35.6	109.9	45.4	45.4	80.5
(df)	(12)	(13)	(15)	(12)	(13)	(15)

N=849

Note: All models control demographic characteristics, but the coefficients are not shown for sake of parsimony.

[a]In Models 1 and 3, the suppressed reference category includes all those who did not attend Catholic high school. In Model 2, the reference category includes only those for whom no Catholic high school was available.

[b]The suppressed reference category is every week.

[c]The suppressed reference category is never married.

[d]The suppressed reference category is all others.

*$p<.05$

Table 4:
Binary Logistic Regressions of Current
Weekly Mass Attendance on Catholic High Schooling

Predictor Variables	Exp(b)	
	All Respondents	Current Catholics Only
Catholic High Schooling		
3 or More Years of Catholic High School[a]	1.56*	1.34
Parish Education and Youth Group Participation		
1-2 Years of CCD During High School[b]	1.84*	1.75*
3 or More Years of CCD During High School[b]	1.70*	1.73*
Participated in a Parish Youth Group During High School	1.20	1.07
Religiosity While Growing Up		
Weekend Mass Attendance[c]		
A Few Times a Year or Less Often	0.30*	0.43
Once or Twice a Month	0.17*	0.17*
Almost Every Week	0.23*	0.20*
Frequency Discussed Religion with Parents	1.13	1.14
Demographic Controls		
Female	2.00*	2.13*
Education	1.00	1.02
Year of Birth	0.97*	0.97*
Hispanic	1.69*	1.43
African American	0.90	1.03
Other Race	2.67	2.08
Psuedo R^2	0.26	0.28
N	849	667

[a]The suppressed reference category is all others.
[b]The suppressed reference category is no CCD attendance during high school.
[c]The suppressed reference category is every week.
*$p<.05$

Appendix for Reviewers:
Binary Logistic Regressions of Current
Monthly Mass Attendance on Catholic High Schooling

Predictor Variables	Exp(b)	
	All Respondents	Current Catholics Only
Catholic High Schooling		
3 or More Years of Catholic High School[a]	1.60*	1.26
Parish Education and Youth Group Participation		
1-2 Years of CCD During High School[b]	1.48	1.42
3 or More Years of CCD During High School[b]	1.82*	2.01*
Participated in a Parish Youth Group During High School	1.51*	1.41
Religiosity While Growing Up		
Weekend Mass Attendance[c]		
A Few Times a Year or Less Often	0.48*	0.50
Once or Twice a Month	0.62	0.56
Almost Every Week	0.74	0.62*
Frequency Discussed Religion with Parents	0.87	0.85
Demographic Controls		
Female	1.40*	1.51*
Education	1.02	0.99
Year of Birth	1.01*	1.01*
Hispanic	0.94	0.76
African American	1.35	1.59
Other Race	2.18	1.71
Psuedo R^2	0.14	0.15
N	849	667

[a]The suppressed reference category is all others.
[b]The suppressed reference category is no CCD attendance during high school.
[c]The suppressed reference category is every week.
*$p<.05$

25

Appendix for Reviewers, Continued:
OLS Regressions of Current Mass Attendance on Catholic High Schooling

Predictor Variables	Standardized Coefficients	
	All Respondents	Current Catholics Only
Catholic High Schooling		
3 or More Years of Catholic High School[a]	0.10*	0.06
Parish Education and Youth Group Participation		
1-2 Years of CCD During High School[b]	0.09*	0.09*
3 or More Years of CCD During High School[b]	0.10*	0.10*
Participated in a Parish Youth Group During High School	0.07*	0.05
Religiosity While Growing Up		
Weekend Mass Attendance[c]		
A Few Times a Year or Less Often	-0.13*	-0.11*
Once or Twice a Month	-0.11*	-0.14*
Almost Every Week	-0.10*	-0.15*
Frequency Discussed Religion with Parents	0.08*	0.08*
Demographic Controls		
Female	0.10*	0.13*
Education	0.003	0.02
Year of Birth	-0.12*	-0.15*
Hispanic	0.04	0.0004
African American	0.03	0.04
Other Race	0.05	0.03
R^2	0.15	0.18
N	849	667

Note: the dependent variable ranges from attends rarely or never (coded 1) to attends more than once a week (coded 6).
[a]The suppressed reference category is all others.
[b]The suppressed reference category is no CCD attendance during high school.
[c]The suppressed reference category is every week.
*$p<.05$