The Role of Religiosity and Spirituality in Juvenile Delinquency

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Abstract

Does religious behavior or spirituality deter delinquency? Numerous sociological, criminological, and economic studies aim to answer this important question. This paper investigates the relationship between adolescent delinquency (crime and illegal drug use) and religiosity and spirituality. The study utilizes data from the 2005 Transition to Adulthood supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. Using probit analyses, results show that attendance of religious services is negatively and significantly associated with arrest, "light" and "heavy" crime, and marijuana use. Religious affiliation, importance of religion, and importance of spirituality were all negatively and significantly affiliated with marijuana use as well.

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I. Introduction

Does religious behavior or spirituality deter juvenile delinquency? For years this thought provoking question has been rigorously debated by criminologists, sociologists, and more recently economists. It has become increasingly important in our current economy to find ways to curb the rising crime and juvenile delinquency costs. States are currently spending about fifty billion a year on corrections, and that estimate is projected to grow by an additional twenty-five billion over the next five years (Vratil and Whitmire, 2008). Recently, juveniles have played a growing role in these increasing costs. In 2004, sixteen percent of all police arrests involved juveniles (Clear, Cole, and Reisig, 2009). It is important to address this pressing issue now because delinquent youths are more likely to have an adult criminal record, and these adolescents are the future human capital of our society (Clear, Cole, and Reisig, 2009).

When former President George W. Bush took office in January of 2001, he introduced his signature domestic plan, the allocation of more federal grants to non-profits and religious institutions (Sullivan, 2008). According to Bush, faith-based initiatives would mobilize America's religious communities to fight social ills like drug addiction, homelessness, and poverty (Boston, 2008). Furthermore, President Obama plans to expand the faith-based assistance program into a $500-million-a-year Council for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (De Pasquale, 2008). One of the channels through which religion can improve society's well-being is through reducing crime rates. These appropriations would be more justifiable if analysts can show that there is in fact a significant relationship between religion and crime.

Mounting evidence suggests that religious involvement can lower the risks of a broad range of delinquent behaviors, including both minor and major forms of criminal behavior.

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However, this previous research has neglected to control for a wide variety of variables. The objective of this paper is to address two important questions relating religious behavior, spirituality, and crime (measured by number of arrests) among young adults ages eighteen to twenty-two years old. First, to what extent does religious behavior and spirituality deter delinquency? Next, does religious behavior or spirituality have a greater effect on delinquency? The following section, entitled Background, presents a selective review of previous studies. The model and data are presented in section three, Data and Methods, and the Results section presents the empirical findings. The final section, Conclusions and Implications, contains a discussion of future implications for this analysis.

II. Background

There are many theoretical arguments as to why religion should have a beneficial effect on crime both in the sociological and economic literature. Travis Hirschi, a renowned criminologist, introduced in 1969 the Social Control Theory, which he connected to religious institutions in his later work. The Social Control Theory states that delinquent acts are a result of an individual's weak or broken bond to society. Attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief are the four conventional bond elements to a society. Attachment refers to a person's attachment to other people. A person is less likely to commit a deviant act if his peers will look upon him disapprovingly. Next, commitment refers to how much time and energy a person invests in a certain activity. Whenever he considers participating in a deviant behavior, he must consider the risk he has of losing the investment he has made in conventional behavior. Involvement represents how busy a person's schedule is. An involved person is tied to appointments in conventional activities, so the opportunity to commit a deviant act rarely arises. The final element of the Social Control Theory is belief. If a person has strong beliefs in

society's norms, he or she is less likely to violate them (Hirschi, 2002). Religious institutions are assumed to instill normative beliefs and foster individual attachment, commitment, and involvement within a larger society (Hirschi, 2002). Social Control Theory would hold that by strengthening an individual's bond to society, religious institutions should deter criminal behavior (Baier and Wright, 2001).

Other theories that account for delinquency include the Social Selection, Social Learning, and Arousal theories. According to the Social Selection Theory, religion affects peer selection so that religious peers select peers with similar, conventional beliefs. Through this positive reinforcement, an individual is further deterred from crime (Baier and Wright, 2001). According to the Social Learning Theory, individuals are less likely to commit a delinquent act when they are exposed to pro-social models, and when they are reinforced for positive, pro-social behaviors (Cox and Matthews, 2007). Finally, from a more sociobiological perspective, Arousal Theory attributes criminal behavior to an individual's demand for neural stimulation. Delinquents are essentially bored individuals, so they seek risky behavior to satisfy their biological demand for neural stimulation. However, religion satisfies this need for most individuals (Baier and Wright, 2001).

The Economics literature on crime and religion tends to focus on an individual's costs and benefits associated with committing a crime. All major religions in the United States have rules against and punishment for committing a crime. Church members who break the rules receive stigmatization and ostracism from their religious community (Hull, 2000). Religion further deters an individual's criminal behavior through the threat of supernatural sanctions, and it promotes normative behavior through the promise of supernatural rewards (Baier and Wright, 2001). Therefore, economic reasoning predicts that a rational person who is religious would be

less likely to commit a delinquent act because the costs associated with performing that delinquent act are greater than for a non-religious person.

Even though most theories predict lower crime rates in the presence of religion, research has produced mixed findings. In 1969, Hirschi and Stark proposed and empirically tested the hellfire hypothesis which argued that deeply religious people should be less likely to engage in crime and deviance than less religious or non-religious people. After examining a large, random sample of high school students, they found that there was no relationship between levels of religious commitment among youth and delinquency (Hirschi, 2002). Other studies have produced similar results. One study found that when a child and mother have differing religions, the child tends to argue with his or her mother which significantly increases the risk of delinquency (Pearce and Haynie, 2004). Another study showed that religious dominance in a community can actually increase violence. According to the Conservative Protestant Thesis, people who attend church more frequently and hold a hierarchical image of God are more supportive of violence than others. In agreement with this thesis, Lee found that communities with high rates of Protestants are more accepting of violence and have more violence and crime in their communities (Lee, 2006). Despite these results, most studies show a beneficial association between religion and crime.

There is mounting evidence that religious involvement can lower the risks of both minor and delinquent behavior. A recent meta-analysis of sixty different studies showed that religious beliefs and behaviors exert a moderate deterrent effect on an individual's criminal behavior (Baier and Wright, 2001). Recent research has also found that religious involvement throughout adolescence significantly lessens the risk of later adult criminality. Additionally, there is growing evidence that religion can be used as a tool to help prevent high-risk urban youths from

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delinquent behavior and give them a greater sense of empathy toward others (Johnson, Corbett, and Harris, 2001). Numerous other studies state that the amount of churches per capita or the amount of religiosity in a community is a significant factor in lowering crime rate for all age groups (Hull, 2000; Baier and Wright, 2001; Lee, 2006). Furthermore, religion may serve as a way to help steer delinquent youth away from their current deviant behavior and more importantly, away from a potential criminal career (Johnson, Corbett, and Harris, 2001).

Although the relationship between religion and crime is uncertain, there appears to be a strong relationship between religion and substance abuse. According to Johnson, Corbett, and Harris (2001), "Well over one hundred drug and alcohol studies examine the relationship between religiosity and drug or alcohol abuse, and ninety percent of these studies conclude that participation in religious activities is associated with a lessened tendency to use or abuse drugs and alcohol." Baier and Wright's (2001) meta-analysis also reached the same conclusions. Other research indicates that people who are frequently involved in religious activities and who highly value their religious faith are at reduced risk for depression, and are better able to cope with the stresses of life which may in itself deter drug and alcohol use (Johnson, Corbett, and Harris, 2001). People that are less likely to abuse drugs and alcohol are also less likely to commit a crime, providing yet another explanation of the religion-crime relationship.

III. Data and Methods

To test my hypotheses regarding religion, spirituality, and juvenile delinquency, I used data from the 2005 Transition to Adulthood supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. A total of 745 adolescents were interviewed over the telephone. After appropriate data cleaning, the sample comprised 684 adolescents ages eighteen to twenty-two. Table 1 includes a

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description of all of the variables used in this equation. The appendix contains the survey questions that were used to derive the independent and dependent variables.

Five dichotomous dependent variables were examined in a probit analytical framework. First, arrest was determined by whether the individual had ever been arrested. Second, using the survey information on the type of first and last offense, two more dependent variables were formed, "light" and "heavy" crime, to account for the severity of the crime. In order to categorize the gravity of each offense into "light" and "heavy", three expert opinions were averaged together. In addition, any offense that resulted in a jail sentence was considered "heavy." Next, two more dependent variables, marijuana and cocaine, were created to capture illegal substance use. Substance use was measured through a self report of whether the individual had ever used marijuana or cocaine.

The independent variables of religion and spirituality included religious affiliation, attendance of religious services, importance of religion, and importance of spirituality. Religious affiliation was dichotomized into whether the adolescent was affiliated with a religion or denomination versus if the adolescent had no religion or was atheist or agnostic. Attendance of religious services was determined by whether the individual attended religious services at least once a week. Importance of religion and importance of spirituality were both measured by whether the adolescent felt that religion and spirituality were somewhat or very important versus not important.

The general model estimated for all five dependent variable (called with the generic term "delinquency") can be summarized with the following equation and graphical model:

Delinquency = f[religion, spirituality, emotional health, social ties,

individual demographic characteristics, parental characteristics, location indicators]

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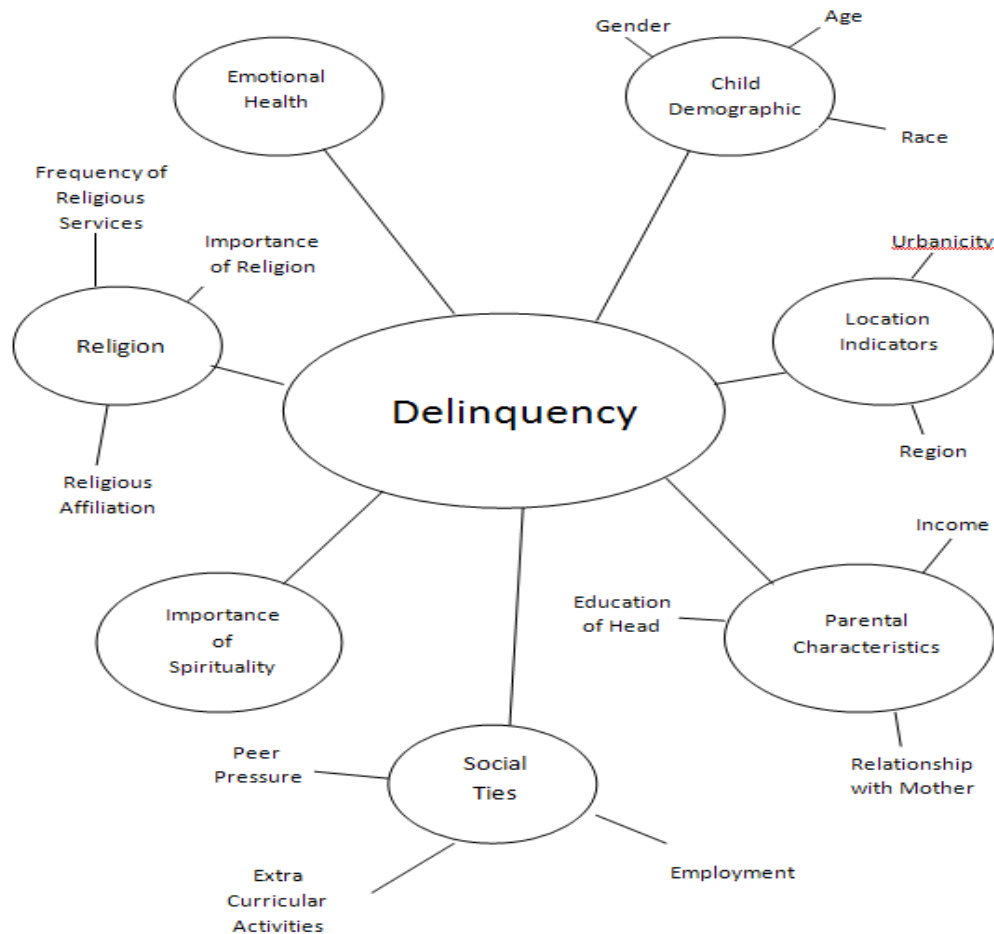
Religion and spirituality are expected to be inversely related with crime and substance use as a result of the higher opportunity costs associated with religious adolescents compared to non-religious adolescents. Next, jail populations contain a high number of people with emotional or psychiatric problems; therefore, I would expect an individual with good emotional health to commit less delinquent acts. The peer environment, measured by peer pressure, is hypothesized to be directly related with delinquency because if an adolescent's friends are engaging in illegal, risky, or dangerous behavior, it is more likely that the adolescent will also engage in such behavior. Subsequently, following the same logic introduced in the Social Control Theory, I would expect an individual who is very busy (measured by employment and

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extracurricular activities) to commit fewer crimes. It is expected that an adolescent with a close parental bond would be less likely to commit a crime due to more parental guidance. It is expected that minority, male adolescents with low family incomes to commit more crime due to the large amount of offenders in the adult population with these characteristics (Pew Center on the States, 2008). Finally, due to the mass amount of literature on high crime rates in the south and inner city urban areas, I would expect these two variables to be inversely related with crime and substance use.

IV. Results

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the sample. About 19 percent of the sample, 41 females and 90 males, had been arrested for a crime at least once prior to the survey. Sixty-four juveniles (9.36 percent of the sample) were categorized as "light" offenders, while another sixty-seven adolescents (9.80 percent) were categorized as "heavy" offenders. Regarding illegal substance use, 629 juveniles (91.96 percent) had never used cocaine while 55 juveniles (8.04 percent) had used cocaine at least once. For marijuana use, 365 adolescents (53.36 percent) had not used marijuana, compared to 319 individuals (46.64 percent) that had used marijuana at least once.

In terms of religion, there were 545 juveniles, or 80 percent of the sample, that were religiously affiliated, and 139 adolescents who said that they had no religion, were atheist, or agnostic. There were 178 juveniles, or 26 percent, that attended religious services at least once a week, and 506 individuals who attended religious services less frequently or not at all. One hundred ninety-five adolescents (28.51 percent) did not consider religion important, while 489 juveniles did consider religion to be somewhat or very important. For importance of spirituality, 313 individuals (45.76 percent) considered spirituality to be not important, and 371 individuals

considered spirituality to be somewhat or very important. There were 160 adolescents that only considered religion important, while 42 respondents only considered spirituality important, suggesting that importance of spirituality was generally the more broadly perceived measure as compared to the importance of religion.

The independent religion and spirituality variables (religious affiliation, attendance of religious services, importance of religion, and importance of spirituality) were all empirically evaluated in separate models to avoid collinearity problems. The results from the probit regression models estimating the marginal effects of religious affiliation on juvenile delinquency and substance use are presented in Table 2, whereas Table 3 presents the marginal effects of religious attendance, importance of religion, and importance of spirituality, controlling for all the variables listed in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that religious affiliation was significantly and negatively affiliated with marijuana use, but was not with the other measures of delinquency. In particular, compared to their peers who had no religion, or were atheist or agnostic, religiously affiliated adolescents were 14.7 percentage points less likely to smoke marijuana. In addition, peer drug use was significantly and positively associated with arrest, "heavy" crime, cocaine, and marijuana use. Adolescents whose friends usually use drugs to get high were 20 percentage points more likely to be arrested, 5.6 percentage points more likely to commit a "heavy" crime, 17.98 percentage points more likely to use cocaine, and 47.3 percentage points more likely to smoke marijuana. Emotional health also had a significant negative relationship with arrest, "heavy" crime, and cocaine use. Adolescents who had emotional or psychological problems were 13.8 percentage points more likely to be arrested, 10.29 percentage points more likely to commit a "heavy" crime, and 7.4 percentage points more likely to use cocaine. Juveniles that were frequently

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involved in extra-curricular activities were 1.2 percentage points less likely to be arrested, 0.5 percentage points less likely to commit a "heavy" or "light" crime, and 1.6 percentage points less likely to smoke marijuana compared to their less involved counterparts. Being a minority was negatively and significantly associated with cocaine use. A minority individual was 10.3 percentage points more likely to use cocaine. With regard to gender, male adolescents were significantly more likely to be arrested (18.5 percentage points), commit a heavy or light crime (8.01 percentage points), and use marijuana (11.45 percentage points). Family income was negatively and significantly associated with the three measures of delinquency. An adolescent that had a higher family income was less likely to be arrested (0.1 percentage points) and less likely to commit a "heavy" or "light" crime (.05 percentage points). Finally, the education of the head of the family is negatively and significantly associated with being arrested and cocaine use. Adolescents whose head did not attend many years of schooling are 1.26 percentage points more likely to be arrested and 0.9 percentage points more likely to use cocaine.

Table 3 shows the results for the other three independent religion and spirituality variables. Attendance of religious services was negatively and significantly associated with all of the measures of delinquency except cocaine use. Individuals who attended religious services at least once a week were 5.6 percentage points less likely to be arrested, 3.7 percentage points less likely to engage in "heavy" or "light" crime, and 23.1 percentage points less likely to smoke marijuana compared to their peers who attended religious services less frequently or not at all. Importance of religion and importance of spirituality were both significantly and negatively associated with marijuana use; however, they were not for the other measures of delinquency. Adolescents who considered religion to be somewhat or very important were 12.2 percentage points less likely to engage in delinquent behavior than their peers, while individuals who

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deemed spirituality to be somewhat or very important were 10.2 percentage points less likely to engage in delinquent behavior.

V. Conclusions and Implications

This paper provides new evidence regarding the association between religiosity and spirituality and juvenile delinquency and substance abuse, using several measures of religion. Previous research has empirically tested causal models of religion, spirituality, and crime using Ordinary Least Squares regression. Using probit models for the dichotomous dependent variables, I found an inverse relationship between various measures of religion and spirituality and measures of delinquency and illegal substance use. Results show that attendance of religious services is negatively and significantly associated with arrest, "light and "heavy" crime, and marijuana use. In addition, religious affiliation, importance of religion, and importance of spirituality were all negatively and significantly affiliated with marijuana use. Thus, attendance of religious services once a week or more was found to be most effective among the different measures of religion in deterring delinquent behavior, whereas religious affiliation, and perceiving religion and spirituality were shown to be negatively associated with marijuana use, but not with arrests, "light" or "heavy" crime, nor cocaine use. With respect to these findings, several governmental policies should be further analyzed to verify their efficacy such as tax breaks for religious organizations and further spending on faith-based initiatives aimed at helping to reduce delinquency.

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Table 1: Summary Statistics

Variable Name	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min	Max
Arrest	0.1915	0.3937	0	1
Heavy Crime	0.0979	0.2974	0	1
Light Crime	0.0979	0.2974	0	1
Cocaine	0.0804	0. 2721	0	1
Marijuana	0.4663	0.4992	0	1
Religious Affiliation	0.7967	0.4026	0	1
Religious Services	0.2602	0.4390	0	1
Importance of Religion	0.7149	0.4517	0	1
Importance of Spirituality	0.5423	0.4985	0	1
Peer Use Drugs	0.1622	0.3689	0	1
Emotional Health	0.9093	0.2873	0	1
Frequency of Extra-Curricular Activities	5.7099	3.3518	0.125	19
Employed	0.5292	0. 4995	0	1
Age	20.3523	1.0890	19	22
Minority	0.5	0.5003	0	1
Male	0.4663	0.4992	0	1
Income	78.0970	95.2737	0	1,247.797
Education of Head	12.950	2.4745	0	17
Close to Mother	6.0438	1.5564	0	7
South	0.4502	0.4978	0	1
Urban	0.7660	0.4236	0	1
N	684			

Arrest: = 1 if arrested or served time in jail, = 0 if never arrested or served time in jail
Heavy Crime: = 1 if arrested for a heavy offense or served time in jail, = 0 otherwise
Light Crime: = 1 if arrested for a light crime and has not served time in jail, = 0 if otherwise
Marijuana: = 1 if used marijuana, = 0 if never used marijuana
Cocaine: = 1 if used cocaine, = 0 if never used cocaine
Religious Affiliation: = 1 if has a religious affiliation, = 0 if has no religious affiliation, is atheist, or agnostic
Religious Services: = 1 if attends religious services, = 0 if does not attend religious services
Importance of Religion: = 1 if religion is somewhat or very important, = 0 if religion is not important
Importance of Spirituality: = 1 if spirituality is somewhat or very important, = 0 if spirituality is not important
Peer Drug Use: = 1 if more than half of the adolescent's friends regularly use drugs to get high, = 0 if otherwise
Emotional Health: = 1 if the adolescent is in good emotional health, = 0 if otherwise
Frequency of Extra-Curricular Activities: Frequency of extra-curricular activities on a weekly basis
Employed: = 1 if currently employed, = 0 if not employed
Age: Actual age at time of interview, in years
Minority: = 1 if minority, = 0 if white
Male: = 1 if male, = 0 if female
Income: Total family income in 2004 (measured in thousands)
Education of Head: Actual number of years of schooling for the head of the family
Close to Mother: How close adolescent feels to biological mother (seven-point scale)
South: = 1 if lives in the south, = 0 if otherwise
Urban: = 1 if lives in an urban area, = 0 if otherwise

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Table 2: Marginal Effects of Crime/ Substance Use Probit Models: Religious Affiliation

	(1) Arrest	(2) Heavy Crime	(3) Light Crime	(4) Cocaine	(5) Marijuana
Religious Affiliation	-0.0509 (0.0387/0.161)	-0.0220 (0.0274/0.385)	-0.0220 (0.0274/0.385)	0.0029 (0.0124/0.819)	-0.1477*** (0.0515/0.005)
Peers Use Drugs	0.2003*** (0.0507/0.00)	0.0567** (0.0336/0.045)	0.0060 (0.0083/0.470)	0.1798*** (0.0430/0.00)	0.4734*** (0.0406/0.00)
Emotional Health	-0.1381** (0.0660/0.015)	-0.1029** (0.0534/0.013)	-0.0220 (0.0274/0.385)	-0.0740*** (0.0398/0.003)	-0.0960 (0.0758/0.210)
Frequency of Extra-Curricular	-0.0121*** (0.0045/0.008)	-0.0056* (0.0029/0.065)	-0.0056* (0.0029/0.065)	-0.0012 (0.0017/0.458)	-0.0160** (0.0062/0.010)
Employed	-0.0109 (0.0275/0.692)	-0.0164 (0.0179/0.356)	-0.0164 (0.0179/0.356)	0.0163 (0.0117/0.143)	-0.0116 (0.0417/0.780)
Age	0.0217* (0.0124/0.083)	0.0060 (0.0083/0.470)	0.0060 (0.0083/0.470)	0.0076 (0.0048/0.120)	0.0124 (0.0191/0.515)
Minority	0.0318 (0.0349/0.358)	0.0354 (0.0257/0.154)	0.0354 (0.0257/0.154)	-0.1029*** (0.0208/0.00)	-0.0797 (0.0505/0.116)
Male	0.1847*** (0.0298/0.00)	0.0801*** (0.0207/0.00)	0.0801*** (0.0207/0.00)	0.0049 (0.0121/0.967)	0.1145*** (0.0420/0.007)
Income	-0.0010*** (.0004/.009)	-0.0005* (.0003/0.063)	-0.0005* (.0003/0.063)	-0.0001 (.0001/ 0.286)	.0002 (.0002/.421)
Education of Head	-0.0126** (0.0062/0.039)	-0.0032 (0.0274/0.385)	-0.0032 (0.0274/0.385)	-0.0090*** (0.0024/0.00)	-0.0102 (0.0093/0.271)
Close to Mother	-0.0111 (0.0084/0.185)	-0.0115 (0.0041/0.439)	-0.0115 (0.0041/0.439)	-0.0026 (0.0033/0.433)	-0.0149 (0.0142/0.294)
South	-0.0016 (0.0303/0.959)	0.0315 (0.0220/0.143)	0.0315 (0.0220/0.143)	0.0196 (0.0134/0.120)	-0.0970 (0.0449/0.032)
Urban	0.0437 (0.0303/0.175)	0.0041 (0.0215/0.852)	0.0041 (0.0215/0.852)	0.0012 (0.0130/0.927)	0.0390 (0.0496/0.437)
Pseudo R^2	0.1746	0.1453	0.1453	0.3286	-402.0217
Log Likelihood	-275.7335	-187.4108	-187.4108	-128.4806	0.1493

Standard errors followed by p-values reported in parentheses
***= significant at the .01 level
**=significant at 0.05 level
*=significant at 0.10 level

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Table 3: Marginal Effects of Crime/ Substance Use Probit Models: Importance of Religion, Importance of Spirituality, Attendance of Religious Services

	(1) Arrest	(2) Heavy Crime	(3) Light Crime	(4) Cocaine	(5) Marijuana
Attendance of Religious Services	-0.0560* (0.0303/0.086)	-0.0378* (0.0188/0.073)	-0.0378* (0.0188/0.073)	-0.0114 (0.0128/0.409)	-0.2306*** (0.0453/0.00)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Importance of Religion	-0.4968 (0.0342/0.129)	-0.0102 (0.0234/0.652)	-0.0102 (0.0234/0.652)	-0.0214 (0.0159/0.122)	-0.1228** (0.0474/0.010)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Importance of Spirituality	0.0313 (0.0286/0.277)	-0.0042 (0.0195/0.827)	-0.0042 (0.0195/0.827)	0.0002 (0.0121/0.986)	-0.1021** (0.0422/0.016)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors followed by p-values reported in parentheses
***= significant at the .01 level
**=significant at 0.05 level
*=significant at 0.10 level
All 15 regressions also control for the variables shown in Table 2, namely: Peers Use Drugs, Emotional Health, Frequency of Extra-Curricular, Employed, Age, Minority, Male, Income, Education of Head, Close to Mother, South, Urban.

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APPENDIX

Variable Name	Survey Question	Possible Answers
Crime (TA050860)	Have you ever been arrested?	Never, Once, More than once
Heavy Crime (TA050863) (TA050865) (TA050872)	What were you arrested for? (first and last offense)	Arson, Assault, Hit and Run, Sex Offenses, Theft & Robbery, Weapons Violation
	Have you ever served time in jail for an offense?	Never, Once, More than once, Inappropriate: Never Been Arrested
Light Crime (TA050863) (TA050865)	What were you arrested for?	Burglary & Trespassing, Drug Offenses, Fireworks Violation, Gambling, Harassment, Liquor/ Underage Possession, Prostitution/ Indecent Exposure, Public Disturbance, Traffic Violations, Other
Cocaine (TA050794)	Look at page 44 of your booklet and just tell me the letters for ones you have tried in your lifetime, even if it was just once. Please include medicines that were prescribed for you, and medicines or drugs taken that were not prescribed for you.-- COCAINE	Has tried cocaine, Inappropriate: has not tried cocaine
Marijuana (TA050876)	Look at page 44 of your booklet and just tell me the letters for ones you have tried in your lifetime, even if it was just once. Please include medicines that were prescribed for you, and medicines or drugs taken that were not prescribed for you.-- MARIJUANA	Has tried marijuana, Inappropriate: has not tried marijuana
Religious Affiliation (TA050878)	What is your current religious affiliation?	Agnostic, Atheist, Baptist, Buddhism, Catholic, Christian, Church of Christ, Congregational, Episcopalian, Hinduism, Jehovah's Witness, Jewish, Lutheran, Methodist, Mormon, Muslim, Non-Denominational, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Protestant, Seventh Day Adventist, None, Other
Importance of Religion (TA050879)	How important is religion to you?	Not at all important, Not very important, Somewhat important, Very important, Inappropriate: agnostic, atheist, or no religion
Importance of Spirituality (TA050882	How important is spirituality to you?	Not at all important, Not very important, Somewhat important, Very important, Inappropriate: agnostic, atheist, or no religion
Attendance of Religious Services (TA050880)	In the past 12 months, about how often did you attend religious services?	Not at all, A few times a year, About once a month, Two or three times a month, About once a week, More than once a week, Inappropriate: agnostic, atheist, or no religion