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## Family Socialization, Religiosity and Young Men's Fatherhood Plans

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by

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Brigham Young University

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

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## ABSTRACT

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## Family Socialization, Religiosity, and Young Men's Fatherhood Plans

### INTRODUCTION

Some scholars believe that an increasing number of men do not intend to have children (Marks and Palkovitz 2004; Eggebeen 2002; Griswold 1993; Furstenberg 1988; Ehrenreich 1984). As a result, more men in the United States now seek for personal identity and fulfillment outside of family settings than historically before (D'Emilio 1992). This trend of eschewing fatherhood, if it is indeed occurring, is happening even as fatherhood becomes increasingly meaningful and rewarding (Lamb 2003). With the above in mind, the objective of this research is to provide an understanding of what motivates young men to make fatherhood plans.

Some have explained men's fatherhood decisions in historical terms. Furstenberg (1988) claims fatherhood is more optional now than past eras. Traditionally, fatherhood was something expected of almost all men (Marks and Palkovitz 2004). More accurately, fatherhood was more a necessity than expectation (D'Emilio 1992). Families relied on the labor of children as much as adults. Parents and children were interdependent; each would suffer without the presence of the other. With the rise of industrialization, however, changing economic roles drew men out of the home (D'Emilio 1992). This resulted in a spatial separation between work and family. A consequence is that "work and family now share minimal overlap for a conspicuous number of American men" (Marks and Palkovitz, 2004:118). Private and public life operate in separate spheres, enabling men to pursue lifestyles devoid of family attachment (D'Emilio 1992).

Others claim that the state of the economy influences fatherhood plans.

Teachman, Tedrow and Crowder (2000) report that economic stagnation since 1970 has

decreased the economic prospects of young men. Many earn only poverty-level wages (Kimbrell 1995)—wages on which it would be difficult to provide for a family. Young men in these situations are prone to think that establishing a family is beyond their reach (Teachman, Tedrow, and Crowder 2000). Faced with uncertain economic futures, many may opt for life courses that do not include fatherhood.

Historical and economic explanations of young men's fatherhood plans are valuable yet tell only a certain fraction of the experience of young men. That fatherhood is more optional and/or less economically workable is only part of the reason why some young men do not intend to become fathers. Indeed, most men anticipate fatherhood (Marsiglio, Hutchinson and Cohan 2000), notwithstanding its optional nature and economic challenges. So, the question arises as to exactly what motivates some young men to make fatherhood plans and brings others to possess no or ambivalent fatherhood intentions. An approach that digs deeper than macro-level historical and economic forces is needed to answer the question. Barber (1997) and others have developed a research model that does such.

With insight gleaned from years of research, scholars who study the development of young people increasingly point to three factors when explaining their behaviors, attitudes and outcomes. These are family socialization, religiosity and peer influence (Herman et al. 1997). Historical, economic and cultural forces shape the nature of young people's family socialization, religiosity and peer influence (Ford and Lerner 1992), yet these remain the key factors in the development of young people (Vandell 2000; Lerner 1995; Merrill, Salazar and Gardner 2001). This research examines how two of these

factors, family socialization and religiosity, associate with young men's interest in fatherhood.

### *Purpose of Research*

The study focuses on how family socialization and religiosity associate with young men's intention to someday become a father. Existing research has focused on how family experiences influence young people still living with parents (Herman et al. 1997, Barber and Olsen 1997, Feldman and Rosenthal 1991). The continued influence of past family socialization on individuals who have transitioned into adulthood is yet to be fully examined. Rather than ask how family socialization shapes children and adolescents, this research asks how it continues to shape children (meaning the role they play in a relationship) as adults. It provides an understanding of how past family socialization continues to influence young men who have transitioned into early adulthood.

## BACKGROUND

### *Fatherhood*

*Conceptualizations of fatherhood.* Definitions of fatherhood tend to be either biological or social (Stueve and Waynert 2003). A biological conception of fatherhood emphasizes genetic connection between men and children. According to this perspective, a man becomes a father and enters fatherhood when he sires a child (Dowd 2000). While exceptions occur due to practices such as adoption and sperm donation, legal and financial responsibility for children is an inherent aspect of men's begetting of children (Marsiglio et al. 2000). A social conceptualization of fatherhood is based on the childrearing roles, activities, and responsibilities that men carry out (Tanfer and Mott

1997). This definition emphasizes men's participation in the lives of children, not their biological relatedness (Dowd 2000). Admittedly, a conceptualization of fatherhood that focuses on involvement with children includes most biological fathers (Tanfer and Mott 1997). Yet, a social conception of fatherhood also recognizes an array of men who lack a genetic connection to children as fathers (Marsiglio et al. 2000).

A social conceptualization of fatherhood is most appropriate for this research. When seeking to understand how young men's fatherhood intentions are associated with family socialization, whether or not young men and fathers are biologically related is not as relevant as the contribution made by fathers to their development. Moreover, the study assumes that young men who state they intend to have children, almost always insinuate raising children in some way and not merely biologically begetting them.

*Importance of fatherhood.* Actively fathering children benefits men. Fatherhood exposes men to situations and relationships that develop integrity, patience, multi-tasking skills, open-mindedness and other desirable traits (Newman and Newman 1998; Palkovitz 1996). Entering fatherhood can also improve men's health. New fathers eat healthier than they did prior to parenthood (Aljadir 1988) and become less likely to engage in alcohol and substance abuse (Jarvis 2005). Fathers develop a form of happiness less concentrated on individual wants and based more on relationships with others (Layard 2005). Such happiness tends to be more long-term than other forms (Tanfer and Mott 1997). While it is inaccurate to claim that fatherhood is necessary for personal growth and happiness, it does have the potential to foster a distinct and valuable maturity in men (Palkovitz 2002). Thus, it does men well to act as a father toward children.

Children develop best when they have an involved father (Popenoe 1996:191). Fathers provide unique emotional support, feelings of security, and material resources (Biller 1993). Children who have a father enjoy a greater sense of well-being, improved cognitive development, and elevated social competence (Amato and Rivera 1999). They also tend to perform better in school than other children (Marsiglio et al. 2000). So long as fathers who do not live with their children are involved and provide a positive example, they too aid in their children's development (Kindlon and Thompson 2000). For example, Thomas, Farrell and Barnes (1994) report that children living in single-parent families who maintain a relationship with their father engage in heavy-drinking and substance abuse less often than children living in single-parent families who have no relationship with their father.

Communities rely on fathers in many ways (Flouri 2005; Haney and March 2003). Men who have children living at home are the most likely to fulfill school board positions, serve in parent-teacher organizations, coach youth sports, run scouting programs and fulfill other positions of responsibility within communities (Doherty 2001; Marks and Palkovitz 2004). Fathers' involvement in communities also lowers school dropout rates, decreases the numbers of families who live in poverty, and lowers rates of crime and substance abuse (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2004). In short, fathers bring stability to and help unify communities.

*Fatherhood trends.* Biological fathers are now less likely to play an active role in the lives of their own children than previously. This lack of involvement is largely attributable to the growing number of biological fathers who do not live with their children due to increases in divorce and single-parenthood (Berkman 1986). While some

continue relationships with their children, fathers who live away from their children face barriers that hamper efforts to do so (Marsiglio et al. 2000). As a result, the majority contribute relatively little to their children's development (McLanahan 2005). Most provide limited emotional and economic support (Mott 1993). Less than half see their children at least several times a year (Popenoe 1996).

Conversely, the percentage of men who lack a biological connection to children but are involved with raising them has risen over the same time. This is, at least in part, also due to a rise in divorce and single-parenthood (Palkovitz 2002). Such men typically establish relationships with a woman who is a mother and subsequently act as a father toward her children (Marsiglio et al. 2000). This increase in the percentage of men who lack genetic ties to children but help raise them is also a result of the buildup of youth mentoring programs that has occurred in recent decades (Grossman and Rhodes 2002).

As noted in opening paragraph of the paper, the overall prevalence of fathering—both biological and social—may be declining in the United States. While belief in some past golden age when all children enjoyed an involved father is mistaken (Coontz 2000), some are convinced that men's current disengagement from children is unprecedented in both quantity and acceleration (Duncan 2000). For example, Marks and Palkovitz (2005) claim that a "paternity free-manhood" has emerged in recent decades, defined by men's conscious choice to not have children. Similarly, Ehrenreich (1984) argues that men have increasingly sought to abandon family commitments since the mid-1940s. Griswold (1993:228) states that "men have increasingly looked beyond marriage and fatherhood for ... personal gratification ... [and some] now view alternative life choices with equanimity and even approval." In light of such, some hold that fatherhood has



transitioned from a near-universal experience for men to merely a common one (Eggebeen 2002).

### *Social Learning Theory*

Social learning theory holds that much learning is accomplished socially (Bandura 1977). While people learn from consequences of their actions, this is not the typical (or even preferred) way of acquiring knowledge (Griffin 1991). Rather, individuals gain most of their knowledge through observation. By watching others, understandings of how behaviors can and/or ought to be conducted are formed (Mihalic and Elliot 1997). Values of behaviors are assessed via vicarious reward and punishment (Bandura 1977). As people observe others benefit from engaging in a particular behavior, they become more likely to emulate it. Conversely, when people perceive that others receive harm from a behavior, they become less likely to emulate it. Once individuals process such information, they use it as a guide for their own future action (Chibucos and Leite 2005).

As this study seeks to understand how family socialization influences young men's fatherhood plans, social learning theory is an appropriate framework. Social learning theory holds that family plays an especially crucial role in the learning of behaviors (Chibucos and Leite 2005). Of all social groups in which individuals participate, family is the most permanent and influential (Chen and Kaplan 2001). Children assess the value of many behaviors through observation of and interaction with family members (Mihalic and Elliot 1997:98). Patterns of behavior within a home are deeply reinforced and relearned over time and have a mediating effect on behaviors learned outside the home (Griffin 1991).

### *Family Socialization*

Family connection, family regulation, and family psychological autonomy are the key components of family socialization (Barber 1997). Each has its own impact on the development of young people (Herman et al. 1997). Individual families employ some combination of these components (e.g. high connection, low regulation, medium psychological autonomy) and subsequently provide their children with a unique style of family socialization (Barber and Olsen 1997). Variations in the ways families socialize their children account for many of the differences that exist in the behaviors, attitudes and outcomes of young people (Eccles et al. 1997).

*Family connection.* Family connection is a measure of the positive emotional connections that children have with their parents (Barber 1997). It is greatest when children perceive their parents as loving and involved (Herman et al. 1997). Parents may be affectionate, but if children do not recognize such or are unappreciative, family connection is minimal (Townsend 2002). Recognizing the perception children have of their relationship with their parents is the key to correctly conceptualizing family connection (Eccles et al 1997).

Family connection impacts the development of young people. High family connection benefits children on measures of both internal and external well-being (Barber 1997). For example, young people who feel loved by their parents are insulated from feelings of depression and anxiety (Barber and Olsen 1997). They are also less likely to engage in delinquent behavior and tend to do better in school (Herman et al. 1997). Children who feel connected to parents also have better physical health (Rohner and Veneziano 2001). There has been some debate among social scientists about whether or

not family connection becomes too extreme and actually hampers development. Some have claimed that family relationships can become “over-involved” and impair individual functioning (Epstein et al. 1982). For example, children may feel so attached to their parents that they find little interest in socializing with peers. They would consequently miss out on positive aspects of relationships that exist outside a family setting. While possible, it is likely that such happens only rarely. Research has consistently found that family connection is linearly associated with measures of adolescent internal and external well-being (Barber and Buehler 1996).

*Potential association between family connection and fatherhood intentions.* It is likely that family connection is associated with young men’s fatherhood plans. Children and adolescents feel a strong attachment—whether good, bad or otherwise—to parents (Chibucos and Leite 2005). The quality of this attachment influences what parent-child attachment comes to mean to young men (Chen and Kaplan 2001). Those who feel connected to parents may value parent-child attachments more than others. As a result, they may become more likely to view fatherhood as a worthwhile pursuit. Conversely, young men who feel little connection to parents may view parenthood as less rewarding. As a result, young men who lack connection to parents may become less likely to make fatherhood plans.

Based on a review of relevant literature and the above theoretically informed argument, this study hypothesizes that young men who are more connected to parents will be more likely to intend to become a father.

*Family regulation.* Family regulation is a measure of the expectations that a family has for its members (Barber 1997). There are three key components of family

regulation. The first is monitoring. Monitoring is the placement of limits on behavior (Herman et al. 1997). One example is enforcing a curfew in the home, yet monitoring also entails broader behaviors such as parents being aware of children's activities. The second component is household organization. It is the concreteness of rules regarding household routines (Herman et al. 1997). Child understanding what is expected of them upon arriving home from school is one example of household organization. Discipline is the final component of family regulation (Chadwick 2005). This is the process of correcting inappropriate behavior. Discipline entails discouraging some forms of behavior and encouraging certain others.

Family regulation factors in young people's development. Families who regulate their children provide a structure in which they feel secure (Eccles et a. 1997). Children of families who do not adequately regulate become prone to impulsiveness, risky behavior, and negative influence from others (Barber 1997). Flannery et al. (1999) report that children who go unsupervised after school are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior than children who arrive home to a waiting parent. Still, high family regulation does not necessarily equate to improved individual functioning. More is not always better. Some research has found that very strict monitoring is associated with increases in risky behavior among children (Miller, Benson and Galbraith 2001). Children benefit most when there is a healthy balance to family regulation.

For family regulation to remain a positive factor in young people's development, it must adjust over time. In many cases, older children require different regulation than younger children. Not adjusting expectations and disciplinary practices to fit developing

children puts them at a greater risk of engaging in delinquent acts (Shields and Clark 1995). Parents who fail to regulate appropriately can negatively impact their children.

*Potential association between family regulation and fatherhood intentions.* It is possible that family regulation is associated with young men's fatherhood plans. Young people establish rules and guides for behavior by observing others (Bandura 1977). For example, if one observes a gardener or pilot in action, he or she will formulate an understanding of how to care for a yard or fly a plane (Griffin 1991). Likewise, when young men observe their parents, they develop ideas of what parenthood entails. Parents who establish clear expectations, actively monitor children and provide discipline give their boys a clear model of fatherhood. Conversely, parents who do not regulate children make it more difficult for their boys to extrapolate an understanding of fatherhood from their behavior. Young men who receive only limited regulation from parents may have less developed ideas about how to be a father and consequently plan on it less.

As over-regulation negatively impacts children (Miller, Benson and Galbraith 2001), young men whose parents highly regulate them may have less intention to become a father. They may become more skeptical about the benefits of family life and become less likely to pursue fatherhood. In brief, the relationship between family regulation and interest in fatherhood may be curvilinear. It may be that both low and very high amounts of regulation diminish fatherhood plans.

Based on a review of relevant literature and the above theoretically informed argument, this study hypothesizes that young men who receive greater regulation—up to some point—will be more likely to plan on fatherhood and young men who experience regulation beyond that point will be less likely to plan on fatherhood.

*Family psychological autonomy.* Family psychological autonomy is a measure of the freedom that young people are given by their parents to assert their own identity (Barber and Olsen 1997). It is greatest when parents not only allow but also facilitate their children's development of a unique identity (Barber 1997). To do so, parents must promote expressions of individuality and employ "noncoercive, democratic discipline" (Herman et al. 1997:42).

Family psychological autonomy shapes the development of young people. Herman et al. (1997) claim that high psychological autonomy in adolescents improves both their academic performance and physical health and makes them less prone to feelings of depression and substance abuse. Conversely, parental intrusion into young people's personal identity renders them vulnerable to feelings of inadequacy and more likely to engage in anti-social behavior (Conger, Conger and Scaramella 1997).

Family psychological autonomy is increasingly critical as children transition to adolescence. This is a significant time for children as it brings about social, emotional, and cognitive changes (Conger, Conger and Scaramella 1997). They begin to show greater desire for responsibility and independence. They establish their own views about the world (White, Speisman and Costos 1983) and begin to create their own identities (Lineé 1996). Parents must accommodate these changes. Certain instances of exercising control over children that were previously acceptable must be abandoned. Failure to do so can harm children (Barber 1997).

The process of granting increased psychological autonomy to children must be done with care. It is possible for parents to overly disengage themselves from their children (Nicholson 2005). In such cases, families become fragmented. Relationships

may be congenial, but they lack real substance that serves to keep family members close. When children develop a personal identity that is excessively void of parental influence, the family becomes more of a “jumping-off point” than actual source of strength and support (Nicholson 2005).

*Potential association between family psychological autonomy and fatherhood intentions.* Family psychological autonomy may be related to young men’s intention to become a father. Individuals attach perceived rewards and costs to behaviors (Chibucos and Leite 2005). Parents who unjustly disrupt the development of young men’s own identity may cause their boys to view family life as an impediment to happiness. Thus, they may become less likely to want a family of their own. In addition, some may go to such extreme lengths to assert their independence that they consequently become inclined toward lifestyles that are more individualistic than fatherhood allows.

As parents can overly disengage themselves from their children’s identity and negatively impact their development (Nicholson 2005), it may also be that very high psychological autonomy diminishes the likelihood that young men will intend to become a father. If young men develop a sense of self overly devoid of family influence, they may end up lacking desire to establish one of their own. In brief, the relationship between family psychological autonomy and interest in fatherhood may be curvilinear. Both low and very high levels of psychological autonomy may diminish young men’s fatherhood intentions.

Based on a review of relevant literature and the above theoretically informed argument, this study hypothesizes that young men who are given greater psychological autonomy—up to some point—are more likely to plan on fatherhood and young men who

are given psychological autonomy beyond that point become less likely to plan on fatherhood.

*Parenting style.* A parenting style is a combination of family connection and family regulation measures (Schwartz, Thigpen and Montgomery 2006). There four commonly recognized types are *uninvolved*, *indulgent*, *authoritarian*, and *authoritative* (Darling 1999). Parents who employ an uninvolved parenting style exhibit low levels of family connection and regulation. While such parents typically love their children, they fail to express such or otherwise involve themselves with their children (Baumrind 1991). Indulgent parents express love but do not establish concrete expectations and boundaries for children's behavior. Their children feel loved but may parents more as pushovers than true authority figures. Authoritarian parents highly regulate their children, but provide little and/or conditional affection. They are "obedience and status-oriented, and expect their orders to be obeyed without explanation" (Baumrind 1991:62). Authoritative parents establish both loving relationships and structure within the home. Children of authoritative parents know both what is expected of them and that they are loved (Schwartz, Thigpen and Montgomery 2006).

Parenting styles influence the development of young people in unique ways. On the whole, authoritative parenting tends to benefit children the most (Darling 1999). Children of authoritative parents enjoy greater personal well-being and confidence (Schwartz, Thigpen and Montgomery 2006). They also have better social skills than other children (Baumrind 1991). Weiss and Schwartz (1996) report that authoritative parenting improves children's academic performance and renders them less use drugs. In



short, children of authoritative parents tend to score highest on measures of both internal and external well-being.

*Potential association between parenting styles and fatherhood intentions.* It may be that parenting style is associated with young men's fatherhood intentions. Perceptions of valuable behavior are formulated through vicarious reward and punishment (Bandura 1977). Boys who have uninvolved parents, seeing that their parents find little motivation to care for children (Baumrind 1991), may become more likely to believe that parenthood is not rewarding. Authoritarian parents often withhold approval until they are satisfied with children's behavior (Baumrind 1991). Thus, young men who have such parents may observe their consistent dissatisfaction and conclude that fatherhood is frustrating and/or disappointing. Conversely, the dedication that authoritative parents have to parenting may incline their sons to conclude that fatherhood would bring increased personal fulfillment and meaning to their life.

Based on a review of relevant literature and the above theoretically informed argument, this study hypothesizes that young men who have authoritative parents will be more likely to intend to become a father than other young men.

### *Religiosity*

Religiosity is the importance of religion in a person's life (Koeing, Parkerson and Meador 1997). It is often conceptualized as having public and private dimensions (Bahr et al. 1998). Public religiosity is a measure of an individual's religious practices that others observe. It includes attending religious services, praying in public, and proselytizing (Hill and Hood 1999). Private religiosity is embodied by efforts to draw close to a higher power that are carried out on one's own (Johnstone 2004). It includes

personal prayer, study, and efforts to live by a set of religious principles (Bahr et al. 1998). These public and private dimensions of religiosity have unique impacts on people (Johnstone 2004).

*Public religiosity.* Being publicly religious influences young people's development. Young people who are publicly religious benefit in many ways (Smith and Denton 2005). They are less likely to commit suicide than other young people (Koeing et al. 2001) and have fewer emotional problems (Nonnemaker, McNeely and Blum 2003). They also have better relationships with parents, and are less likely to smoke, drink and have premarital sex (Smith and Denton 2005). There is also evidence that publicly religious young people do better in school (Dollahite and Thatcher, forthcoming).

*Potential association between public religiosity and fatherhood intentions.* It is possible that public religiosity influences young men's intention to become a father. People gain an understanding of what behaviors are valuable and worthwhile through listening to and observing others (Griffin 1991). Religious organizations tend to teach young people that fatherhood can add happiness and meaning to their life (Dollahite 1998). Most also recognize that men can live meaningful and happy lives that are devoid of fatherhood (Darrington, Piercy and Niehuis 2005) and instruct young men that the decision to become a father should be made with care. Still, while churches allow that in certain situations becoming a father would have negative consequences, they tend to talk about the value of fatherhood more than the value of other forms of adulthood (Wilcox 2004). Thus, young men who are publicly religious may become more likely to value fatherhood and have greater intention to become a father.

Based on a review of relevant literature and the above theoretically informed argument, this study hypothesizes that young men who are more publicly religious will be more likely to intend to become a father.

*Private religiosity.* Private religiosity influences young people's development. Like public religiosity, it tends to help young people score better on measures of internal and external well-being (Smith and Denton 2005). The more privately religious young people are the less likely they are to engage in acts of delinquency and violence (Shah 2004). Being privately religious brings young people closer to their parents (Bollinger and Palkovitz 2003). Private religiosity also gives people greater personal meaning because they hold themselves to higher moral standards (Harris 1997). In addition, young people who are privately religious have fewer suicidal thoughts (Nonnemaker, McNeely and Blum 2003).

*Potential association between public private religiosity and fatherhood intentions.* It may be that private religiosity is associated with young men's fatherhood plans. Some scholars believe that religiosity and family are two concepts that are closely linked in people's minds (Dollahite, Marks and Goodman 2004). When people consider one, they tend to think of the other as well. As young men develop private religiosity, they may concurrently develop intentions to become a father. Moreover, young men who are privately religious tend to have more positive views of family life (Brodey, Stoneman and Flor 1996), which may render them more likely to plan on fatherhood.

Based on a review of relevant literature and the above theoretically informed argument, this study hypothesizes that young men who are more privately religious will be more likely to intend to become a father.

### *Summary of Research Model*

This research aims at understanding what factors influence young men fatherhood plans. Rather than focus on macro-level forces, it examines the roles of family socialization and religiosity in the decision to become a father. Specifically, the research tests for the influences of family connection, regulation, psychological autonomy and public and private religiosity on young men's fatherhood intentions. As connection and regulation measures can be used to construct parenting styles, the research also tests for the influence of parenting styles on young men's fatherhood intentions.

### METHOD

#### *Subjects*

Data come from focal children of main respondents to the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). The NSFH is a longitudinal survey representative of American households with an over-sampling of single-parent and reconstituted families, cohabiters, minority families, and recently married persons (Sweet, Bumpass and Call 1988). To account for bias introduced by the over-sampling of certain populations, respondents and their focal children who are considered part of the over-sample are not examined in this study. Data were collected in the years 1987-88, 1992-94, and 2001-03. Focal children were interviewed at Wave Three (2001-03) of the NSFH. When interviewed, they were 19 to 34 years old. Interviews were conducted via telephone. There were 4,129 eligible focal children (Wright 2003). Of these, 1,952 completed an interview, making a response rate of 47%. However, if only focal children who were located are considered, the response rate improves to 77%. Of focal children who

completed an interview, 905 are men (Wright 2003). With those considered part of the over-sample excluded, the number of young men examined in this study becomes 671.

The NSFH is the appropriate dataset to use in answering the question posed by this study. While the NSFH does not contain measures of family connection, regulation and psychological autonomy that have been used in other studies (Barber 1997; Eccles et al. 1997), it asks questions that embody these concepts. The NSFH also contains information about young men's fatherhood plans. Other datasets that have family socialization data lack information about young men's fatherhood intentions. The NSFH is the only dataset capable of addressing how family socialization and religiosity relate to young men's intention to become a father.

### *Measures*

*Fatherhood intention.* The dependent variable is fatherhood intention. Men who were fathers and men who were not fathers were asked slightly different questions about this. Young fathers (N=213) and men whose wife or partner was pregnant with their first child (N=40) were asked, "Just before [the first] pregnancy began, did you yourself want to have a baby at some time?" Possible answers were *yes*, *no* and *do not know*. Including these men in the study is acceptable because although they have children or were expecting a child, they were asked about their fatherhood plans prior to having children or expecting the birth of their first child. Young men who were not fathers and did not have a spouse or partner pregnant with their first child (N=433) were asked two questions that pertain to fatherhood intentions. The first was, "Do you intend to have a child sometime?" As with the other group, possible answers were *yes*, *no* and *do not know*. Based on the response to this question, a follow-up question was asked. It was, "How

sure are you that you will (not) have children?” Possible answers were *very sure*, *moderately sure*, *not at all sure* and *do not know*.

Fatherhood intention is coded as a binary variable. For men who were already fathers or happened to be expecting their first child, answers of *no* and *do not know* are coded zero (*no or uncertain intention to be a father*). An answer of *yes* is coded one (*intention to be a father*). While an ordinal variable that runs from zero (*very sure does not intend to be a father*) to six (*very sure intends to be a father*) is possible for young men who were not fathers and did not have a pregnant spouse or partner, the resulting variable is heavily skewed with over 75% (n=327) of young men scoring a five or six. Skewed ordinal variables are difficult to statistically analyze as more meaningful differences between values are spread across less meaningful differences (Dennis Eggett, personal communication, May 19, 2006). So, the ordinal variable is collapsed to a binary variable. Scores of zero (*very sure does not intend to be a father*) through four (*not at all sure intends to be a father*) are recoded zero (*unsure or no intention to be a father*). Scores of five (*moderately sure intends to be a father*) and six (*very sure intends to be a father*) are recoded one (*intention to be a father*).

Constructing the dependent variable this way is acceptable both logically and empirically. Men who receive a score of zero and men who receive a score of one are both qualitatively and quantitatively different. In order for young men who are not fathers and did not have a pregnant spouse or partner to be coded as a one, they must have responded affirmatively to not one, but two questions concerning fatherhood plans. The follow-up question weeds out young men who gave a knee-jerk “yes” response to the first question. Moreover, a histogram of the ordinal variable reveals a large discrepancy

between the number of men who score a zero through four (107) and the number of men who score a five or six (327).

#### FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Eight young men who are not biological fathers and were not expecting the arrival of their first child but live with one or more children of a spouse or partner received a score of zero. However, these men, according to a social conception of fatherhood at least, have already chosen fatherhood. Thus, these young men's fatherhood intention scores are recoded as one. In total, 120 (17.9%) young men report no or uncertain intention to be a father and 539 (80.3%) report intention to be a father. Due to missing data, 12 (1.8%) young men are not assigned a score.

Measures of family socialization are assessed for fathers and mothers separately. To this point, the paper has written in terms of family connection, family regulation and family psychological autonomy. However, keeping data about fathers and mothers separate is often useful. As no two people are the same, fathers and mothers potentially influence their children in different ways. For example, while young men learn about parenting from mothers, it is believed that they base perceptions of fatherhood on experiences had with fathers (Gerson 1994). Maintaining father and mother family socialization measures distinct will account for differences in how mothers and fathers influence young men's fatherhood intentions. Accordingly, rather than only employing variables that are general measures of family connection, regulation, and psychological autonomy, this study uses variables that measure these with respect to individual parents.

*Family connection.* Connection scores are established by taking young men's averaged score of responses to six questions that use the same five-point Likert scale.

This is the best way to construct measures of connection. For one, if a respondent failed to answer a question, they can still be assigned a value. This maintains sample size. Second, an averaged score of responses to questions using the same scale is more meaningful than a value created through a factor analysis or other statistical method. Connection is coded such that higher scores signify greater connection. Young men must have answered at least four questions to receive a connection score. Some young men lack a connection score for one parent (e.g. father) but have a score for a stepparent (e.g. stepfather). Stepparent connection scores are substituted in such cases. In cases where young men have a connection score for both a parent and stepparent (e.g. father and stepfather), the connection score that is greatest is used. These decisions are consistent with a social conceptualization of fatherhood—stressing involvement with children over biological relatedness.

#### TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Statistical analyses provide evidence that the connection measures created for this study are reliable. Principle component analyses reveal that the questions measure the same concept. Also, reliability analyses return Cronbach's Alpha scores above the .70 standard (Nunnally 1978).

*Family regulation.* Men in the sample were not asked questions about regulation received from parents. However, parents provided data of this nature at Wave One of the NSFH. Their parents' reports are used to establish a measure of the regulation young men received as children and adolescents. Parents answered two sets of questions regarding how they regulate their children. The first set gathered information about specific regulatory practices (e.g., spanking children, restricting TV hours). The second



set sought for a more general understanding of the level of regulation that occurs within the home. At first thought, it may seem that information about specific behaviors would serve as a better measure of regulation. This is, however, not the case. A good measure of regulation is not about specific practices so much as broader efforts to direct children (Darling 1999). Moreover, what specific regulatory practices parents choose to employ is influenced by factors such as the age of children, family size, housing situation, obligations and activities outside the home, and income level (Baumrind 1991). Consequently, answers to the second set of regulation questions are used to establish measures of family regulation.

Regulation scores are established by taking the averaged score of responses to four questions that use the same five-point Likert scale. Constructing regulation measures this way maintains sample size and provides more meaningful measures. Regulation is coded such that higher scores signify greater regulation. Parents must have answered at least three of the four questions to receive a regulation score. Consistent with a social conceptualization of fatherhood, stepparent scores are once again substituted for parent scores when appropriate.

#### TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Statistical analyses provide evidence that the regulation measures created for this study are reliable. Principle component analyses reveal that the questions measure the same concept. Also, reliability analyses return Cronbach's Alpha scores above the .70 standard (Nunnaly 1978).

*Family psychological Autonomy.* Psychological autonomy scores are established by taking young men's averaged score of responses to four questions that use the same

five-point Likert scale. Again, constructing measures of psychological autonomy this way maintains sample size and provides more meaningful measures. Psychological autonomy is coded such that lower scores signify lesser psychological autonomy and higher scores indicate greater psychological autonomy. Young men must have answered at least three questions to receive a psychological autonomy score. As with the other family socialization variables, stepparent scores are substituted when appropriate.

#### TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Statistical analyses provide evidence that the psychological autonomy measures created for this study are reliable. Principle component analyses reveal that the questions measure the same concept. Also, Cronbach's Alpha scores were .68.

*Parenting style.* Parenting style is coded as a categorical variable. It is established by standardizing parent connection and regulation scores and placing those that are  $\frac{1}{2}$  standard deviations above and/or below the mean into the corresponding category. Using  $\frac{1}{2}$  standard deviations as the criterion for inclusion is best. Doing so provides a larger sample size than a cutoff of one standard deviation above and or below the mean and also ensures that respondents whose parents did not clearly employ one of Baumrind's parenting styles (i.e., parents who employ only moderate connection and/or regulation) are not assigned a parenting style. Using the above criteria, 34 fathers of young men are categorized as uninvolved, 54 as indulgent, 23 as authoritarian, and 46 as authoritative. For mothers, 48 are classified as uninvolved, 61 as indulgent, 37 as authoritarian, and 59 as authoritative. Young men whose father and/or mother did not clearly employ one or another parenting style are assigned to an "undifferentiated"

category. There are 276 undifferentiated fathers and 363 undifferentiated mothers. Because of missing data, 238 fathers and 103 mothers are not assigned to a category.

*Public religiosity.* Public religiosity is constructed by measuring how often young men attend religious services. Respondents answered the question, “How often do you attend religious services?” using the unit of time of their preference. For example, some young men reported “twice a year” and others “once a week.” To establish uniformity, answers are recoded so that scores indicate the number of times that young men attended religious services per month.

*Private religiosity.* Private religiosity is assessed using responses to the question, “How religious are you? Would you say you are very religious, somewhat religious, not very religious, or not at all religious?” Thus, private religiosity is an ordinal variable that runs from zero (not at all religious) to three (very religious).

*Controls.* Age, education, and income are believed to impact young men’s fatherhood plans (Kaufman 1997; Teachman, Tedrow, and Crowder 2000), and are consequently included as control variables. Young men reported their age at the time of interview and revealed how much education they had completed. Their annual income was established using a series of questions. The age and education variables are normally distributed. The income variable, however, contains outliers. Accordingly, income is recoded such that men are ranked in order of income. This is an effective way of dealing with outliers in variables that are not critical components of a study (Dennis Eggett, personal communication, June 9, 2006).

## *Procedures*

As intention to be a father, the dependent variable, is coded with two possible values, logistic regression is used to test the hypotheses. Logistic regression is a statistical procedure that determines how factors affect the presence or absence of a given characteristic—intention to be a father in this case. It is the preferred regression method for binary dependent variables because these violate two assumptions that linear regression makes about dependent variables: homoscedasticity and normality of distribution (Hoffmann 2004). Rather than assess how dependent variables change in relation to independent variables, logistic regression measures how independent variables change in the odds that a characteristic will be present (Kleinbaum 1994).

Missing data are a potential problem and must be addressed. While few respondents refused to answer questions used to construct this study's variables, more than 300 young men drop out of the analysis when a full model is employed. The problem is most attributable to the number of parents who did not provide family regulation data at Wave One of the NSFH. In order to submit such, parents had to complete a questionnaire and return it via mail. Many failed to do so. To mitigate the consequences of missing data, multiple statistical models are run. Each model is structured a particular way in an attempt to understand the relationship between independent variables and the dependent variable one at a time, while still controlling for the influence of the other independent variables. More detailed information about the structure of each model is included in the results section of the paper.

The research must also address whether the relationship between fatherhood intention and certain variables is curvilinear. The study has hypothesized that both low

and very high levels of regulation and psychological autonomy may decrease the odds that young men intend to become a father. To measure for such a relationship, new variables that are the squares of these predictor variables are generated and both the predictors and their square are included in the analyses. This is an appropriate way of accounting for curvilinear relationships between variables (Hoffmann 2004).

## RESULTS

### *Full Model*

The first model in Table 4 measures the association between young men's intention to be a father and all independent variables. Its usefulness is limited due to missing data (N=337), but it does provide insight as to which factors may associate with the odds that young men will intend to become a father. Mother connection is significantly associated with the odds that young men will intend to be a father and it appears that father connection and private religiosity may also associate with young men's intention to be a father. Because the measure for income suffers from missing data (76 missing cases) and has a negligible effect, it is not included in subsequent models.

### *Family Connection*

The second model in Table 4 focuses on the association between young men's intention to be a father and the connection they have to their father and mother individually. To increase the number of young men included in the analysis, measures of father and mother regulation are pooled to create a more general measure of family regulation. If regulation data are available for only one parent, that parent's regulation score serves as the family regulation score. If regulation data are available for both parents, regulation scores are averaged to create the general family regulation score. This

pooling process is repeated for the father and mother psychological autonomy measures to create a general measure of family psychological autonomy. While failing to provide information about regulation and autonomy with respect to individual parents, using these general family regulation and psychological autonomy measures adds over 200 young men to the model.

This model reveals that connection to both father and mother connection associate with young men's intention to be father. Remembering that father and mother connection scores run from zero (*very low connection*) to four (*very high connection*), a one unit increase in father connection is associated with a 31% increase in the odds that young men will have intention to be a father. Also, a one unit increase in mother connection is associated with a 61% increase in the odds that young men will have intention to be a father.

#### TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

#### *Family Regulation*

The third model in Table 4 is structured to measure the association between young men's intention to be a father and family regulation. To increase the number of cases included in the analyses, measures of father and mother connection are pooled into one measure of general family connection using the method outlined above. The same is once again done with father and mother psychological autonomy to create a general measure of family psychological autonomy.

The model indicates that father and mother regulation are not associated with young men's intention to be father. A secondary model that includes father and mother regulation variables and their squares does not produce significant associations. This

indicates that there is not a curvilinear relationship between family regulation and young men's fatherhood intentions.

#### *Family Psychological Autonomy*

The fourth model in Table 4 focuses on the association between young men's intention to be a father and father and mother psychological autonomy. To maximize the number of cases included in the analysis, measures of father and mother connection and regulation are once again pooled into general measures of family connection and family regulation respectively.

This model does not reveal significant associations between father and mother psychological autonomy and young men's intention to be father. A secondary model that includes father and mother psychological autonomy variables and their squares does not produce significant associations. This indicates there is not a curvilinear relationship between family psychological autonomy and young men's fatherhood intentions.

#### *Public Religiosity*

The fifth model in Table 4 is structured to measure the association between young men's intention to be a father and public religiosity. To increase the number of young men included in the analysis, measures of father and mother connection, regulation, and psychological autonomy are dropped in favor of general measures of family connection, regulation and psychological autonomy. The model indicates that public religiosity is not associated with young men's intention to be father.

#### *Private Religiosity*

The fifth model in Table 4 also measures the association between young men's fatherhood intentions and private religiosity. The model reveals that private religiosity is

associated with young men's intention to be father. Remembering that private religiosity scores run on a scale from zero (*not at all religious*) to three (*very religious*), a one unit increase in private religiosity is associated with a 26% increase in the odds that young men will have intention to be a father.

### *Parenting Styles*

Additional analyses are conducted to assess whether parenting style is associated with young men's fatherhood plans. As shown in Tables 5 and 6, several models are used to measure differences between young men whose parents employ a particular parenting style (e.g. uninvolved) and young men whose parents employ other parenting styles (e.g. indulgent, authoritative).

These models reveal that young men who have authoritative parents are more likely to of have intention to be a father than young men who have uninvolved parents. With respect to mothers only, young who have authoritarian mothers are less likely to intend to become a father than young men who have authoritative or undifferentiated mothers. Also, young men who have uninvolved mothers are less likely to have intention to become a father than young men who have indulgent or undifferentiated mothers. These smaller associations were not significant among fathers. In sum, the strongest and most consistent difference in fatherhood intention exists between young men of authoritative and uninvolved parents. Young men who have authoritative parents have greater odds of having intention to be a father than young men who have uninvolved parents.

TABLES 5 AND 6 ABOUT HERE

### DISCUSSION



The bulk of previous research on young men and fatherhood decisions has spoken in terms of macro-level historical and economic change (Furstenberg 1988; Teachman, Tedrow and Crowder 2000). Basic conclusions of such work have been that fatherhood is now more optional and less economically workable for young men (Marsiglio et al 2000). These findings are valuable yet do not account for the impact of more personal experiences on young men's fatherhood plans. Accordingly, this research has examined how family socialization and religiosity influence young men's fatherhood intentions.

### *Family Connection*

As hypothesized, the connection young men feel toward parents plays a critical role in their own decisions to become a father. Young men who perceive love and affection from their parents are more likely to intend to become a father. Considering that parents who connect with their children express greater satisfaction with parenthood (Hamill, Fleming and Neil 2002) and tend to be happier (Bollinger and Palkovitz 2003), it is not surprising that young men who have connected families are more likely to intend to become a father. Through observation of their parents, young men formulate ideas about which behaviors are rewarding and which are not (Chibucos and Leite 2005; Mihalic and Elliot 1997). Young men who witness their parents acquire fulfillment and happiness through connecting with children come to believe that parenting is rewarding. Thus, they become more likely to intend to become a father.

Connection to father and connection to mother are both important factors in young men's fatherhood plans. As noted, some scholars have proposed that the men's fatherhood perceptions tend to be grounded in experiences had with their own fathers (Aronson, Whitehead and Baber 2003; Gerson 1994). Indeed, when men speak of

fatherhood, they often refer back to their own fathers (Townsend 2002). However, although qualitative research has implied that connection to father may influence young men's fatherhood plans more than connection to mother, the findings of this research show that such is not the case.

### *Family Regulation*

The degree of regulation employed by fathers and mothers does not factor in young men's fatherhood plans. This is not too surprising when one considers that previous research regarding the influence of family regulation on young people has found that its effects tend to be more external than internal (Barber 1997). For example, higher regulation is associated with diminished chances that young people will engage in acts of delinquency, but is not associated with anxiety or depression levels (Petit et al 2001). As fatherhood intention is developed and held internally, it is understandable that family regulation bears little on it.

Family regulation is not curvilinearly related to young men's intention to become a father. While it is possible for parents to influence young men's emotional state through over-regulation (Shields and Clark 1995), such influence would only rarely affect future fatherhood plans. In short, there is no "happy-medium" for family regulation when it comes to increasing young men's intention to become a father.

Young men who receive limited regulation are not less inclined to pursue fatherhood because their parents fail to provide a clear model of parenting. This implies that young men who hold clear ideas about parenting and young men who do not are just as likely to plan on fatherhood. Concrete knowledge of fathering, it seems, does not

make young men more likely to intend on having children—though it may ultimately prove helpful when children actually arrive.

#### *Family Psychological Autonomy*

Family psychological autonomy is not linearly or curvilinearly associated with the odds that young men intend to become a father. Young men whose parents grant them less psychological autonomy do not become likely to intend to become a father. While they may rebel against controlling parents (Miller, Benson and Galbaith 2001), doing so does not seem to leave them with less intent to become a father.

While it is possible for parents to influence young men's views on family by granting excessive psychological autonomy (Nicholson 2005), such influence does not affect future fatherhood plans. It is common for young men to be enticed by individualistic lifestyles that are at odds with family life (Crimmins, Easterlin and Saito 1991), but it seems young men whose parents give them freedom to pursue such lifestyles are no less likely to intend to have children than young men whose parents grant more moderate levels of psychological autonomy. Young men who are more individualistically minded may be just as likely as others to intend to become a father.

#### *Public Religiosity*

Public religiosity is not associated with young men's intention to be a father. Considering the efforts that many religious organizations go through to promote fatherhood (Dollahite 1998), the lack of an association is somewhat surprising. Perhaps fatherhood plans are more personally than publicly formed. Being publicly religious shapes how young men will choose to go about parenting (Wilcox 2004), but it does not render young men more inclined to plan on becoming a father. It seems public religion is

a vehicle men employ to understand how they can father (Marks and Dollahite 2001), but not one they use to decide if they should become a father. Religious instruction in a public setting does not make young men more likely to plan on fatherhood.

#### *Private Religiosity*

As hypothesized, private religiosity is associated with young men's intention to be a father. This is understandable considering that young men who are more privately religious have been shown to be less skeptical of the benefits of family life (Brody, Stoneman and Flor 1996) and more family-oriented (Thornton, Axinn and Hill 1992). It seems that young men who develop private religiosity concurrently develop intentions to become a father.

#### *Parenting Style*

Young men who have authoritative parents and young men who have uninvolved parents have significantly different odds of having intention to be a father. As uninvolved parents are most likely to fail to address the needs and concerns of children (Baumrind 1991), their boys develop a less positive perception of family life. Thus, they are less inclined to plan on fatherhood. Authoritative parents act lovingly, decisively and consistently (Darling 1999) and teach their children that family life is rewarding. Their sons come to believe that fatherhood is rewarding and ultimately have greater intention to become fathers.

#### *Limitations of the Study*

*Family regulation measures.* The family regulation measures used in this study are limited because of their high rates of non-response. Also, the regulation information was given when focal children were very young and cannot account for changes in the

degree of family regulation over time. Another potential criticism of the family regulation measures is that they fail to address whether parents actually do anything to ensure that children live up to expectations. At least theoretically, parents can claim it is extremely important that children obey family rules, behave responsibly, listen to parents, and perform well in school then do nothing to make such happen.

Still, notwithstanding limitations, there is evidence that the family regulation data are at least acceptable. As shown in Table 7, regulation measures are negatively associated with psychological autonomy measures. This is logical because psychological autonomy often decreases as regulation increases (Miller, Benson and Galbraith 2001). Thus, while the measures could be better, they remain an acceptable measure of family regulation.

#### TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

*Family status.* Not measuring associations between family status (e.g. intact, single-parent, reconstituted) and young men's fatherhood plans is a limitation. Family status is believed to factor in the development of young people (Comanor and Phillips 2002). All things considered, young people from intact families tend to have better outcomes than young people from single-parent and reconstituted families (Featherstone, Cundick and Jensen 1992). Family status might also relate to young men's fatherhood intentions. Young men raised in intact families are most likely to have involved parents (Popenoe 1996). Thus, they may develop a more positive conception of fatherhood and plan on it more intently than others. The NSFH asked young men about the composition (and changes in composition) of the household in which they were raised, but interviews were structured so that detailed information was gathered only about the first time their

family composition changed. Some young men first separated from one or more parents because of reasons other than divorce, separation, or death of a parent. But whether or not they later separated from one or more parents because of such is not known. In light of this, it was decided that more data would be needed to adequately measure the association between family status and young men's fatherhood plans.

*Peer influence.* Not using peers as a contributing factor is another limitation of the study. Peer influence is an important factor in young people's development (Rowe 1995; Vandell 2000) and its association with young men's fatherhood plans needs to be studied. Because of limitations of the data, associations between peer influence and young men's fatherhood intentions are not examined in this study. While peer influence weakens as young people transition into early adulthood (Harris 1999), peers may still impact young men's fatherhood decisions (Goodsell 2004).

#### *Future Research*

*Family status and peer influence.* Future research should measure the influence of family status and peer influence on young men's fatherhood plans. As these impact multiple components of young people's development, it is possible that both associate with young men's intention to become a father. An understanding of the impact that these have on fatherhood plans is needed.

*Prevalence of social fatherhood.* The question of whether or not the prevalence of social fathering is on the decline needs to be better answered. Some research conducted on fatherhood trends has been guided by predetermined moral ends and produced biased conclusions (Gutterman 1998). As an array of men can be considered social fathers, identifying them can be trickier than identifying biological fathers. While

it is possible that the percentage of men who act as social fathers is on the decline, such is yet to be empirically established. Thus, future research should seek to determine whether or not fewer men socially father children than previously.

*Private religiosity.* The association between private religiosity and young men's intention to be a father is intriguing and should be studied in greater detail. Research aimed at providing a better understanding of how these are related should be conducted.

## CONCLUSION

Fatherhood has received much scholarly attention (Marsiglio et al. 2000). Notwithstanding, there have been few attempts to understand what motivates young men to become fathers. The question has perhaps been taken for granted because most young men intend to become fathers (Rindfuss, Brewster, Kavee 1996). However, some are now concerned that an increasing percentage of men may be shying away from fatherhood (Marks and Palkovitz 2004; Eggebeen 2002). The purpose of this study was to identify factors that motivate young men to make fatherhood plans. It measured the impact of family socialization and religiosity on young men's fatherhood plans and found that these are indeed relevant to young men's fatherhood plans. Specifically, young men's private religiosity and the connection they have to their parents influence their intention to become a father.

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Figure 1. Histogram of Scaled Intention to Be a Father Variable

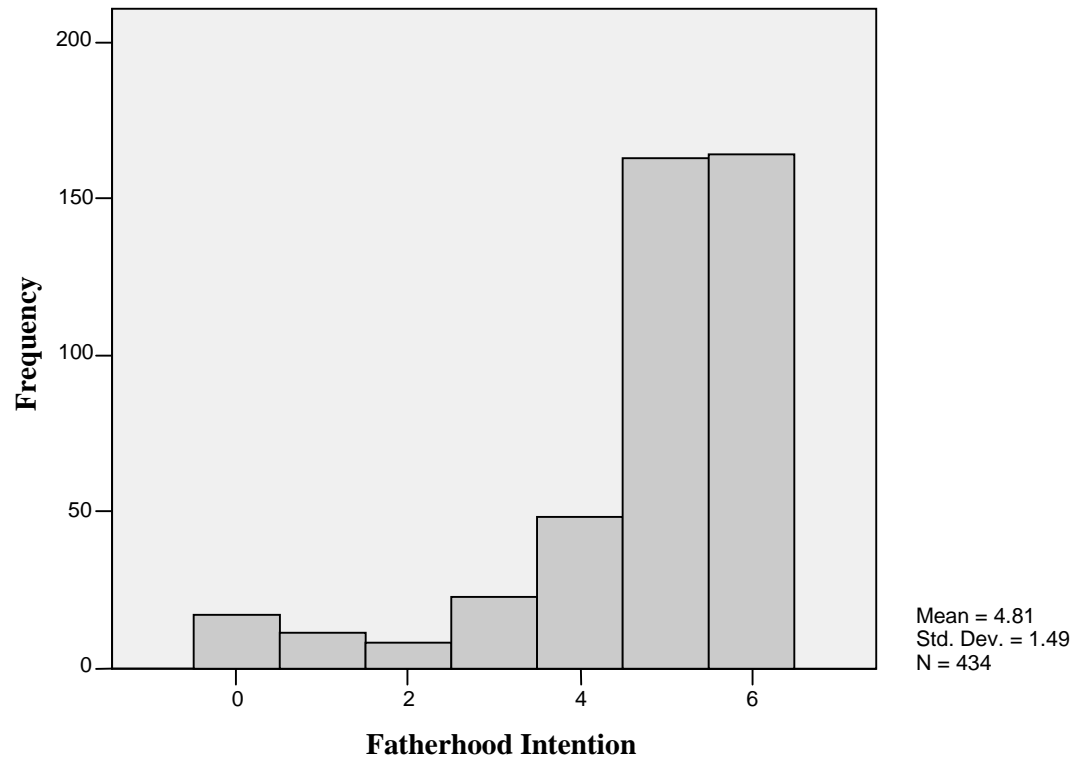




Table 1. Family Connection

Variable	Original Question	Scale	Father R-Squared	Father Correlation	Mother R-Squared	Mother Correlation
Interested	My parent is not very interested in my life or in what happens to me.	0 to 4	.53	.73	.42	.64
Loving	My parent is a loving and affectionate parent.	0 to 4	.60	.78	.54	.74
Good Time	It is easy for me to laugh and have a good time with my parent.	0 to 4	.70	.84	.54	.74
Comfortable	I feel on edge or tense when I'm with my parent.	0 to 4	.50	.71	.45	.67
Talk if Depressed	How likely is it that you would talk to your parent if you felt depressed or unhappy?	0 to 4	.54	.73	.47	.68
Talk Decisions	How likely is it that you would talk to your parent if you had a major decision to make?	0 to 4	.62	.79	.46	.68

*Total Father Variance Explained: 58.3%*

*Father Cronbach's Alpha: .85*

*Total Mother Variance Explained: 47.8%*

*Mother Cronbach's Alpha: .77*

Table 2. Family Regulation

Variable	Original Question	Scale	Father R-Squared	Father Correlation	Mother R-Squared	Mother Correlation
Obey	How important is it that your children always follow family rules?	0-6	.67	.81	.61	.78
Achieve	How important is it that your children do well in school?	0-6	.45	.67	.44	.66
Listen	How important is it that your children always do what you ask?	0-6	.69	.82	.63	.79
Responsible	How important is it that your children carry out responsibilities on their own?	0-6	.51	.71	.47	.68

*Total Father Variance Explained: 57.7%*

*Father Cronbach's Alpha: .76*

*Total Mother Variance Explained: 53.5%*

*Mother Cronbach's Alpha: .71*

Table 3. Family Psychological Autonomy

Variable	Original Question	Scale	Father R-Squared	Father Correlation	Mother R-Squared	Mother Correlation
Influence	My parent would like more influence over my decisions.	0 to 4	.54	.74	.53	.73
Hound	How likely is your parent to bring up a topic of disagreement at every opportunity until you go along?	0 to 4	.54	.73	.47	.68
Critical	My parent is often critical of me.	0 to 4	.52	.72	.62	.79
Bribe	How likely is your parent to offer or withhold money to influence you?	0 to 4	.44	.67	.43	.66

*Total Father Variance Explained: 50.8%*

*Father Cronbach's Alpha: .68*

*Total Mother Variance Explained: 51.1%*

*Mother Cronbach's Alpha: .68*

Table 4. Odds of Sure Intention to Be a Father among Young Men by Family Socialization and Religiosity.

Variable	1st Model	2 <sup>nd</sup> Model	3 <sup>rd</sup> Model	4 <sup>th</sup> Model	5 <sup>th</sup> Model
<u>Family Connection</u>	-	-	1.91**	2.03***	2.04***
Father Connection	1.29	1.31*	-	-	-
Mother Connection	1.61*	1.61**	-	-	-
<u>Family Regulation</u>	-	1.07	-	1.10	1.10
Father Regulation	0.86	-	0.94	-	-
Mother Regulation	1.05	-	1.01	-	-
<u>Family Autonomy</u>	-	1.18	1.13	-	1.35
Father Autonomy	1.08	-	-	1.27	-
Mother Autonomy	0.84	-	-	0.95	-
Private Religiosity	1.07	1.30*	1.13	1.28*	1.26*
Public Religiosity	1.04	1.05	1.05	1.06	1.07
Age	0.98	1.00	0.97	1.01	0.98
Education	1.15	1.06	1.18	1.05	1.06
Income	1.00	-	-	-	-
[N]	337	559	392	553	619

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

Table 5. Odds of Sure Intention to Be a Father among Young Men by Father's Parenting Style<sup>♦</sup>

Variable <sup>†</sup>	Undifferentiated	Uninvolved	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Authoritative
Undifferentiated	-	1.30	0.70	1.17	0.32
Uninvolved	0.76	-	0.54	0.86	0.24*
Indulgent	1.43	1.86	-	1.59	0.45
Authoritarian	0.90	1.17	0.63	-	0.28
Authoritative	3.16	4.12*	2.22	3.53	-

<sup>♦</sup>Controlling for private religiosity, age and education.

<sup>†</sup>Vertical list is reference category.

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

Table 6. Odds of Sure Intention to Be a Father among Young Men by Mother's Parenting Style\*

Variable <sup>†</sup>	Undifferentiated	Uninvolved	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Authoritative
Undifferentiated	-	2.34*	0.84	2.21*	0.73
Uninvolved	0.42	-	0.36*	0.94	0.31*
Indulgent	1.20	2.80*	-	2.64	0.87
Authoritarian	0.45*	1.06	0.38	-	0.33*
Authoritative	1.38	3.22*	1.15	3.04*	-

\*Controlling for private religiosity, age and education.

<sup>†</sup>Vertical list is reference category.

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

Table 7. Correlation Matrix of Family Socialization Variables

Variable	Father Connection	Father Regulation	Father Autonomy	Mother Connection	Mother Regulation	Mother Autonomy
Father Connection	-	.02	.24**	.38**	.07	.10*
Father Regulation		-	-.10*	.06	.27**	-.03
Father Autonomy			-	.15**	-.04	.48**
Mother Connection				-	.055	.29**
Mother Regulation					-	-.09*
Mother Autonomy						-

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.