CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS:
A COMPARISON OF TWO CHURCHES

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Frieda L. Foote
1961

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ABSTRACT

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS: A COMPARISON OF TWO CHURCHES

by Frieda Foote

Due to the resurgence of interest in religion in America since approximately the end of World War II, there has been a corresponding increase of interest on the part of sociology in studying the role of religion in American society. Few attempts have been made to relate religion to other societal institutions however. This thesis is an attempt to explore some of the relationships between the church and one of these societal institutions, the family, particularly as seen by the children. Though the study involves only Protestantism, control was made for church type within this larger classification.

The study may be divided into three major sections: (1) an institutional comparison of the churches, particularly in relation to the church-sect continuum and family-oriented programs, (2) the perceptions of the children regarding their parents' involvement in religious affairs, and (3) the children's own attitudes toward the church and religion.

In general form the hypotheses dealing with the first category stated that the ecumenical-suburban church would exhibit fewer of the characteristics of a sect than the church with a fundamental doctrine, would conform more closely to Niebuhr's description of the "Church of the Middle Class," and would have a more active family program. In the second area it was hypothesized that the mother would be

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perceived as more involved with religion than the father by the boys and girls of both churches. Finally it was hypothesized that the girls would be more positive in their religious attitudes than would the boys, as would the young people from the fundamental church more than those from the suburban church.

A sample of 126 young people was selected from two churches which represented the fundamental and ecumenical-suburban types. These young people completed a self-administering questionnaire which endeavored to determine perception of their parents' religious involvement and their own religious attitudes as well as some background information. Other types of information were obtained through interviews and open-ended questionnaires from the ministers, church membership lists, church publications, and participant observation. The attitudinal variables were ascertained through the use of Likert-type scales, while the socio-economic status was measured by using the Duncan Socio-Economic Index for All Occupations.

Statistical analysis of the tabulated data from the questionnaires was by means of chi-square, coefficient of contingency, the coefficient of confidence for binomial distributions, and the semi-interquartile range. Analysis of non-numerical information was by presentation of relevant materials and the author's interpretation of these.

The findings from the study indicate that the fundamental church is more sect-like, but also more nearly conforms to the description of the middle-class church and has nearly as active a family program. The mother is perceived by both sexes as more religiously involved, particularly in the overt activities, but especially is this true of the fundamental church. As hypothesized, the girls hold more positive religious attitudes than the boys. There is an even greater distinction

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between the two churches than between the sexes with the young people of the fundamental church holding more positive attitudes than those from the suburban church.

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Ву

Frieda L. Foote

A THESIS

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Making acknowledgments is at once one of the easiest and one of the most difficult tasks in the writing of a thesis. It is easy in that it is clearly recognized, and appreciated, that many people have contributed their time, thought, and effort to make such a project possible. It is difficult only in the sense that one must limit such a list to a practical length.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The sociology of religion has had a varied past--in the amount of interest shown in it, the quality of study it has produced, and the importance placed on it for the understanding of other major societal institutions. Such extremes have hardly been conducive to systematic empirical research, and thus it is hardly surprising that the first major attempt to bring extensive empirical data to bear upon questions relating to the theories about religion has been of so recent origin. 2

_The recent resurgence of interest in the sociology of religion can undoubtedly be traced in large measure to the recent religious revival

¹Religion occupied an important position in the consideration of at least three of the most revered early sociologists: Weber, Durkheim, and Troeltsch. Yet later, and particularly in the period between World Wars I and II, religion was evidently considered too unimportant a force in modern society to even merit serious consideration by the social sciences. One text, Sociology of Religion by Joachim Wach, was published near the end of second war in 1944. General literature dealing with religion has been on the increase since that time. However it has only been in the past seven or eight years that a really notable increase in sociological literature dealing with religion as major theme has been evidenced. See, for example, Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Religion and Society, 1954; Milton J. Yinger, Religion, Society, and the Individual, 1957; Thomas F. Hoult, The Sociology of Religion, 1958; Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, 1960; and Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, 1961.

²Gerhard Lenski, <u>The Religious Factor</u>, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961).

movement, or as some prefer to state it, the revival of interest in religion. This popularization of religion has a special interest for sociologists, for according to many of the theories prevalent in the discipline since its inception, religion is a negligible—and dying—force in human society. Deterministic theories see religion as merely another societal institution which must adapt to previous changes by the economy or some other determining force.¹ Seen as only a portion of the population which meets in several divergent groups for an hour or two a week, it could hardly be expected to be much of a determining force in itself. The positivist viewpoint with its conception of traditional religion, at least, as basically "institutionalized ignorance and superstition, "2" posits that as scientific knowledge increases, the uncertainties of life will correspondingly decrease, as will the need for a religion to explain them, until religion itself disappears.

Even Weber's thesis regarding the necessity of the Protestant movement for a capitalistic society would not necessarily support the idea of religion having any major influence in the present urbanized and industrialized society, for capitalism, once begun, could theoretically perpetuate itself. Weber's analysis posited an individual's actions toward other societal institutions being influenced by internalized religious beliefs. Theories of urbanism, however, with their emphasis on norms of tolerance and secularism, and the tendency toward specialization and compartmentalization minimized the religious realm having any possible effect on the lives of the increasing number of urban dwellers. Religion, after all, had its own little compartment, and observed the "No Trespassing" signs in the other compartments of life.

Despite such an array of arguments, "it seems clear that . . . religious organizations remain vigorous and influential in contemporary

¹Ibid., p. 3.

²Ibid.

American society." More than this, Herberg postulates, and this is corroborated by Lenski, that religiosity today is equated with being American. "To be a Protestant, a Catholic, or a Jew are today the alternative ways of being an American."

Though the current list of publications provide some provocative questions and ideas, it is still possible to say that

Less systematic sociological research has been devoted to religion than to any other major institution of our society. Particularly lacking are studies of the interrelations between modern religious institutions and other basic institutional systems.⁴

This thesis is an attempt, then, to add a small bit of empirical evidence on one aspect of the interrelationship of the church and another of the basic institutional systems, the family.

The Problem to Be Studied

There are many very interesting problems currently being debated in the realm of the sociology, as well as the theology, of religion. In defining the limits of this study it is then advisable to make a negative point first, i.e., to state what the problem does not involve, as well as to recognize a basic assumption or two.

That there has been a recent increase of interest in the sphere of religion is taken as a given fact. What that interest is in actuality and how much of a personal commitment it involves are beyond the realm

¹Ibid., p. 288.

²Ibid., p. 41.

³Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, 1960), p. 258.

⁴Lenski, op. cit., p. 2.

of this discussion. Secondly, the conclusions reached in The Religious Factor are assumed to be valid when it is stated that

from our evidence it is clear that religion in various ways is constantly influencing the daily lives of the masses of men and women in the modern American metropolis. More than that: through its impact on individuals, religion makes an impact on all the other institutional systems of the community in which these individuals participate. 1

One of "these other institutional systems" is, of course, the family.

Much has been written by the churches, Protestant and Catholic, on the sanctity of the family and the concern that the church must show for the family in this modern age. By doing an exploratory case study involving two churches it is proposed to try to determine how this concern is expressed at the local level, with which family members there is most likely to be effective communication, and how this is reflected in the attitudes held by the children and teenagers of these congregations, both toward religion and the church and toward the role dults take in religious affairs.

The immediate problem with which this study is concerned may

Thus be separated into three basic divisions. The first is an institutional

comparison of the churches involved, the second a study of the children's

perceptions of the adult roles and attitudes toward religion and the church

seemplified by their parents. Particular attention will be paid to

fferences and similarities of these perceptions when the variables of

ex, and church affiliation are held constant. The last of the three

ctions deals with the children's own attitudes in this realm with the

riable of parental concern for religion added to those previously men-

¹Ibid., p. 289.

Key Concepts Used

Often a term will have various meanings for different people. Four of the concepts basic to this thesis are therefore defined below: the family, religion, the church, and systems.

The family, as used in this study, refers simply to the nuclear family composed of the husband and wife and their children, either by blood or adoption.

Religion is defined to mean "a system of beliefs about the nature of the forces ultimately shaping man's destiny, and the practices associated therewith, shared by the members of a group." The term "religion" or "religious matters" was used several times in the questionnaire administered to the young people of this study without benefit of definition. Their response then necessarily was in terms of their own definition of what constitutes "religion." The definition given here, however, is assumed to be inclusive enough to cover any concept held by the young people of the two churches involved.

The term "church" as used in general discussion is taken to mean the social grouping in one body of those who share a common system of beliefs and practices regarding religion as it is defined above. In the comparison of the two particular groups involved in this study, we shall discuss the matter of the church-sect typology and define at that time any refined meaning to be attached to the word church as opposed to sect or some other type of religious grouping.

The term "systems" is important, for the conceptual framework within which this study is placed is that of interacting subsystems within the larger system of the total society. Such subsystems may include the family, the polity, the community, and the church, among others.

¹Ibid., pp. 298-99.

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At another level, each of these is a complete system with its own set of subsystem relationships. The family, for example, has such intrafamilial subsystems as the husband-wife, parent-child, and sibling-sibling relationships. In this instance it is viewed as made up of many component parts; in the first it is seen as a "corporate, separate unit, and all other persons or units . . . (are) regarded, at least from a certain point of view, as outsiders" An individual family member may act as the representative of this entire corporate unit to the larger society or some subunit of it on various occasions, with different members performing this role in different situations. On other occasions the family as a whole or some combination of members may so act. Bell and Vogel suggest that the family as a subsystem, however represented, interacts with the functional subsystems of the larger society in four realms: the economy, the polity, the community, and the value system.²

The church also may be considered as both a subsystem of society and a complete system with many subsystems, i.e., the minister-parishioner, the minister-lay worker, the various groups organized on age and sex lines with each other, etc. Within the church, as within the family, any one person is a member of more than one of these substems, the possible number increasing as the number of persons in total system increases.

The systemic conceptual view of society implies a dynamic, rather than static, relationship among the interrelated subsystems.

Inherent in such an implication is the idea that in the process of interaction, any two subsystems tend to modify and be modified by each other. Their changed relationship, moreover, may cause a shift in the balance of the entire system, with the consequence that other subsystems

¹Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, (ed.), A Modern Introduction to the Family, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 8-9.

²Ibid.

not directly involved originally may find that a convergence of forces necessitates a change on their part as well. It is in the light of this constant modification and adjustment within a dynamic system that it is proposed to view these two basic societal institutions, the home and the church. Such a study must take some account of the changed relationship through time due to direct interaction and to forces external to both which have caused changes in each.

Organization of the Thesis

This chapter has presented the problem to be studied, with its justification, and some of the key concepts involved in the thesis.

Chapter II will present a review of the relevant literature, the hypotheses to be examined, and the rationale behind them. Chapter III deals with the methodology used in obtaining and analyzing the data presented. A descriptive comparison of the two churches studied will constitute Chapter IV, while the results obtained in the study make up Chapter V. Chapter VI deals with the limitations of the study and a discussion of the findings. Chapter VII is a summary and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Relation of the Church and the Family Today

There is a rather extensive literature dealing with both religion and the family which is available and useful to the sociologist; some written from the sociological point of view as well as much which has been contributed by those of other disciplines. There is comparatively little, however, which deals in any systematic fashion with these two institutions combined. In much of the recent writing the attention has been focused, instead, on the increasing or decreasing importance and strength of each.

Many have expressed concern over the "decline" of the family and point to the increased rate of divorce and the continual shifting of what were once family functions to outside agencies. Typical might be the statement by Ruth Anshen:

The family, epitomizing as it does a microcosm of ordered intimate relationships... is the most elemental and most universal form of society.... And yet, the family is moving with precipitous speed to greater and greater atomization and destruction. 1

In the realm of religion the common topic for some time, in contrast to the concern over the decline of the family, has been the great increase in religious interest during the past decade or so.

¹Ruth Nanda Anshen, The Family, Its Function and Destiny, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959), pp. 15-16.

There have been, however, opposing voices to both arguments. Sociologists and anthropologists such as Parsons, Benedict, and Linton argue that the family is changing, but that this is not necessarily "breaking down."

We think the trend of the evidence points to the beginning of the relative stabilization of a new type of family structure, in a new relation to a general social structure, one in which the family is more specialized than before, but in no sense less important, because the society is dependent more exclusively on it for the performance of certain of its vital functions.¹

"The anthropologist knows that the changes taking place in the home in any decade in any country do not mean that the family is now about to disintegrate under our eyes unless we do something about it."

Skepticism as to how much "religion" has been involved in the recent religious emphasis has been ably stated by Will Herberg, who feels that the movement has been more of a revival of interest in religion than a religious revival.

It is only too evident that the religiousness characteristic of America today is very often a religiousness without religion, a religiousness with almost any kind of content or none, a way of sociability or "belonging" rather than a way of reorienting life to God.³

Of the literature which does deal with the relationship of the home and the church, a large part of the volume has come from the various church denominations. Most of the established groups, at least, publish some statement of doctrine regarding the sanctity of marriage and the position taken on divorce and remarriage. Many do much more than

¹Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (ed.). A Modern Introduction To The Family, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), p. 96.

²Anshen, op. cit., p. 54.

³Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1960), p. 260.

this--supplying the ministers with printed helps on how to improve their family education program or deal with individual family problems, and supplying the family with pamphlets and books which relate family experiences to Christian living.

More relevant for the present study, however, is the less voluminous writing done within sociology which relates these two institutions. Typical of the sociological approach is that of Rockwell Smith as he lists four areas where a common religious faith and church adherence are unifying forces within the family--or where a division of beliefs would be a very disrupting influence.

The first is the level of rite or ritual in the family, including family attendance at religious services as well as religious rituals within the home. The sharing of common experiences helps maintain family solidarity, while the emphasis thus given the various rites by the family increases their intrinsic value. Secondly, the church serves as a means of the family becoming socialized and integrated into the larger community. In the third place, religious beliefs underlie much of the moral and ethical behavior of the individual. If these are the same for each member of the family, they serve again to strengthen family ties. Last, affiliation with a certain church usually connotes certain social and economic characteristics. As religious groups are to a high degree endogamous, persons marrying within their faith and having a similar church background would be likely to have similar backgrounds in other respects also, a help in increasing family unity. The conclusion is thus reached that "a common religious faith and church adherence will serve as a force making for family unity and marital happiness irrespective of what that religious faith may be."1

¹Reuben Hill and Howard Becker, Marriage and the Family (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1942), pp. 478-79.

Where the church functions to strengthen the home, through these already listed activities, and through classes and discussions on education for family living, it would itself be unable to function effectively without the support of the home and family life. The Judeo-Christian doctrine depends on family experiences to describe the relationship of the individual to God. "Unless within individual families a happy and constructive relation prevails both between wife and husband and between parents and children as well as among the children themselves, the cogency of the religious interpretation of the universe and of man will be lost." Also, the home being the primary socializing agency for children, generally the religious orientations of the family will be passed on to the child even before he understands the dogma of the church. In the third place, it is somewhat self-evident that, at least in the case of the very young child, the parents must take or send him to church if there is to be any contact made at all.

To better understand the current interaction between the church and the home within the total societal system it may be helpful to note some of the forces which were instrumental in molding both of them through the course of American history.

Development of the Church in American Society

When organized religion in American is viewed in one continuous panorama, from the beginning of the Federal period to the present time, its most conspicuous and distinctive features seem to be these: the full flowering of the denominational system; revivalism, or evangelism; the "social gospel"; and the trend toward co-operation and union among denominations.²

¹Ibid., p. 478.

²Winfred E. Garrison, "Characteristics of American Organized Religion," Religion, Society, and the Individual ed. Milton J. Yinger, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 433.

Four types of factors, three of them indicative of societal subsystems, share somewhat equally the responsibility for this trend in American religion: the political, the geographical, the economic, and the social.

1. The Political Factor

The denominational system was not indigenous to the United States, and in fact had its roots in the Protestant Reformation movement in Europe. Yet only in America was the combination of factors such as to provide an opportunity for the full expression of the movement. First, it was necessary that no one church have the power and position of being state endorsed and supported, but the concept of separation was a rather foreign one to Christendom. From the fourth century incorporation of Christianity into a state religion until the Reformation, it has been assumed by European scholars that a unified church and state were necessary to provide solidarity in the social order. While with the Reformation came the possibility of co-existing civil and religious communities, even the Protestant church, where it had sufficient power and vested interests, established itself as a state church. But the plausability of religious pluralism, once demonstrated, became acceptable, and 'the separation of church and state... is the one thing to which, more than to anything else, the distinguishing characteristics of organized religion in America are due."1

The political factor, then, became one of the first major influences molding American religion. The federal movement, so desirable for many reasons, could only have been accomplished with the acceptance of the fact that there would be no national state church. Many of the colonial churches had sufficient strength within their own area to be the equivalent of a state church there. They thus had the power to demand they not be subordinated to any other, while no one church had

¹Ibid., p. 435.

enough control to seriously demand such a position. The members of these various religious groups remembered only too well the recent emmigration from the old countries to avoid just such religious discrimination. Add to this the large numbers of the general public who did not even profess Christianity, or at least not church membership, and who disliked taxation to support an established church, and it became politically unfeasible to attempt any path but separation.

2. The Geographic Factor

Geographically the wide expanse of the frontier did not lend itself to organized churches. Insufficient density of population, the constant mobility of many frontiers people, the difficulties in transporation, the fact that not many of these people were of the class which was active in the organized churches of the East, as well as the independent attitude which characterized American pioneers all were reflected in the figures that indicate very small numbers of church members in early American history.

As population increased and filled in the back country, a growing proportion of the people lost contact with the moralizing and civilizing influence of organized religion. Subsequent American history would exhibit a similar religious dearth—as the frontier advanced, as one immigrant wave after another reached our shores, as cities grew and industries relocated. . . . It could scarcely be otherwise with the most mobile of the world's populations, with a people dedicated not only to the pursuit of happiness, but also to the happiness of pursuit. 1

This combination of conditions helped to set the stage for the second of the great phenomena of American religion, revivalism. There have been many revival movements in the course of American history-from the days of Jonathan Edwards to the present. Perhaps some of the

¹A. I. Abell, "What America Stands For: The Religious Aspect," Review of Politics, Vol. XXI (Jan., 1959), p. 28.

most far-reaching results were obtained in the revivals which followed the frontier, such as the Great Western Revival which occurred around the turn of the nineteenth century.

As the frontier moved West its avant-garde, at least, was composed of people who had to work hard, and independently, and often lived at great distances from each other. When something had to be done they had to do it—by themselves more often than not—and do it immediately. The same held true for religion. Since established churches with settled clergy were not feasible, the people interested in religion had to serve in many cases as lay spiritual leaders in gatherings of one, two, or just a few families.

To aid them the organized churches in the settled areas began sending evangelists and itinerant ministers such as the famed Methodist circuit rider to convert these, the pagan of their own land. For people who had little social contact, except perhaps for one or two neighbors, the revival meetings served as a time of fellowship for all members of the family with other people as well as with God. Most of the religious leaders were not unaware of this second function of the meetings and gladly accepted the challenge, for this meant more available lost to convert. They were successful to a great degree, leaving behind in many of the developing communities the nucleus of a church.

With the characteristic settling of the land which followed the first wave of pioneers, the rural pattern of life became established in which the church often became a focal organization of the community. Even at the turn of the twentieth century it was possible to say that "churches are rural Virginia's most numerous organizations. More time and energy of more people are devoted to the church than to all other organizations combined." Yet most of the activity offered officially by the rural

¹W. E. Garnett, The Virginia Rural Church and Related Influences: 1900-1950 (Blackburg, Virginia: Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 479, 1957), p. 67.

church was the general gathering together of families for the preaching service, with "dinner on the grounds" being a frequent after-service affair in some places. But as no commercial recreation was available, especially in the nineteenth century, the rural church provided an opportunity for fellowship--even though there were few of the specialized services and organized age-sex divisions that now dominate the church program. What was provided was a gathering point.

3. The Economic Factor

In speaking of the interaction of the economic subsystem and religion, most discussions have dealt with one of two general categories: the relationship of Protestantism, or more specifically Calvinism, to the rise of the "Spirit of Capitalism" as first put forth by Max Weber; or the economic differentiation of the sect from the church, also originally introduced by Weber but more often identified with the name of Ernst Troeltsch. Both are relevant to American history.

The controversy still rages¹ as to the causal relationship between Calvinism and capitalism. There is general agreement, however, that Calvinistic theology, particularly as it developed in America, with its emphasis on individualism, the elect, the "calling" to a secular position as definite as that to the ministry, and a dedication to work in order to prove oneself to God and one's salvation to the world did aid in the rise of the capitalistic industrialization movement. Combined, these elements have come to be known as the "Protestant Ethic." In the words of Weber,

A specifically bourgeois economic ethic had grown up. With the consciousness of standing in the fullness of God's grace and being

¹See Yinger, op. cit., and Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, 1961. Section 6 of Part II of the Yinger book is devoted almost exclusively to this subject; Lenski deals with it in his first chapter in explaining the design of his project.

visibly blessed by Him, the bourgeois business man, as long as he remained spotless and the use to which he put his wealth was not objectionable, could follow his pecuniary interests as he would and feel that he was fulfilling a duty in doing so. The power of religious asceticism provided him in addition with sober, conscientious, and unusually industrious workmen, who clung to their work as to a life purpose willed by God.¹

The second category of interaction of religion and economics to be mentioned is the church-sect dichotomy. As Troeltsch originally described the pure types there are four main areas of difference sociologically. The church is basically conservative, in terms of maintaining the status quo even of the secular order, and is universal in outlook, "i.e., it desires to cover the whole life of humanity." The sects, in contrast, are small groups concerned with the personal perfection of the members who form somewhat of a spiritual elite within the larger community. In the actual societal situation the church accommodates and becomes a part of the existing social order, stabilizing it and becoming dependent upon its upper classes. The sects tend to draw from the dissatisfied lower classes. In the third place the church and sect vary in their attitudes toward

the supernatural and transcendental element in Christianity, and also in their view of its system of asceticism. The Church relates the whole of the secular order as a means and a preparation of the supernatural aim of life, and it incorporates genuine ascetism into its structure as one element in this preparation, all under the very definite direction of the Church. The sects refer their members directly to the supernatural aim of life, and in them the individualistic, directly religious character of asceticism, as a means of union with God, is developed more strongly and fully; the attitude of opposition to the world and its powers, to which the secularized Church now also belongs, tends to develop a theoretical and general asceticism.³

¹Max Weber, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," Yinger, op. cit., p. 521.

²Ernst Troeltsch, "Church and Sect," Yinger, op. cit., pp. 416-17.

³Ibid., p. 417.

On one other point is there a big difference between the two types. The Church is institutional; one is born into it, baptized as an infant, and accepts its objective possession of grace, which is sufficient, once he accepts its dominance, to relieve him of worry over individual inadequacies. The sect, on the other hand, is a voluntary community, dependent on the personal service and cooperation of its members. One enters it "on the basis of conscious conversion; . . . In the sect spiritual progress does not depend upon the objective impartation of Grace through the Sacrament, but upon individual personal effort."

Specific distinctions between sectness and churchness within

Protestantism for which Liston Pope is given credit include the following:

- 1. The Sect renounces or is indifferent to the secular value systems, while the Church accepts and reinforces them.
- 2. The Sect emphasizes a literal Biblical interpretation of life... while the Church incorporates some degree of scientific and humanistic thinking in its interpretation.
- 3. The Sect maintains a moral community, excluding unworthy members... while the Church embraces all who are socially compatible with it.
- 4. The Sect emphasizes congregational participation and an unprofessionalized ministry, while the Church delegates religious responsility to a professionalized group of officials.
- 5. The Sect stresses a voluntary confessional basis for membership and its primary concern is for adults, while the Church stresses social and ritual requisites for all.
- 6. The Sect values fervor in religious observance through its use of folk hymns and its emphasis on evangelism, while the Church values passivity through its use of liturgical forms of worship and its emphasis on education.²

¹Ibid., p. 419.

²Russell Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," Yinger, op. cit., p. 472.

There are, of course, no actual groups which fit completely the criteria for the pure types. Although the Catholic church is undoubtedly the closest approximation to the "Church" type, the typology has been much more freely used in differentiating among the various Protestant groups. One of the most investigated differences has been the economic, investigations which have upheld the position that "Churchness," as defined by the typology, "is associated with high socio-economic status and, conversely, that Sectness (also so defined) is associated with low socio-economic status," Dynes further confirmed this while holding denominational affiliation constant. 1 Muelder has gone on to argue that as the social situation of the group changes in a dynamic and developing society, "to that same degree the internal and external social relationships (of the sect group) will show accommodation." In the church stage accommodation is paramount. Currently many of the so-termed "Fundamentalist" denominations are placed by sociologists on the sectend of the continuum, though much of the doctrine they espouse is very similar to that of the "Church" group of approximately a century ago.

Another author who has gone to some length to explain the relationship and accommodation of the religious doctrine and the dominant values of the group is H. Richard Niebuhr. In his book The Social Sources of Denominationalism, he speaks of the churches of the disinherited, the churches of the immigrant, and the church of the middle class. As an illustration of this point, he says of the latter group,

the psychology of the middle class contains certain constant features which are reflected in its religious organizations and doctrines. Among these the most important are the high development of individual self-consciousness and the prevalence of an activist attitude toward life. To these primary factors others of

¹Ibid., p. 479.

²Walter Muelder, "From Sect to Church," Yinger, op. cit., p. 483.

secondary importance may be added: the general level of education and culture in the group, the financial security and physical comfort which it enjoys, the sense of class which it fosters, and the direct effect of business and trade upon its code of ethics.

Expanding of this theme, Niebuhr proceeds to list several distinct traits of the religion of the middle class. Some of these characteristics are given below, many just as he stated them.

- 1. The religion of these groups is likely to be rather intensely personal in character. The problem of personal salvation is far more urgent for them than is the problem of social redemption.
- 2. An activist attitude toward life prevails . . . Life is not regarded as a time of enjoyment and contemplation but as a sphere of labor. . . . The conception of God is the conception of dynamic will . . . the Creator and the Judge more than the Redeemer and the Savior.
- 3. In harmony with this whole emphasis upon the fate, the worth of the individual in bourgeois faith, there is a corresponding emphasis upon the personal character of God.
- 4. Sin is not so much a state of the soul as a deed or a characteristic. It is not so much the evil with which the whole social life and structure is infected as it is the personal failure of the individual.
- 5. The sanction of religion is invoked on the peculiar virtues of the group itself; honesty, industry, sobriety, thrift, and prudence... while the virtues of solidarity, sympathy, and fraternity are correspondingly ignored.
- 6. The religion of the bourgeoisie seeks separate organization not only on account of the economic conflicts of the class with aristocracy above and the proletariat below but also because of the divergent religious attitudes and desires which arise out of these class differences.²

¹Richard H. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1929), p. 80.

²Ibid., pp. 77-105.

If position on the economic scale influences the type of church and belief, as has been so frequently hypothesized, then this church of the middle class should have a most distinctive impact on the rest of organized religion for its members are the leaders in other fields as well.

4. The Social Factor

No major subsystem operates, of course, in isolation, and particularly is this evident as one notices some of the social factors which have influenced the course of American religion. They have been results of, and responsible for, many of the political and economic, and even geographic factors which have been mentioned heretofore.

Many of the accounts of the early settling of the American continent give the impression that all of the first immigrants were dissenting Protestant religious groups, a fact which is not entirely correct. As the immigration rate increased, the religious factor became proportionately less and less the major reason for settling in America, and as the centers of emmigration changed, the proportion of Catholics greatly increased. Yet those who enjoyed the socially and politically influential positions within their communities were generally members of the dominant religious group of that area. The impact left by these men has made a distinctly Protestant impact on American religion until the present century.

Social factors on the frontier undoubtedly influenced the course of the revival movements, as the social factors of rural life helped to make the rural church the prominant institution it was. It was perhaps in combination with the economic factor of capitalism and industrialization, however, that the social factor played one of its most important roles relative to American religion.

In dynamic America patterns of living were rapidly changing, and with the ever expanding industrial revolution and the increase of scientific

knowledge, the church was faced with new problems. Science challenged it on the intellectual front; an industrialized society mocked its ethical teachings. Along with rapid urbanization and the social evils which accompanied it there were fewer community sanctions to back its teachings on moral living, for the anonymity of the city in this sense made the individual more independent. Furthermore it became a problem for the established city church—the "church of the middle class"—to even get the new urban population to attend services.

As the labor movement gained momentum during the 1870's and 1880's, clergymen discovered that workers in alarming numbers had left the churches or planned to do so unless their grievances were speedily redressed. Workingmen were deserting the churches, labor leaders insisted, because ministers and church members worshipped wealth, sided with employers and frowned upon unions and labor legislation. 1

It was difficult to ignore their plight and in time the third major facet of organized religion in America appeared--the social gospel, and with it the institutionalized church. This was the church which preached that if the evils of society could be cleaned up, this would bring the Kingdom of God. It was not so much that the established church changed its basic position with regard to the wealthy, but hundreds of them established missions and began social work. There was no doubt a great deal of sincerity, but also somewhat a feeling of noblesse oblige. These institutionalized churches were designed to "retain congregations in downtown locations, to bring Protestantism into more intimate contact with the wage-earning population, and to encourage the poor to improve their condition through self-help." The trouble came when there was not a wholesale improvement in the conditions, and reaction set in against the social gospel by many groups.

¹A. I. Abell, Review of Politics, op. cit., p. 34.

²Ibid., p. 28.

Interestingly enough, one of the biggest reactions was by the holiness and other fundamentalist groups who attracted many of the segments of society that the social gospel was designed to help, the working and lower classes. Protestantism has always been a divided grou p, and the division has only been emphasized as many of these "sec ts" or "churches of the disinherited"--both economically and spiritually--became established denominations and more "church-like" in practice and new sects arose to serve again the needs of their original constituency. Many of these groups do have basic doctrinal differences, though as Neibuhr points out, they nearly always represent different classes and groups in society as well. The more a church became a church of the upper and professional classes, the more its doctrine seemed to change so as to take on the values of that class.

Urbanization has also brought the problem of the "scattered parish" to the city church. In the city the ecological processes of invasion and succession mean that many members of the congregation are moving to the suburbs. While modern transportation perhaps makes it possible to still drive to the downtown church, the time and energy involved have often meant that fewer and fewer services and activities are being attended. One recent study of this problem in Omaha, Nebraska, found that of the six largest Protestant churches, all could be said to have "scattered" or "very scattered" parishes. One solution in recent years has been the community church, a church which bears no denominational name and serves the residential area in which it is located. Being located near, it is able to sponsor many activities for which the city church found itself too distant to attract participants. In so doing, however, it has found it necessary to compromise the differences of the various groups represented

¹T. Earl Sullenger, "The Church in an Urban Society," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 41, No. 5, May-June, 1957, p. 361.

in terms of doctrine, liturgy, amount of congregational participation, etc., so as not to seriously offend any of the communicants.

The effect of modern communication on organized religion should not be underestimated. Radio and television have provided a whole new means of reaching people with the message of the church, and really "mass" evangelism has followed. On the other hand, mass communication, including the motion picture industry, has provided great competition for the time that formerly was spent in the church and its program. The church is no longer the exclusive, or even the major, social center for the community as a whole. With the specialization that has accompanied modern life, religion would seem to have become a specialized function to many people as well and, as such, compartmentalized in their well-ordered lives.

We are brought again to the present day religious picture in America.

The nation had become newly interested in religion after the disaffection of the 1930's, a time of economic depression. The new interest gained momentum during World War II: "There are no atheists in foxholes." Immediately after the war it declined somewhat, but in the late 1940's a great change began. Suddenly new records for church attendance were being set. More and more Americans became part of organized church life. . . .

Church building became the fourth largest private building category as citizens erected tangible symbols of their devotion. Some intellectuals found religion respectable once again, and religious propaganda directed to the disaffected urban areas found some response among the lower classes. But the real strength of the revival came from the middle-brow middle class... who seemed to congregate in the suburbs.

Marty later goes on to support Herberg's thesis of modern religion being a part of being American. As Herberg states it, "religion is accepted

¹Martin E. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Bros., 1959), pp. 14-15.

as a normal part of the American Way of Life. Not to be--that is not to identify oneself and be identified as--either a Protestant, Catholic, or a Jew is somehow not to be an American.

The idea of religion being equated with Americanism may be interestingly related to the last of the four major phenomena, the ecumenical movement. With this view of what religion is, people could quite successfully make the shift from one denomination to another or to a community church for there would be little reason to prefer one above another provided the social characteristics were acceptable. So, as doctrinal differences seemed to be of lesser importance, and the church was being challenged on so many fronts

denominational rivalries seemed inappropriate and sinful. This conviction suggested the possibility of co-operation among Protestant groups for the more obvious common objectives. . . . The fraternal idea culminated in 1908 in the formation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (the National Council since 1950.) . . . The Federal Council reflected the changing trends in American Protestantism: theological liberalism, denominational co-operation, and social reform.²

There are still, however, rather major segments of the Protestant world which have not joined the National Council and do not agree with all of its goals. Included in this group would again be most of the fundamental denominations and the various sects who are theologically conservative and still preach separation from "the world." Although many of them do belong to the National Association of Evangelicals, this is a looser federation at present than is the National Council.

In line with the trend toward specialization of functions, the church of today when viewed as a system has many subsystems. Most churches have been increasing their youth emphasis, departmentalizing the

¹Herberg, op. cit., p. 257.

²Abell, op. cit., p. 39.

Sunday School, providing for women's and men's groups and couple's clubs, and generally expanding. As has been noted, they have been very successful—in obtaining numbers at least. According to the census reports of a sample survey in 1957, "two out of every three persons four teen years old and over in the United States regarded themselves as Prot estant, and one out of every four as Roman Catholic." And, "of all persons fourteen years old and over in the survey, 96% reported a religion." How regularly these "members" may attend services may well be another question; at least they are conscious of some affiliation.

Census data also point out another evident manifestation, if not trend, in religion--the sex differential. Ministers and religious administrators are still almost exclusively men, but the laity would seem to show somewhat of a female predominance. More women than men were reported for the major religious groups, while about three times as many men as women reported having no religion. Supporting these last findings, a polling of college seniors found "the women students were decidedly more favorable toward the church than men were, (and) those with rural backgrounds somewhat more favorable than those from urban areas. Let Census data do indicate, however, that though one partner may be more involved in church work, married couples recognize the value of at least professing the same basic religious beliefs.

Among all married couples in which one partner was reported as Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Jewish, in 94% of the cases the other partner was reported in the same major group. If marriages occurred at random in respect to religion, this proportion would have been 56%.

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States," <u>Current Population Reports</u>; Series P-20, No. 79, February 2, 1958.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Garnett, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 57.

⁵U. S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., No. 79.

Change in Family Roles

No less dramatic than the changes which have occurred through the interaction of the church and the larger system of society have been the changes in the structure and functioning of the family. In early colonaial days and on the frontier the family was the unit of economic production, a property institution, and large families meant more workers to supply the needs of the group. Family responsibilities were divided according to age and sex with specific tasks for each member. In the post-Revolutionary period

the family remained patriarchal in form, being supported by the strong props of religion, law, and public opinion. Yet at the dawn of the nineteenth century deep-moving forces were at work undermining father-power and the whole system of domestic industry on which the family was based. Most powerful among these forces were: the frontier movement, and the rise and rapid development of capitalistic industry. Hardly secondary in importance as influences shaping the modern family were: the spread of democratic ideas; the growth of the scientific spirit . . . with the corresponding decline of dogmatic religion; the growth of economic independence for women, an outgrowth of industrialization; the intellectual education of women, followed by their struggle for equal rights in the family and in society; and the modernization of the feudal common law of England to meet the new conditions in the American states. 1

All of this has been labeled by some as "the decline of the patriarchy," and by others as democratization of the family. By whatever name, "Sociologists generally agree that American marriages have shifted toward greater husband-wife equality," reflecting the influence of the same outside forces which affected the realm of American religion.

There have been other changes, related ones, occurring within the family system as well. Bossard and Boll list the trends as a

¹Hill and Becker, op. cit., p. 86.

²Bell and Vogel, op. cit., p. 137.

movement from the predominance of the religious to the predominance of the secular; from a large group to a small group; from a stationary to a mobile group; from an adult-centered to a child-centered family; and from a communal family ideology to a democratic one. The family is no w more of an individualized group rather than being integrated into a larger kin system or encompassing community. Also included in such a list might be the recent trend toward younger age at time of marriage and the almost complete "romantic" basis for choice of the marriage partner.

Some of these trends, such as mobility, tend to be concentrated at one stage of the family life cycle. Again using census figures,

mobility rates were highest at the young adult ages and tended to decline with advancing years. The age group twenty to twenty-four years was the most mobile and contained the highest proportion of each type of movement. . . . The mobility rate for children one to four years old was relatively high . . . reflecting the high mobility rates of young families.²

Mobility, of course, has meant the breaking of close ties with the extended kin group. This very fact has some important ramifications, one of which Parsons points out.

It is clear that in the more "advanced" societies a far greater part is played by non-kinship structures. States, churches, the larger business firms, universities, and professional associations cannot be treated as mere "extensions" of the kinship system. The process by which non-kinship units become of prime importance in a social structure inevitably entails "loss of function" on the part of some, or even all, the kinship units. 3

¹James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, Ritual in Family Living (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), p. 22.

²U. S., Bureau of the Census, "Mobility of the Population of the United States," <u>Current Population Reports</u>, Series P-20, No. 104, September, 1960.

³Bell and Vogel, op. cit., p. 96.

Another strong trend of importance for the family is the everincreasing amount of education, education which must be paid for and received in a specialized institution, not within the family itself.

"The average educational level of the heads of house-holds in the United States went up sharply--by one and a half years--between 1950 and 1957." Undoubtedly accounting for this was the large number of men who studied under the G. I. Bill after World War II and the Korean conflict. Yet regardless of the original stimulus, the trend is not likely to be reversed. The reasons that they felt the need for an advanced education still exist.

In a brief recapitulation, then, the geographic factor of the frontier meant a more complete reliance of family members upon each other and a more equalitarian approach to tasks and decisions. At the present time, even with modern transportation, the size of the country and the increasing geographic mobility of American couples brings into sharper focus the nuclear family at the expense of the extended kin group.

The economic factor of capitalism and industrialization moved the family from the position of economic producer to a unit of economic consumption—where a large family became, instead of a financial blessing, a financial burden. Moreover, industry could use women, giving them economic independence with its attendant freedom of choice as to whether to marry or not. It also meant that mother might discard the traditional role of being exclusively a housewife to take a job outside the home, thus causing major changes in the usual family patterns of living (and incidentally bringing down on her head the wrath of a public

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Characteristics of Households and Families," <u>Current Population Report</u>, Series P-20, No. 83, March, 1957.

which credited her with being responsible for all of the ills of society). Among other things the social factors of urbanization, suburbanization, and mobility have meant the thrusting of the mother and her children more exclusively into each other's company. And in keeping with specialization in all realms, it would seem that the family has also acquaired a specialized function, that of supplying affectional needs, this again tending toward equality of position among the members. Furthermore, as women gained privileges in other areas, they were also increasingly accepted as educable, giving many of them another means of being more nearly equal with their husbands and a better basis for husband-wife discussions and decision-making. The political factors affecting the family are among the most recent influences. They include women sufferage in such areas as the vote, owning property, inheritance, and "standing" before the law. While in themselves they affect family structure, again giving more of an equal status to the wife, more than this they tend to give assurance that the family in America is not likely to revert to a paternal authoritarian form.

In the concern and interest over the changes which are taking place within the family system, many people have taken special note of the family functions, both those which have been "usurped" and those which remain. Bell and Vogel list, in general terms, four functions which are analogous to those facing any social system, namely: task performance, family leadership, integration and solidarity, and pattern maintenance. More specifically enumerated by Becker, the family functions still include: the reproduction of population; protection and care of the child; economic production of family goods and services; socialization of the child; education of the child; recreation, and affectional interaction. Though most would agree that the family does

¹Bell and Vogel, op. cit., p. 19.

²Hill and Becker, op. cit., p. 22.

perform all of these functions, there would be agreement also that the degree of family control and exclusiveness of these functions has lessened in at least three of these areas--economic production of goods and services, education, and recreation. The two lists of functions could be integrated, but of more concern is the problem of which member of the family is responsible for these various duties.

There have been many approaches to the study of the family and its members. The present concept is that of systems and subsystems. Others have viewed the family as a special type of small group and attempted to apply the findings of group dynamics. These two approaches need not be mutually exclusive.

Among the conditions of a system's existence is at least a certain degree of differentiation which in broad outline appears from the experimental small group. There is a tendency for a task leader and a sociometric star to appear. . . . The task leader seems to be associated with certain behaviors (in general terms task behavior; more specifically in giving suggestions, directions, opinions), and certain attitudes (involving apparently, an inhibition of emotions and the ability to accept hostile reactions from others in the process of pressing a point, etc.).

With such an approach the concept of the role of each member of the family then becomes of importance. Family role has been defined or explained in the following terms: "The part each member of the family plays in the family drama is largely a reflection of the culture. The composite of those parts is known as the social role. . . . (which) has been defined as the "organization of habits and attitudes of the individual appropriate to a given position in a system of social relationships."

¹Bell and Vogel, op. cit., pp. 330-31.

²Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill, Marriage and the Family in American Culture (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 189.

Tra ditionally the role of the male head of the household was one outhori ty, provision of material needs--the task performance and family leadership in at least the overt sense. As times change, so do r les to some degree. A study by McKee and Sherriffs on role e pectations of college men and women indicate that "there is no inconsiderable pressure on men to modify their role by incorporating more of the traditionally 'feminine' qualities." They further state that they feel near-1 y every writer in this field would agree that "the roles of the two sex groups are changing today and that the relationship between the groups is in disequilibrium. "2" What, then, is the role of the husband and fathe recurrently? He must still provide for his family, even though his wife may work as well; while his is a "democratic" family, he is supposed to remain as the major "executive" member, but his commands become valid on the basis of good judgment and group discussion rather than the authority of his position. His authority in the modern family is usually shared with his wife. As the main breadwinner and the one whose Po sition in the larger society generally determines the family's social status, his role still demands deference and the right to exercise authority. Realistically, however, often the person who

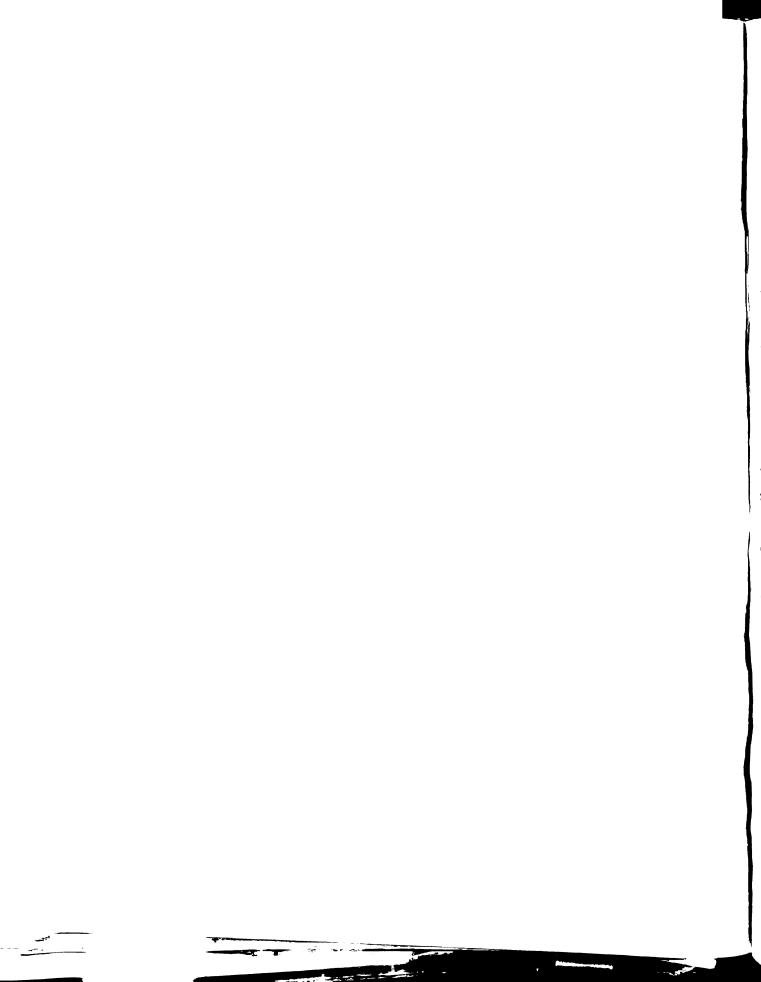
exercises the greatest actual leadership is the one who "works be hind the scenes."... The person receiving greatest deference may have the right of leadership when he desires it, but may not take a prominant part in the ordinary decisions, and often his decisions are concerned only with certain aspects of family behavior. In this area of activities, as in task activities, a differentiation of authority spheres usually develops.

Ohn P. McKee, and Alex Sherritts, "Men's and Women's Beliefs, Ideals, and Self Concepts," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 64, January, 1959, p. 363.

LPid.

³Bell and Vogel, op. cit., pp. 335-36

⁴Ibid., p. 23.



In Americ an society the "father" role then remains somewhat subsidiary to being a na adequate provider since "it is tacitly recognized that the name of the child is played by the wife."

The role of "mother" in modern America has become even more an und efined and complex matter. "Because of her special initial relation to the child, 'mother' is the more likely expressive focus of the system as a whole." As noted in speaking of the father role, she is now recognized as having authority in many spheres of family activity. She is given primary responsibility for the care of the children and the task functions connected with running the household. Besides this she is often the family representative to community organizations and drives, and, what is more, she is now often becoming a wage earner. In 1890 only 4.6% of all married women were gainfully employed outside the home; in 1956 it was 26.7%. "This pattern of role expectations of the wife is the most complex that any family system has ever seen."

of the forces within the total social system have been instrumental in causing changes in the family and the religious system. Though little has been said in this regard, it must be understood that such changes have been reciprocal. Not only were the home and church affected, but the economic, political, and social systems as well; nor was even the geography left unaltered. Yet there remains one area of interacting relation ships to explore for the purpose of this study, that of religion and the family with each other.

Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 198.

²Bell and Vogel, op. cit., p. 333.

³T ruxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 202.

⁴Ibid., p. 197.

Corresponding Changes in Church-Family Relationships

In view of the changing roles within the family, it is necessary

take a current look at its relationship to the church. Which family

ember, or members, now represent the family in the process of

interaction with the church? Who is responsible now for religious

responsibilities at home? From studies of families in many cultures,

both historical and contemporary, where the system is authoritarian

it would seem that the father gains at least part of his authority from

his designation as "priest" of the family. Has a change to the equalitarian type of American family meant a loss of this role also--or was the

change due to the loss of his priestly function?

Though there is little documentation on when the change became evident, it is now the general attitude that the important religious figure in the home is apt to be the mother. For example, Bossard and Letts, in a study of "Mixed Marriages Involving Lutherans" simply state

Since the religious affiliation of the mother has more weight than that of the father in determining the religious rearing of the child, the fact that almost twice as many Lutheran women as men made mixed marriages is a factor in explaining the high Percentage of children reared in the Lutheran church.

Earlier in this paper the statement was simply made in speaking of the post-Revolutionary period that "the family remained patriarchal in form, being supported by the strong props of religion..." and it might be added that the patriarchy supported religion as well. A short

Lutherans," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 18, No. 4, Nov., 1956, pp. 309-10.

Hill and Becker, op. cit., p. 86.

review of four of the major periods in American history as to the relationsh in p in each may give some insight.

Thouseh in the colonial period the church may have had only li rited di rect contact with a large segment of the population, yet its termings regarding the family were not to be considered lightly, for We church influenced the influentials. The paternally authoritarian family was buttressed by the teachings of an equally authoritarian church which proclaimed this to be the Biblical pattern. The church itself claimed, whether or not it completely received, authority over all areas of life of its members. Many of the leading colonial churches had little Lay participation, the minister being almost completely responsible for its affairs. This was, after all, not an unusual situcation, for the leading lay members were the same men who were responsible for all else in the community as well and would have had comparata vely little time for active church work. More than this, the traditional patterns of Christianity had called for little involvement of the laity. As women were not considered capable of holding positions outside the home, there was little thought of using them. During this period, however, religion was a family affair at least to the extent of church attendance, for the higher authority of the church demanded of the family authority, father, that he properly bring up his family.

The frontier religion, with its lack of well-organized churches, was more dependent on lay participation, both of men and women. The frontier family being more equalitarian than the colonial, the women were more used to being included and somewhat automatically took their place in church work as well. Also, the evangelistic messages typical of frontier revivalism were directed toward the individual, whether man or woman. This, in turn, had its effect on increasing the equality of family members--for God considered the soul of one as valuable as the soul of the other. Therefore why should men have so much more power than women?

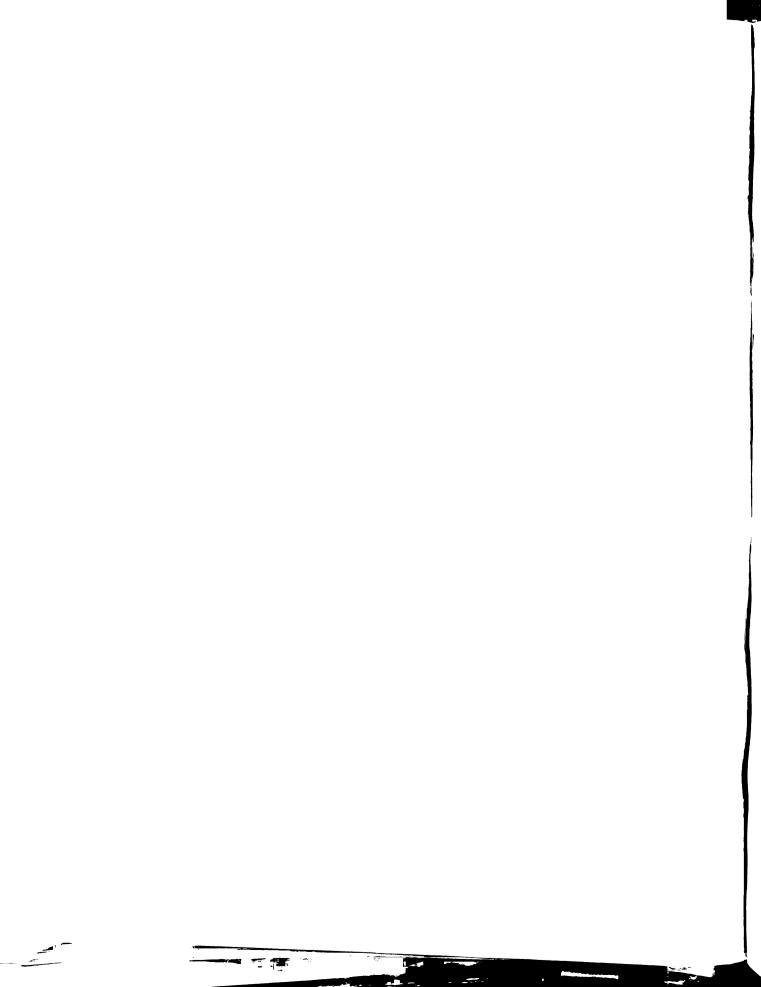
Again church attendance was a family affair. The father was stail enough of an authority to "take" his family if he decided to attend.

On the other hand, the women on the frontier seldom traveled by themselves, for very practical reasons, so that it would have been difficult, not only to disregard father's decision that they stay home because of family authority, but also because of travel difficulties. If there was any interest in religion at all, it was often a whole-family interest, however, for the church meeting was one of the few places where the family members met others of their peer groups.

As the family became a little more equalitarian in rural nineteenth century America, so did the church. And perhaps it might be possible to relate the beginnings of some of the sex-differentiated groups, particularly the women's missionary circles, to the very distinct categorization of jobs by sex around the home farm. During this period the rural chu -ch enjoyed about the strongest position in regard to complete community support that religion has ever enjoyed in American history. Its teachings, basically, were the moral standards by which the community was judged, and not to belong to the church in a rural community had something of a suspicious aura to it. This, combined again with the difficulties in transportation for women, usually meant that if the family were religious at all, then it was a whole family affair. If the church still occasionally preached on "wives submit yourselves to your husbands, "approving the still existent male dominance of the family, there was yet an increasing recognition of the worthwhileness of the female soul--and a great awareness of the usefulness of the female talents and time for the progress of the church.

each of these periods, however, it is not to be necessarily assumed that because the father had the external authority and responsibility of religious affairs, he was in actuality always the leader.

Religion, as it deals with ultimate values, is always concerned with



m Ore than the "task" areas of life, though it affects these also. As the er outional and value areas have normally been considered a part of the mother's comain, it may well be that within the confines of the home it was she, rather than father, who took religion the more seriously as a function.

It has been only within the present century that the women have really come into their own within the church. As automotive transportation gave them freedom of movement, and their abilities were being recognized and utilized in other areas outside of the home, it was not surprising that the churches should make increasing use of their services. The religious emphasis, due to other factors as well, seemed to have shifted almost completely to the "worth of the individual" from the "submission" doctrine. Science, as well, with its challenges to traditional religion, had better access to the men, for they had more education and more daily contact with the outside world. Many of them, not willing to believe themselves, still saw religion as a "good moral for ce" and were quite willing to see the "wife and kids" in church. Women generally being considered more conservative than men, this may have had the effect of slowing the liberal theological movement of American Protestantism.

From the literature it might seem that the area of religion has become one of the "spheres of authority" in which the wife is now predominant in many cases. Religiosity has somehow come to have a feminine quality associated with it. While it would be improper for the husband to oppose, neither does he have to lead.

Scope and Hypotheses of This Study

This study is an attempt to derive various hypotheses from the oregoing review and test them in a field study situation. Though not deny the significant influence of Catholicism, and even Judaism, on American life, particularly in recent years, the previous presentation has dealt with Protestantism almost exclusively. In line with this, two Protestant churches were selected for this study.

To differentiate, however, and further check some of the statements regarding types of Protestant churches, the two selected represent somewhat opposite positions on the liberal-conservative, church—sect, continua. One is a Baptist church, considered fundamental in doctrine, the other an interdenominational suburban church. The hypotheses are separated into three major categories: those dealing with the comparison of the two churches from an institutional viewpoint; those dealing with the perceptions of the children of these churches regarding their own parents' participation in religious affairs; and last, those dealing with the children's own attitudes toward the importance of the church and religion in their own lives. While the hypotheses are all stated first in the positive form, where the major hypotheses are analyzed by means of subhypotheses, these are given in the null form. The method of analyzing and testing these hypotheses will be given in Chapter III.

Hypoth eses

- I. Since Fundamentalism has been associated with sect-like characteristics and the suburban ecumenical church with more accommodative attitudes, it is hypothesized that:
 - 1. According to the typology set up by Troeltsch, and also
 the criteria used by Pope, the Baptist church will exhibit more
 Of the characteristics of a sect than will the suburban church.

- null form, there will be no association between type of church and:
 - a. Acceptance of Biblical literalism and the emphasis placed on the Bible as the basis for answers to life's questions.
 - b. Emphasis on individual perfection and separation from the world.
 - c Requisites for membership.
 - d . Amount of religious fervor and evangelistic emphasis in the services.
 - e The professional training of the ministry and the amount of lay participation in the church program.
 - f. The socio-economic status of the families in the congregation.
 - 2. The suburban church will be more representative of the ''C hurch of the Middle Class" as described by Niebuhr than will the Fundamentalist Church.

In null form, there will be no association between the type of church and:

- The emphasis on personal salvation rather than social justice or redemption.
- **b.** The emphasis placed on activity and labor rather than contemplation or enjoyment.
- The conception of God as a personal and dynamic being.
- The view of what constitutes the major virtues of life, i.e., individual virtues such as honesty, industry, sobriety, etc., rather than group virtues such as solidarity, sympathy, and fraternity.
- The amount of involvement of the local congregation in larger religious organizations.
- 3. As the more church-like a group the more the social factor becomes important as a basis of membership, the suburban church will have a socially more homogeneous congregation.

In null form, there will be no association between type of church and:

- a. The homogeneity of socio-economic status of the congreeation.
 - b. The homogeneity of the level of education.
 - c. The homogeneity of age of the heads of the households.
 - d. The proportion of the congregation which lives within a limited radius of the church.
- 4. The more sect-like church, being more concerned with in ward personal perfection of the members, will have more religious practices or rituals carried on within the homes of its members than will the suburban church.
- 5. The suburban church, more concerned with the secular as pects of related social systems, will have a more active "family program" than will the fundamentalist church.
- II. In the light of the woman's increased responsibility in the church and religious affairs, it is hypothesized that:
 - 6. Within both churches the mother will be perceived as assuming more overt religiously-related responsibilities both in Church and at home than will the father.
 - 7. While there will be a difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they see either parent being more involved in church activities when compared to both being equally active, when one parent is specified as being "more active," both boys and girls will more often indicate mother than father.
 - 8. There will be a difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they see either parent being more responsible for home religious activities when compared to both being equally responsible. However, when one parent is specified as being "more responsible," both boys and girls will more often indicate mother than father.
 - 9. There will be a difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they see either parent being more concerned about religious matters when compared to both being equally concerned. However, when one parent is specified as being 'more concerned,' both boys and girls will more often indicate nother than father.

10. The fact of the mother being employed outside of the home will not make an appreciable difference in the perception of her participation in any of the above three categories in either church.

The fact that religion seems to be commonly considered as a part of the woman's special interest suggests that if the father is perceived as being more involved with religious affairs, it is because of a very special interest. From this factor and his position as still the main authority figure in the home, it is hypothesized that:

- ll. When the father is seen as being the most active in church work, he will also be considered the more responsible of the two parents for religious activities at home.
- 12. Religious rituals will assume more prominance in the home if the father is considered more responsible than if the mother is so considered.
- III. Two factors are of importance when examining the answers to the attitude scales. First, socialization theory postulates that children internalize from and imitate those who now hold roles they expect to hold, i.e., adult in the community or the church, mother, father, etc. The second is the emphasis that the particular church places on the importance of religion compared to other aspects of life. With this in mind it is hypothesized that:
 - 13. Religion will be seen as somewhat more important for women than for men by both boys and girls, and especially will this be true for the suburban church.
 - 14. Girls will place more importance on the church as an institution than will boys; but both boys and girls from the fundamentalist church will consider it more important than will the young people from the suburban church.

¹The three categories refer to (1) being more active in church work, (2) being more responsible for religious activities at home, and (3) being more concerned about religion.

- 15. Girls will rate religion as being more important for their self-image than will boys, as will the young people from the fundamentalist church more than those from the suburban church.
- 16. There will be little difference between boys and girls in their zeal for propagating their religious faith, but there will be a significant difference between churches in this regard with the fundamentalist church ranking higher.
- 17. There will be little difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they recognize any ambiguity in their religious affirmations, but again the significant difference will be between the churches with the young people from the fundamentalist church perceiving less ambiguity.
- 18. There will be a difference in the importance of religion for the self image when mother rather than father, or both parents equally, is perceived as being more concerned about religious matters. This will be true for both boys and girls.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The chapter dealing with the methods of collecting and analyzing the data used in this study has been divided into three sections: that dealing with the selection of the research site; that dealing with data collection; and that dealing with the analytical means used to evaluate the data collected.

Research Site

In a comparative case study approach to a sociological investigation, the problems involved in selecting a "research site," or researchable groups differ, perhaps in the direction of simplicity, from random sampling or a design involving the sociometric selection of respondents. It is necessary that care be used, however, in determining the subjects for study. Criteria are first determined which the examples must meet to be considered as representative of the type to be explored. Then armed with these standards, the researcher must select from the possible subjects those which best meet the requirements.

The criteria used in the selection of the two churches compared in this study were: (1) Both churches must be Protestant; (2) One was to be considered by those familiar with it as conservative in doctrine, the other not so identified; (3) Both must be of a large enough size to furnish a sufficient number of respondents for the questionnaire;

(4) Both must be active enough to have at least maintained their attendance over the period of the last year; and (5) The more theologically liberal church should be a community or suburban ecumenical-type church. The type of location was not deemed an essential requirement for the conservative church.

The two churches selected fulfilled these requirements with the added comparison that while one was located in a suburban residential area, the other was near the center of a city. After having the proposed plan of the study explained to him in a personal interview, the senior minister of each of these churches expressed an interest and willingness to cooperate. With this promise of cooperation the research site became settled.

Data Collection

The data collected in this study may be roughly categorized into two groups: that which compares the two churches as institutions, and that which deals with the perceptions and attitudes of the young people.

Institutional comparison: The data used in comparing the two churches from an institutional viewpoint was obtained in various ways. Statements concerning doctrinal position were selected from two brochures published by the suburban church, a statement of church beliefs put out by the Baptist church, and several tracts which the latter distributes. Additional insights, perhaps more than explicit statements, were gained through personal conversations with the ministers. The opinions regarding these positions and the religious fervor and evangelism of the services was further strengthened by the author's observation and notation of services and sermons in both churches.

The historical background of the churches, the ministers' training, and the church-family program information were all obtained from semi-structured questionnaires completed by the ministers. Determination of the residential concentration of the congregations was made by plotting a random sample of the membership list of each church on city maps. Concentric circles were then drawn around each church and the percentage of households that fell within each half-mile radius calculated. Other church information was obtained from the background information section of a self-administering questionnaire given to a sample of the young people of each church.

Sample of Respondents: The sample of young people used to answer the questionnaires represents not a random sample of the entire youth population of the churches, but as complete a sample as it was possible to obtain for three general age groups within each church, i.e., children between eight and nine years old; eleven and thirteen years old, and high school young people over the age of fifteen. In actuality a great deal of overlap in ages occurred, meaning that the sample consists of nearly the complete range of ages from eight to eighteen.

The totals of the sample analyzed are as follows:

	Suburban Church		Baptist Church	
	Boys	Girls	Boys ·	Girls
7 - 10 years	14	20	6	8
ll - l4 years	6	13	9	6
Over 15 years	11	17	10	_6
TOTALS	31	50 = 81	25	20 = 45
Total Boys: 56		Total Girls: 70		

The Questionnaire: The questionnaire constructed for this study was a self-administering instrument divided into two sections.

The first asked for background information about the respondent, his or her family, and their church or religious activities. The second section of the questionnaire consisted of five Likert-type scales for the junior and senior high school groups and two scales for the younger children. These scales were designed to measure attitudes of the young people toward religion and the church. The items of the different scales were interspersed with each other and some were stated in negative form.

Analysis of Data

As the types of data and the methods by which they were collected have been varied, so also have the analytical tools used to test the significance of the hypotheses. In those cases where statements, quotations, and participant observation are used as a means of accepting or rejecting hypotheses, the reader himself must of course judge whether or not he feels the "proof" was adequately and correctly selected as well as whether it logically leads to the conclusions drawn by the author. For other types of data, however, statistical tests of significance may be, and have been, utilized.

Numerical data, such as the number of persons or families possessing a certain characteristic, are presented in tabular form which compares two independent samples according to a previously determined variable such as church type or sex. With the exception of the data dealing with the attitudinal scales, most of these tables are presented in a two by two form and deal with simple dichotomous items. The tables presenting the information about attitudes, however, have been collapsed from an original seven divisions into three or four divisions. With the relatively small number of responses available and the manner in which they clustered at certain points on the scale, a complete seven cell distribution would not have been amenable to

statistical analysis. In the combining of cells the attempt was made to retain the meaningful emphasis and variation of the more divided data.

As the attitudinal scales did not all contain an equal number of items, using the total scores would have made comparisons among scales meaningless. For this reason, the score used is the average of the responses to all items on a scale, thus giving a common basis for comparisons.

To test the hypothesis of no association between two independent samples the familiar chi square analysis was used when all of the assumptions could be met. This type of test could not be used in a few cases, however, as the numbers were too small to allow expected frequencies of at least five in each cell of a two by two table. The test applied in these situations was the Fisher Exact Probability Test. Eurther indication of the comparative validity of the hypotheses was obtained by figuring the coefficients of contingency.

The hypotheses dealing with the amount of variation or homogeneity within each church were analyzed by means of the semi-interquartile range, or "Q", which could then be compared between churches. The final type of statistical analysis was the use of the Confidence Belts for Proportions. These were used to determine the degree of significance of the binomial distribution of responses within a group when the hypothesis stated that one response would occur with significantly greater frequency than another.

¹Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), p. 46.

²Ibid., pp. 96-100.

³Wilfred J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., <u>Introduction to</u> <u>Statistical Analysis</u>, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 413-416.

Description of Variables

Socio-Economic Status: To ascertain the socio-economic status of the families within each church, use was made of the father's occupation as reported by the children on the questionnaires. The Duncan Scale for Socio-Economic Status, which was the index used, gives each occupation a scale value between one and ten, with the higher values indicating the higher status. The rationale behind using only occupation rather than a combination of education, occupation, income and residence may be summarized somewhat as follows: There is a very high correlation between the first three variables. The type of occupation determines the amount of education necessary to perform in it and is entered into as a full-time career only after the education has been obtained. Income, in most cases, is for services performed in the occupational role. Thus occupation serves as a link between education and income and is highly correlated with each. Residence area, while greatly influenced by income and thus having some correlation, is also affected by a number of other personal factors and thus is not necessarily an accurate indicator of socio-economic status.

The educational level of the heads of the households and their ages was again taken from the background information of the children's questionnaires. The child was asked to check, to the best of his knowledge, whether or not the father had completed high school, was a high school graduate, had some college work, was a college graduate, or had done graduate work. For age he was asked to indicate the father's age within a five-year category, i.e., twenty-five to thirty, thirty-one to thirty-five, etc.

The variable of perception of parental involvement or concern with religious affairs is simply the response of the children to a direct

¹Otis Didley Duncan, "A Socio-Economic Index for All Occupations," an unpublished paper, University of Chicago, November, 1959.

question of which parent would you say is <u>more</u> active, responsible, or concerned, as the case might be. The alternative answers were "Mother," "Father," "Both the same," or "Neither."

The variable of the number of religious rituals was determined from a check list on the questionnaire which included five religious activities which the family might practice, as well as a place to indicate any such activities which were not listed. The child then checked whether this was usually practiced, seldom practiced, or never practiced in his home. From these responses the families were grouped into four categories: (1) at least four of the rituals being a usual practice; (2) two or three of the rituals being usual, (3) one ritual being usual, and (4) no religious ritual being practiced more than occasionally in the home.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the variable dealing with the distance of the residences from the church was handled by plotting a random sample of the membership list on a map and calculating the number of homes within a given radius of the church.

The last variables to be mentioned are the attitudinal scales designed to measure the attitudes of the young people toward religion and the church. The Likert-type scales allowed the respondents to check one of five responses to each item: I agree very much, I agree a little, I don't know, I disagree a little, and I disagree very much. All ages answered all items on the comparative importance of religion for men and women, as well as all answering items related to Church Importance. The younger group received an abbreviated form of this scale however. The three scales answered only by the older youngsters were on Religious Fanaticism, The Importance of Religion for the

Self-Image, and Religious Ambiguity. Item analysis of the scales original to this study, using high and low quartiles, indicated a high internal consistency, with a discriminatory power of less than 1.0 on only one item. 2

¹The last three scales mentioned, i.e., Religious Fanaticism, The Importance of Religion for the Self-Image, and Religious Ambiguity, were those used in a study by Snell Putney and Russell Middleton as reported in "Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies,"

Social Forces, (XXXIX, May 1961). At the suggestion of the ministers who reviewed the questionnaires for this present study, the wording of a few of the items was changed somewhat to make them more understandable for the children. It was felt, however, that these changes were not of enough magnitude to affect the scales or their internal consistency.

²One item on the Church Importance Scale, "A minister's job is more important than my father's job," had a discriminatory power of only .52.

CHAPTER IV

AN INSTITUTIONAL COMPARISON OF CENTER STREET BAPTIST CHURCH AND WOODLAWN COMMUNITY CHURCH

The city of Riverdale, lying near the center of one of the midwestern states, has a diversified economy based on manufacturing, government, and the normal range of attendant service and professional occupations. Adjoining the city proper is the suburban, though incorporated, city of Woodlawn, basically a residential area and dominated by the state university which lies within its borders.

Approximately three-fourths of a mile from one edge of the campus, set well back from the road on a carefully tended expanse of lawn, is Woodlawn Community Church. The building itself, low, modernistic in structure with large areas of glass, is designed to blend with the tone of the neighborhood, a relatively new suburban residential area. Inside, the simple sanctuary is surrounded by offices, church school classrooms, a nursery, and a kitchen. Folding chairs permit the use of the room for purposes other than Sunday morning worship should it be necessary. Behind the building a large paved parking lot accommodates those who do not wish to park in the street.

Less than two miles from the center of Riverdale itself, and about five miles from the community church, is located Center Street

¹The names used in this study are fictitious, though denominational affiliation and other descriptive statements are accurate. In any reference to material published by either church, the fictitious name replaces that of the actual church.

Baptist Church. The building might more properly be referred to as two, or even three, buildings, for an attractive new tabernacle-style auditorium has been attached to the older square brick building.

While the original church was retained for an educational building, it was insufficient, and a three-story educational unit is the latest structural addition. Most of the side streets in the area still maintain their residential character, but Center Street itself is largely commercial around the church. A nearby manufacturing plant offers the use of its parking lot to supplement that on the church property.

This type of environment was not that in which the church was originally built, for Center Church predates the commercial enterprises, having been founded in this same area in 1889 with a nucleus of about twenty-five people. It has grown since that time until at present Sunday School attendance averages 1100 to 1200 during the fall through spring months, with about 100 less in the Sunday morning worship, and about 400-600 present for the Sunday evening evangelistic service. Though choosing to include the name "Baptist" in the official church title, the church is not affiliated with any denomination or other combined church organization. The doctrine, however, is fundamental and Baptistic.

Woodlawn, on the other hand, has been in existence only for eight years. Though, in the words of the pastor, the formation of the church was to "provide an interdenominational church for the new and growing community in the east section of Woodlawn," there have been negotiations during the time of this study to join the United Church of Christ, a recent merger movement of the Congregational and Evangelical Reform denominations. The original church membership list of 1953 contained 195 names. The present membership numbers slightly over 600 people, with an average attendance of 400-500 per Sunday during the academic year.

Each church is, at present, being served by two ministers. In both cases, though there is a great deal of sharing of duties, the younger men are especially delegated to the youth and Sunday School work, and, at the Center Street Church, to the musical program as well.

Six general hypotheses have been formulated about the comparison of these two churches. They deal basically with one of the most commonly studied differences between churches, the church-sect continuum. As fundamentalism has been associated by many with sect-like characteristics, and the community ecumenical church with more accommodative attitudes, it is hypothesized that, in general these differences will be found between these two churches as well.

The Church-Sect Continuum

Hypothesis I: According to the typology set up by Troeltsch, and also the criteria used by Pope, the Baptist church will exhibit more of the characteristics of a sect than will the suburban church.

The first null form subhypothesis is that there will be no association between the type of church and the acceptance of Biblical literalism and the emphasis placed on the Bible as the basis for answers to life's basic questions. The Baptist position, taken from their statement "What We Believe" is

It should be emphasized that this is to be a comparative study. There is no attempt to test whether one group is a sect or a church, or how near it might be to the actual type, only whether one group might have more of the characteristics than the other. While it is recognized that these two terms are value terms to many, there is no wish in this report to indicate that one is to be preferred over the other.

The sole authority for faith and practice among Baptists is the Scripture of the Old and New Testaments. CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURES--We believe that the Holy Bible was written inerrant in its original languages by men divinely inspired. 1

The pastor of Center Church, when asked to state the purpose or goal of his church responded, "We exist for the purpose of declaring a message, the Word of God." The fact that the literature which they distribute also gives answers to all questions with Scriptural references, including the Genesis accounts, is further indication of the belief and importance attached to the Bible.

The Woodlawn position is perhaps best illustrated by the lack of any particular statement regarding the Scriptures. It is listed, along with contemporary sources, historic Christianity, and human relationships, as a source for fresh insight and understanding. The Church School has a "Biblically based curriculum," and the worship services are planned to meet the need, among other things, of "relating... our faith to concrete life situations, with a Biblical perspective, intellectual integrity and an attitude of honest searching. It would seem, therefore, possible to reject the null hypothesis and say that the Baptist church is more concerned with Biblical literalism and emphasis.

Subhypothesis two says there will be no association between the type of church and the emphasis on individual perfection or separation

^{1&}quot;What We Believe, "a mimeographed statement of doctrinal position put out by the Center Street Baptist Church.

²"This is Woodlawn Community Church, "a brochure published by the church.

³"Woodlawn Community Church--Interdenominational, "bulletin published by the church.

⁴"This is Woodlawn Community Church, "op. cit.

from the world. The Baptist statement of belief says nothing on individual separation from the world as such, though it does deal with sanctification which is the matter of being "set apart for God." More explicit in this regard is a tract which, though not published by the church, is made available by it for members and visitors. Entitled "Success or Failure in the Christian Life," it includes under the subheading "How to make a failure of the Christian life," such suggestions "Indulge your Carnal appetites, . . . Unite with worldly organizations, . . . Run around with carnal believers and worldlings, . . . Eclipse your salvation with business or home interests." Suggestions for success include prayer, Bible reading, witnessing, confession of sin, tithing, and others. A rather dramatic contrast is provided by the statement from Woodlawn that theirs is a church "encouraging responsible and decisive participation in the life of the world, rather than withdrawal from it . . . seeking to learn from all avenues of truth, inside and outside the church." "Individual perfection" is covered only by the statement, "a worshipping community . . . resensitizing the conscience to the daily need to forgive and be forgiven. "3 Again the differences of the positions of the two churches makes necessary the rejection of the null hypothesis. The fundamentalist church is more closely associated with the sect-like characteristic than is the suburban church.

Subhypothesis three deals with the requisites and

¹Clarence M. Keen, "Success or Failure in the Christian Life," a tract published by the American Tract Society, New York.

²"What We Are and What We Seek to Become, "brochure published by Woodlawn Community Church.

³Ibid.

practices pertaining to membership. Again in null form, it is stated that there is no association between type of church and these factors.

One of the basic teachings of any Baptist church is baptism by immersion upon confession of Christ as Lord, an act which requires that the individual be of an age to understand its significance and voluntarily make such a confession. Secondly, no formal course of indoctrination is set up, such teaching being viewed basically as the function of the Sunday School. Membership is dependent upon confession and baptism, which requires a minimum of doctrinal knowledge.

The opposite approach is used in the suburban church. Though infant baptism is the practice, before young people are accepted as full-status members, they attend an "Affirmation Seminar" which meets once a week for the equivalent of an academic year. During this time the teachings of the church are studied and explained. For the third time, therefore, the hypothesis of no association is rejected.

The fourth subhypothesis states that there will be no association between the type of church and the professional training of the ministry or the amount of lay participation in the church program. An investigation of the training of all four men shows that each has had professional training, though the amount and type differ somewhat. The "head pastor" at Woodlawn holds a B. A. degree and a Bachelor of Divinity degree, having obtained the latter from a seminary connected with a large university. His associate likewise obtained a B. A. from a private university and then the B. D. degree from the same university seminary as did the first man. Both of the Baptist ministers received their training in four-year Bible colleges.

Both churches stress voluntary lay participation on administrative boards and committees, use voluntary lay workers for church school, youth programs, and musical groups. Woodlawn refers to it as "opportunities for service, leading to the life that is found in

spending one's self... the mutual ministry of all believers."

In both churches the services themselves are conducted by one of the ministers, though at least once during the period under observation, a lay member chairmaned the service of the Woodlawn church in the absence of both ministers. Therefore though the amount and type of professional training may be associated with the type of church, from the data gathered in this study, the null hypothesis cannot be entirely rejected. Neither church emphasizes an unprofessionalized ministry; both use lay participation.

To some, lay participation might mean the fervor with which the members of the congregation enter into the service. In this study, however, this is stated separately by the next null hypothesis: There is no association between type of church and the amount of religious fervor and evangelistic emphasis. The only really comparable service is the Sunday morning worship--as this is the only service Woodlawn has for adults. To an observer participating in just the morning services of both churches, the hypothesis might well be rejected, yet on a subjective basis, for a comparison of the two printed programs would lead to little distinction. Both begin with an organ prelude, follow approximately the same pattern of worship--though the Baptist congregation responsively reads a Scripture rather than a litany-and conclude with an organ postlude. The choir is as apt to sing a classical anthem in one church as in the other. The difference arises in the somewhat more informal atmosphere of the fundamentalist church, the more frequent use of the simple gospel song, and the more enthusiastic manner in which the congregation participates, as well as the fact that it would be considered improper to read either a prayer or a sermon, and especially the former. The strongest evidence,

^{1&}quot;Woodlawn Community Church -- Interdenominational, "

however, is the fact that Center Church has a Sunday evening evangelistic service. This time, though the pattern of worship is somewhat usual, there is no printed program nor absolutely "set pattern." The null hypothesis can thus be rejected, indicating that the Baptist church is again more sect-like than the suburban church, but remembering that this does not specify the degree of difference.

Our final null hypothesis dealing with the "sectness" of the fundamental church states that there will be no difference in the socioeconomic composition of the two congregations. To determine this, the socio-economic status of the families of children who answered questionnaires was calculated using the Duncan Scale. the results are given in Table I.

Table 1. Family Socio-economic Status by Church

			Du	ncan Sca	le V	alue		
	(Lov	v) 1 - 2	3 -	4 - 5	6	- 7	8 -	9 (High)
Woodlawn Church	4	5.6%	7	9.8%	23	32.3%	37	52.0%
Center St. Church	16	40.9%	11	28.0%	10	25.6%	2	5.0%
$X^2 = 38.59$ Coeffi	cient	of contin	ngen	cy = .50	892	•	005 >	> p

The chi-square test of no association yielded a value of 38.59, which at three degrees of freedom is greater than the 99,5 per cent level of

¹The Duncan Scale for Socio-economic Status uses occupation as the only type of criteria for assigning socio-economic status. On the questionnaires the children were asked what type of work their fathers performed, the place of employment and whether they were self-employed, employer, or manager. From this information the occupation was classified according to the Duncan Scale and assigned a numerical value from one to ten, with the higher numbers indicating higher socio-economic status.

For more information on the Duncan Scale and a brief discussion of the rationale behind using occupation as the standard, see "Description of Variables," in Chapter III, p. 47.

confidence. The coefficient of contingency is .50892. An analysis of the table shows that not only is there an association between the type of church and the socio-economic status, but the church with the larger percentage of working class people is the fundamentalist church.

Though there have been degrees of difference between the two churches on the various subhypotheses, yet with only one exception each has indicated the more sect-like character of the Center Street Church when compared to the community suburban church. Thus the first major hypothesis is upheld.

Niebuhr and the Church of the Middle Class

Having determined--at some length--that the suburban church has less the characteristics of a sect and a larger proportion of professional and business people than does the fundamentalist church, we move to the next hypothesis. This states that

Hypothesis II: The suburban church will be more representative of the "Church of the Middle Class" as described by Niebuhr than will the fundamentalist church.

The first null hypothesis states that there will be no association between the type of church and the emphasis on personal salvation rather than social justice or redemption. Turning first to the fundamentalist church, we find that in speaking of salvation they stress that all men stand in need of salvation, but it is obtained by the individual repenting of his sins and accepting Christ as Savior. Regarding the rest of society, or social redemption, every Christian is under obligation individually to "make the Will of Christ supreme in his life and in human society. To support everything that is good and righteous in industry, government and society that all men may be benefitted thereby."

^{1&}quot;What We Believe."

The suburban church is also very interested in the individual, expressing itself as concerned with "depth experience... emphasizing the significance of the individual's commitment, of discipline and struggle with the meaning of Christianity." Yet there is no mention of a personal salvation. In regard to society, however, there is a great deal of attention. The church views itself as

A fellowship concerned with the community of mankind... acting as a leaven in the community on matters of social justice and the critical moral issues of our time... reaching beyond itself to the hunger, physical and spiritual, of the world, cultivating an uneasy conscience with regard to human need... searching for ways of realizing and perfecting the world Christian community.²

Furthermore, a review of the church newsletter shows that in most issues there is an article dealing with a contemporary social problem which states the church, or at least the minister's, position regarding this problem.

The difference between the church positions makes necessary the rejection of the hypothesis of no association. The difference, however, is contrary to the expectation stated in the main hypothesis. It is the fundamentalist church which emphasizes the personal salvation and maintains that social justice is then the result of the efforts of these discreet individuals.

The second subhypothesis says that there will be no association between the type of church and the emphasis placed on activity and labor rather than contemplation or enjoyment.

A phrase which quite aptly describes the Woodlawn approach was used by the minister in reference to his Sunday morning service, "An invitation to intellectualize." Throughout his answers and the

[&]quot;What We Are and What We Seek to Become."

²Ibid.

pamphlets of the church the expressed emphasis is on "depth" experience, or the "gearing (of) educational groups and programs to qualitative experience rather than maximum numbers." The "center of the adult program of Woodlawn Community Church" is stated as being "small face-to-face groups which make possible... honest expression of questions and convictions, as well as the more intimate sharing of personal feelings and the development of personal abilities to relate to other persons..." This is not to state, of course, that there are no activity groups, but the expressed purpose of even the women's societies is "to move beyond one stereotyped emphasis on missionary concerns (though these are by no means neglected) to include a concern for relationship of the Christian faith to all areas of life, both personal and social." The same type of statement is made of the youth groups.

One of the basic principles of fundamentalism is an evangelistic approach—a going to the highways and byways and "compelling them to come in." This approach also makes necessary a stress on the simplicity of the gospel so that all who hear may understand. In line with this philosophy, the Baptist Sunday School maintains a program of calling on pupils and new prospects as well as running a Sunday School bus. Other evidences of the fundamentalist conception of activity versus contemplation include statements by the minister of the purposes of the various youth and men's and women's groups: "preparing for life and service"; "training for active participation in the life of the church"; and, finally, "an hour dealing with the problems of Christian

¹Ibid.

²Questionnaire answered by the minister of Woodlawn Church.

³Ibid.

faith." "Fellowship" is stated along with missionary and service projects as a goal of the older groups. Noting again the tract "Success and Failure in the Christian Life," action words are most evident: "search the scriptures," "pray unceasingly," "enter into spiritual activities with enthusiasm and without reservation."

As is true of so many areas, neither group can be said to be completely representative of a type, i.e., neither group takes completely an active or a contemplative approach. Yet it is felt that the emphasis of the two groups differs sufficiently to reject the null hypothesis. Furthermore, the difference is again in the opposite direction from that specified by the main hypothesis.

The third hypothesis of no association is that there will be no association between the type of church and the concept of God as a personal and dynamic being. One statement sums up the Baptist doctrine of God: "CONCERNING THE TRUE GOD - We believe that there is one and only one living and true God, an infinite, intelligent, personal being, the Creator, preserver and supreme ruler of the universe." No one statement so indicates the Woodlawn position. Speaking of Christ as "the Person who can never be exhaustively defined, but through whom the Eternal has been decisively disclosed," does not necessarily present God, the Eternal, as either a personal being or a dynamic one. A further reference speaks of "A growing understanding of our religious faith and the meaning of God in our experience." Whatever may be the emphasis, however, it is difficult

^{1&}quot;Success and Failure in the Christian Life."

²"What We Believe."

³"What We Are and What We Seek to Become."

⁴"Woodlawn Community Church--Interdenominational."

to interpret "remaining open to God's present activity" as referring to anything other than a personal and active being. Therefore, though admitting that the views may not be identical, this null hypothesis is accepted.

One of Niebuhr's major emphases is that the religious group validates and emphasizes those virtues which are already attributes of the group. Our null hypothesis therefore states that there will be no association between the type of church and the view of what constitutes the major virtues of life, i.e., individual virtues such as honesty, industry, sobriety, etc., rather than group virtues such as solidarity, sympathy, and fraternity.

No American church could successfully, nor would it be interested in, preaching against such habits as industry, prudence, thrift, or sobriety. Of more practical importance, however, is the emphasis which is placed on one type of virtue rather than another, both in preaching and in practice.

One looks in vain for any type of reference to these individual virtues in the Woodlawn statements. Instead, the most common expression is "fellowship," and several times the word "community" appears as well. The role of the church is seen as "a healing fellowship... seeking to give practical expression to the Christian experience of being 'members of one another,' by standing with people in their time of need... training persons in the skills of human understanding and the means by which bridges of understanding may be erected between individuals and groups... searching for ways of communicating a healing love to persons with hurts, confusions, and perplexities." A series of three sermons during the month of August,

^{1&}quot;What We Are and What We Seek to Become."

²Ibid.

1961, dealt with the church as a community. Furthermore, regarding individual virtues or vices, church ethics do not prohibit such practices as the use of tobacco, liquor, or most type of amusement.

The Baptist standard, though not as rigid as that of many Holiness groups in regard to "worldliness," does place a negative sanction on the above-named practices to some degree. They are considered to be carnal and thus keep the individual from being perfectly able to yield to God. Also they reason that these habits become expensive, and at times keep a person from doing his best work which in turn reflects upon his Christian testimony.

This is not to say that solidarity, sympathy, or fraternity are entirely neglected. On the front of the church bulletin is the statement

To all who mourn and need comfort--to all who are weary and need rest--to all who are lonely and want friendship--to all who are tired and want victory--to all who sin and need a Savior--to "whosoever will," this church opens wide its doors and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Lord, says "Welcome."

This invitation, however, is for the individual to find the answers to his needs in the person of Christ, though perhaps through the fellowship of the church group. A feeling of group solidarity is existent to some degree due to the teaching of the saved and the unsaved, for having made a personal acceptance of salvation, one becomes, by grace, a member of the smaller, but spiritually elite, group with its common destination and goals.

There is much that the two churches, then, hold in common, yet also much that is different in the virtues emphasized. There is, in the opinion of the author, enough of a difference to again reject the hypothesis of no association between virtues emphasized and the type of church, a difference which is contrary, however, to the main hypothesis.

The final point to be considered under this hypothesis deals with association with other religious groups. It states that there will be no

association between the type of church and the amount of involvement of the local congregation in larger religious organizations.

Though the present fundamentalist church under study may be somewhat atypical in that it is affiliated with no denomination or larger religious organization, its statement concerning church independence is spoken as representative of a Baptist position. "We believe that the local visible Church is a voluntary and independent autonomous group of baptized believers and has the power and right within itself to function in keeping with the Word of the New Testament." Such hardly seems to be the sentiment or practice of the Woodlawn church. It is affiliated with the World, National, State, and local Councils of Churches, has formally affiliated with the United Church of Christwhich is a recent merger group—and is negotiating at the present time for a formal relationship with the Presbyterian Church. We reject, therefore, the last null hypothesis, but note that for the fourth time the rejection is contrary to the main hypothesis.

On the basis of the five subhypotheses just discussed, therefore, we reject the main hypothesis that the suburban church will be more representative of the "Church of the Middle Class" as described by Niebuhr than will the Fundamentalist church. In fact, it would seem that the Fundamentalist church more nearly conforms to that image.

[&]quot;"What We Believe."

The Degree of Homogeneity in Social Characteristics

It is suggested by Herberg in analyzing the current American religious scene that the characteristic religion of today is, to a great extent, a secular "way of belonging" not particularly concerned with content. If, then, as Marty supposes, it is the middle class suburbia which furnishes the real strength of this movement, we would expect our suburban church to be somewhat more conscious of the social characteristics of the group than the more sectarian church, which, while benefitting from the current upsurge of religious interest, still places more emphasis on a moral community of believers. Such an emphasis may have more appeal for a certain class, but it is the religious rather than the intellectual or social attraction which is emphasized. Therefore it is hypothesized that

Hypothesis III: As the more church-like a group the more the social factor becomes important as a basis of membership, the sub-urban church will have a socially more homogeneous congregation.

The first variable to be considered is socio-economic status. The specific subhypothesis, stated in null form, is that there will be no association between type of church and the homogeneity of the congregation with respect to socio-economic status. Again use was made of the socio-economic status of the families of children who answered the questionnaires as determined by the Duncan Scale. The semi-interquartile range, or Q, was used as a measure of variation from the median on the assumption that the greater the range, the less homogeneous the population. Determination of Q was by use of the formula $Q = \frac{Q_3 - Q_1}{2}$, where Q_3 and Q_1 refer to the third and first quartiles respectively. The range for socio-economic status is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Variation of Family Socio-economic Status by Church

	Quartiles Q ₃ - Q ₁	Interquartile Range	Semi- Int e rquartile Range = Q
Suburban Church	7.75 - 5.56	2.01	1.01
Fundamental Church	5.45 - 1.11	4.34	. 2.17
Differe	ence in Q value	s = 1.16	

Variation shown is in points on the Duncan Socio-economic Scale which contains values from one through nine.

The semi-interquartile range for the fundamental church is more than twice as large as that of the suburban church, a difference of 1.16 points. This difference indicates that, contrary to the null hypothesis, there does seem to be an association between church and the homogeneity of socio-economic status with the more homogeneous church being the suburban church. Additional evidence of the difference between the churches, though it does not deal with homogeneity per se, is that there is no overlap in the area of the interquartile range, with the suburban group ranking higher.

The second subhypothesis, stated in null form, is that there will be no association between the type of church and the homogeneity of the level of education of the church members. The information was again taken from the questionnaires and represents the educational level of the fathers of the respondents. The results are given in Table 3. Again the difference in Q values shows the fundamental church with a larger semi-interquartile range, again more than twice as large, indicating the greater diversity of that congregation in educational attainment. The converse, then, would be that the suburban

Table 3. Variation of Fathers' Educational Level by Church

	Quartiles $Q_3 - Q_1$	Interquartile Range	Semi- Interquartile Range (Q)
Suburban Church	18.42 - 16.27	2.15	1.08
Fundamental Church	16.66 - 12.07	4.59	2.30
Difference in	n Q values = l.	22	

 $^{^*}$ Variation shown is in number of years of schooling.

church does have a more homogeneous congregation with respect to the variable of education, thus allowing the rejection of the second null hypothesis. For the second time it is interesting to note the little overlap in the area covered by the interquartile range.

The third variable to be examined regarding homogeneity is the age level of the heads of households. Again the information used is the age of the father as reported on the questionnaires. As the respondents represent similar age groups from each church, the expectation would be that the range of parental age would be similar also. A look at Table 4, however, shows a difference in the Q values of 1.39 years. For the third time the larger Q is found for the fundamental church. While the difference is not as great when compared to the total possible range as is true of the first two variables, considering the bias introduced by the method of gathering the data, the suburban church does seem more homogeneous. One factor which may be suggested as partially responsible for the homogeneity of the age of the men of the suburban church is the tendency, often commented upon, of the suburbs themselves to be somewhat age-selective. And that this church does draw very heavily from its own suburban neighborhood may be seen as we examine the fourth subhypothesis.

Table 4. Variation of Age of Heads of Households by Church*

₃ - Q ₁	Interquartile Range	Interquartile Range (Q)
5.00 - 36.56	9.44	4.72
9.75 - 37.53	12.22	6.11
	0.00 - 36.56 0.75 - 37.53	0.00 - 36.56 9.44

^{*}Variation shown is in years of age.

The fourth null hypothesis states that there will be no association between the type of church and the proportion of the congregation which lives within a limited radius of the church. To test this hypothesis a random sample of the membership list of each church was plotted on a map; concentric circles drawn about the location of the church with radii representing distances of one, two, and three miles; and the number of homes within each distance determined. Two tests were then applied to the data. First a chi-square test was used to test the hypothesis of no association between the type of church and the parish area. Secondly, the semi-interquartile range was determined to check the comparative concentration of the two congregations within a limited area. The results obtained are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

The chi-square value of 81.34 at three degrees of freedom allows us to state that there is an association between the church and the distance from which it draws its congregation with greater than 99.5 per cent confidence. That the suburban church draws much more heavily from its immediate environs is evident by comparison of the percentages. Almost 90 per cent (89.8 per cent) of the suburban congregation lives within a two mile radius of Woodlawn Church compared to 61 per cent

Table 5. Distance of Residence from Church by Church

				Dis	tance	in Mile	s			
	0-1	mile	1-2	miles	2-3	miles	Ove	r 3 miles	Tot	al
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Suburban Church	145	74.4	30	15.4	9	4.7	11	5.5	195	100
Fundamental Church	65	30.5	65	30.5	4 l	19.2	42	19.8	213	100
$X^2 = 81.3$	34	C =	.407	43	.01	> p > .0	05			

Table 6. Variation in Distance of Residence from Church by Church*

$Q_3 - Q_1$	Interquartile Range	Interquartile Range (Q)
1.1444	.70	.35
2.8392	1.91	. 96
	1.1444	1.1444 .70

^{*}Variation is given in miles.

of the Center Street congregation which lives that close. Not only does the suburban group live nearer to the church, but the semi-interquartile range shows a somewhat smaller variation in distance for them, the difference between the Q values being .61 miles. One further bit of information emphasizes these findings, for the fundamental church also attracts regular members from a greater distance than does the suburban church, the extremes for each group being approximately twenty miles and five miles respectively. We therefore reject the fourth null hypothesis and state there is an association between type of church and

the area from which the congregation is drawn, that the suburban church draws more heavily from its immediate community, and that the parish is more homogeneous in terms of residential area.

One note of caution must be raised with regard to this subhypothesis however. It is the fact that we cannot state definitely what factor in the two churches is responsible for this difference. Remembering the study done by T. Earl Sullenger¹ we might as easily hypothesize that the difference is due to the city-suburban variable as much or more than to the theological or church-sect differences. Further research controlling for these variables would be necessary before anything more definite could be stated.

Having rejected each null hypothesis and noting that in each case it was the fundamental church which showed the wider variation among its membership, we then accept the third major hypothesis. The suburban church does have a more homogeneous congregation with regard to socio-economic status, education, age, and residence area.

The Frequency of Practicing Home Religious Rituals

Hypothesis IV: The more sect-like church, being more concerned with inward personal perfection of the members, will have more religious practices or rituals carried on within the homes of its members than will the suburban church.

To test the hypothesis we place it in null form, stating: There will be no association between the type of church and the number of religious practices or rituals carried on within the homes of its members. The extent of the religious practices within the home was

¹T. Earl Sullenger, "The Church in an Urban Society," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 41, No. 5, May-June, 1957.

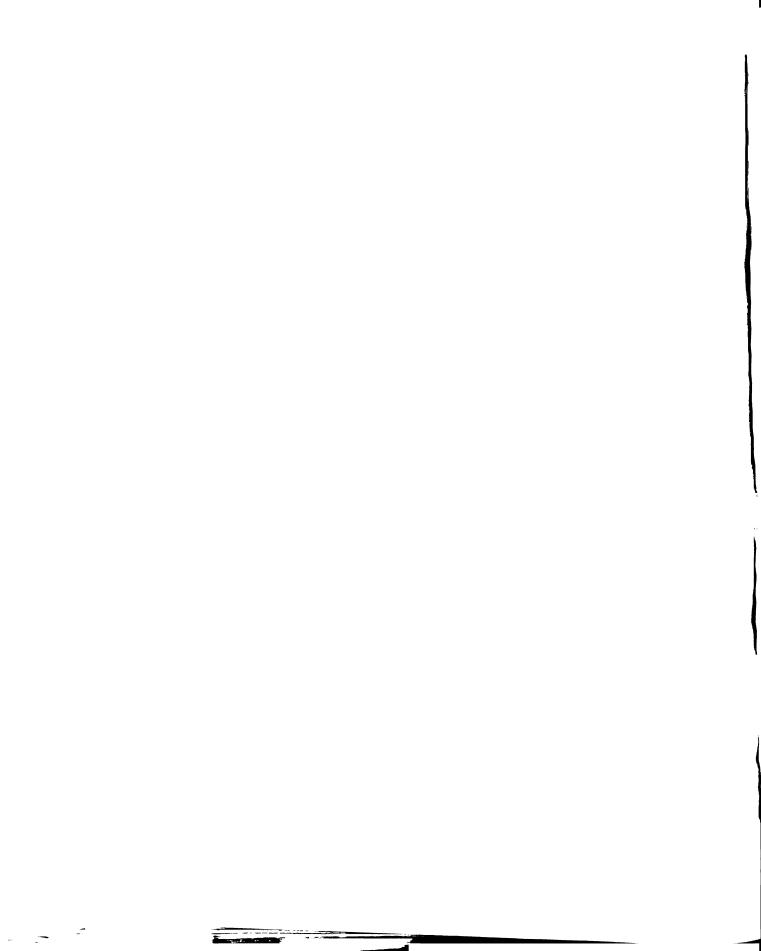
determined by including in the questionnaire a check list of the more common religious rituals and practices involving the whole family. Each respondent was then asked to indicate whether this was usually, occasionally, or never practiced in his home. Included in the list were the saying of grace at meals, family Bible reading or devotions, bedtime prayers for the children, holiday rituals, and church attendance as a family. In addition, a place was left to indicate any unique practice of that family. The responses were grouped into four categories:

(1) at least four of the rituals being a usual practice, (2) two or three of the rituals being usual, (3) one ritual being usual, and (4) no religious ritual being practiced more than occasionally in the home. The results appear in Table 7.

Table 7. Families Practicing Number of Home Religious Rituals by Church

,	Number of Rituals				
	4 or More	2 or 3	One	None	
Suburban Church	6	42	18	12	
Fundamental Church	22	16	4	3	
$X^2 = 28.32$	C = .43128	.005 > p			

A chi-square value of 28.32, at three degrees of freedom, is greater than the 99.5 per cent level of confidence. The coefficient of contingency is .43128. The null hypothesis is thus rejected and we may state that there does seem to be an association between the type of church and the emphasis placed on religious practices in the home.



Family Emphasis in the Church Program

The final hypothesis dealing with the comparison of the two churches as institutions deals with the relationship of the church and the families of its congregation. It states:

Hypothesis V: The suburban church, more concerned with the secular aspects of related social systems, will have a more active 'family program' than will the fundamentalist church.

As the hypothesis is stated in terms of the amount of activity in the "Family program" of the church, as a first measure the ministers of both churches were asked to indicate the extent of their program in three major areas of family-church relationships: (1) Preparation for Marriage among the young people, (2) Home-Church Cooperation, and (3) Helping Parents. Affirmative answers to the list of possible activities were given a value of two points, a limited program received one point, and a negative answer no points. The total scores in each area for each church are given in Table 8.

Before examining Table 8, however, mention should be made of some of the assumptions made and risks taken when assigning weights and using a cumulative score. Weights assume something about the intensity or comparative emphasis of a program, i.e., in this situation it would be assumed that having a program in a certain area means that it is of equivalent scope and intensity to the program of the other group, and also assumes that it is twice as intense as any limited program. A summation of scores assumes that each item for which a score is obtained has an equal value. None of these assumptions can be completely met for Table 8. Yet despite these limitations, the data does give somewhat of a comparison of the range and extent of each church's program in each of the areas.

Table 8. Scores on "Family Program" by C	Church
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	Preparation for Marriage	Home-Church Cooperation	Parent Education
Suburban Church	10	. 19	. 5
Fundamental Church	6 .	18	4
X ² = .566 Coe	efficient of Conti	ngency = .0282	.60 > p > .50

A chi square value of .566 at two degrees of freedom allows us to state with only 40 to 50 per cent confidence that there is an association between the two variables. We must therefore accept the hypothesis of no association. In range or the extent of the family program in each area there seems not to be a significant difference between the churches, though the suburban church consistently had a somewhat higher score.

Hypothesis III states that there will be a more active "family program" in the suburban church. This cannot be affirmed from our data. A comparison also indicates that each church has approximately the same number of age and sex differentiated groups which take the various members of the family away from each other for peer group associations quite periodically. Yet this is not to say that the family programs are nearly identical. The suburban church, as has been the tendency in the other areas studied, puts the emphasis on the social aspects and the knowledge gained through such disciplines as education, psychology, and sociology. The fundamental church, while not necessarily ignoring these fields, directs more of its activity toward teaching and preaching, with the emphasis not as much on the family as a social grouping as on an approved sub-unit of the "family of God" with certain religious as well as social responsibilities.

In the first area, Preparation for Marriage, both churches take some of their regular church school and youth meetings for discussions and questions regarding friendship, dating, and marriage. Both also make an effort to acquaint their young people with some of their more "ideal" couples through meetings and socials in their homes. In each church the pastor counsels with every couple before marrying them. (The couple once having taken the marriage vows, however, neither church makes a systematic effort to continue counseling.) The suburban church reinforces its program by making books available and by having occasional resource persons from outside the church group to speak on these matters. By providing for active social, as well as religious, programs, both groups attempt to help their young people become actively involved with the church group and thus form many of their close friendships within it.

Thus by direct teaching, example, counselling, and association the church attempts to influence the choice of a marriage partner and build ideas as to what constitutes a happy Christian home. In the first three of these the interaction is largely between a direct representative of the church and the young people. In the association within their own sub-system the youngsters interact with each other, but again under the direct sponsorship of an official church representative.

In the second area the interaction is directed more toward adults in the family or to the family group as a whole. Activities included in both churches are "family nights," providing helps for family worship in the home and for the teaching of religious values, preaching on such subject matters, discussions and group meetings, and nursery attendents during the services so that parents may attend without being distracted by small children. The differences come in somewhat the content of these activities as well as some which are unique to each church.

In the suburban church the family nights are times of planned social interaction for all members of the family; family camp, which

involves a limited number of families, is a time for discussion of mutual problems as well as social activities with other family groups of the same interest and age groups. Though the Sunday morning worship is called a family service, it is not so in practice, for church school classes enroll the young children, and by the pastor's own admission, many of the teen-agers find the service too abstract and intellectual to be easily understood and consequently prefer to attend only their own youth meetings.

In the fundamental church the emphasis is more largely religious. Family nights are services utilizing and emphasizing the various age groups in turn. The church service, particularly on Sunday evening, is a time when all family members are expected to attend. There are no concurrent youth meetings, classes, etc., except that the infants are placed in the nursery. Even the calling on Sunday School families, which does serve the function of getting the church representative acquainted with the children's home situation, is actually designed basically for the encouraging of regular Sunday School and church attendance.

The final area to be checked was designated as "Helping Parents."

Both churches do some group work or discussions with parents regarding the problems of the family. This is done in a regular six-week session each year in the Baptist church; it occurs on a less-scheduled plan for the suburban church.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Chapter IV dealt basically with the two churches as complete or unified subsystems of the larger systems of organized religion and society as a whole. Though information was presented comparing the internal composition of the two groups in some respects, there was little attention paid to the interrelationships within each individual church system. Much of the evidence used was of the type where the minister, through printed material or a questionnaire, related the whole church to the larger system.

In Chapter V the concern will not be with the official position of the church or its doctrine except as this is filtered through the views of the young people who attend it. Instead, the concern is with an avenue of approach between church and family, and the effect that these patterns of interaction, as well as church teachings, have had on one subsystem within the church, its youth. They, in this section, supply the data rather than the minister doing so and their answers are strictly in terms of their own perceptions of what occurs; no attempt has been made to "prove" that these are necessarily accurate accounts of what happens.

The hypotheses presented in this chapter may be divided into two general categories: (1) perception of whether one parent is more interested or involved in matters pertaining to religion than the other, and if so, which one; and (2) the attitudes that the young people themselves

have regarding some aspects of religion and their participation in it.

The comparative parental interest or involvement has been separated into three spheres: (1) active involvement in church work, (2) responsibility for religious activities at home, and (3) concern for religion.

The attitude scales were designed to measure attitudes toward the importance of religion for men as compared to its importance for women, the importance of the church as an institution, the importance of religion for the self-image, the importance of propagating one's beliefs, and recognition of ambiguity in religious beliefs.

Consideration of these variables which deal with some of the aspects of religion within the family is based on the assumption that if the child associates a certain attitude or activity with one parent or the other, this may affect the way he expects to play his own adult role. The attitudes he now holds are also assumed generally to be indicative of his attitudes and actions at a later time.

The first hypothesis to be tested deals with a combination of two of the areas of perception of parental religious involvement. It states

Hypothesis VI: Within both churches the mother will be perceived as assuming more overt religiously-related responsibilities, both in church and at home, than will the father.

As has been the practice, each factor will be stated separately as a null form hypothesis and the evidence presented to support or deny it. The first such null hypothesis deals with church activities and states that there will be no significant difference in either church in the number of times the mother is perceived as being more active than the father in church work. Opportunity was given for the young people to specify either parent as more involved or both being equally active or inactive. Therefore a differentiation must first be made between the times that either parent was selected as being more involved and the times when no difference was seen. This information

is presented in Table 9. Table 10 then presents the data concerning which parent is perceived as being most active for those cases where one parent is so designated.

Table 9. Perception of One Parent Being More Active in Church Work by Church

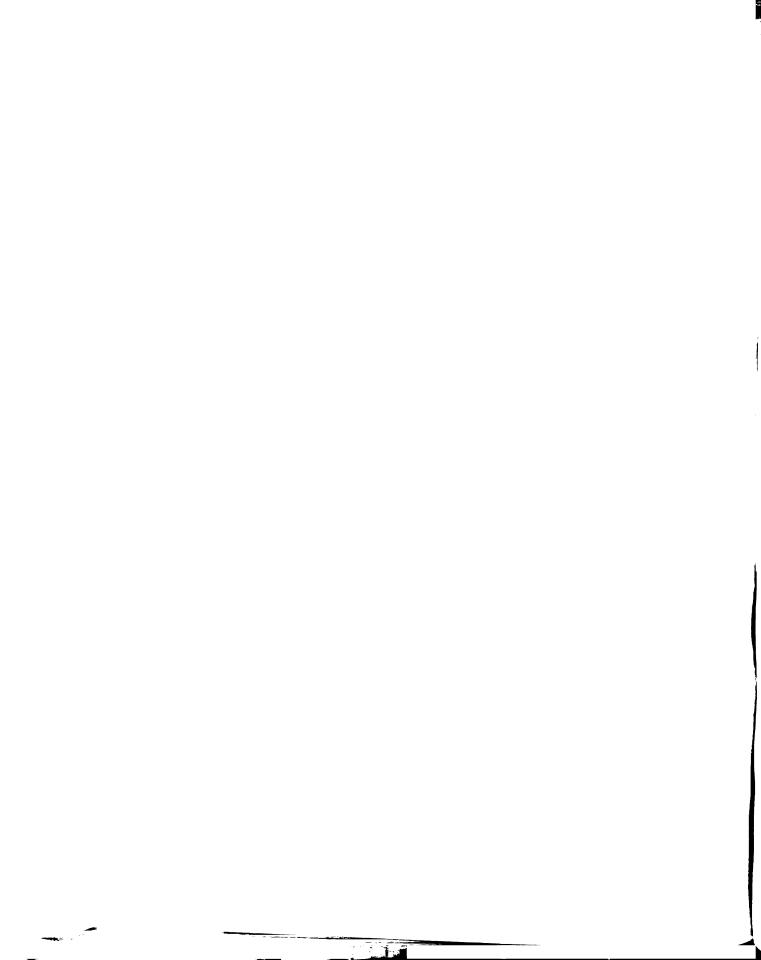
			Neither Parent More Active	Total	Coefficient of ¹ Confidence
Suburban Chu	ırch	38	40	78	C < .80
Fundamental	Church	28	15	43	.90 > C > .80
$X^2 = 3.01$	Coeffic	ient of Contir	ngency = .15492	. 10	0 > p > .05

Table 10. Perception of Which Parent Is More Active in Church Work by Church

	Mother More Active	Father More Active	Total	Coefficient of Confidence
Suburban Church .	25	13	38	.90 > C > .80
Fundamental Church	22	6	28	C > .99
$X^2 = 1.29$ Coeffic	cient of Conti	ngency = .13784	. 30	> p > .20

In Table 9 an interesting difference between the churches is evident. Only about one-half of the suburban young people recognize one parent as more active than the other, with the slight edge being given to the category of neither being more active. In the fundamental

¹Coefficients of Confidence were determined by using the Confidence Belts for Proportions, pp. 413-416, in Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., Introduction to Statistical Analysis, op. cit.



church a larger difference is expressed, and in the opposite direction, with 65 per cent perceiving one parent as being noticeably more active. In neither case, however, can the distribution within the church be considered significant at much more than the 80 per cent level of confidence—and less than this for the suburban church.

The chi square value of the data in Table 9 shows that the probability of no association between the type of church and whether one parent is more active is greater than five per cent. According to our determined criteria for rejection of the null hypothesis, a probability of .05 or less, we cannot reject the hypothesis of no association. However, the amount and direction of the difference, as well as a level of confidence greater than 90 per cent, though less than 95 per cent, suggests that with more refined research there might be a significant difference.

"Which parent" is more active when one is selected would seem to be the mother in both churches. (See Table 10.) In this case the chi square test strongly indicates that this is not a feature of just one church, though it seems to be much more the case in the fundamental church. For comparison of the proportionate distribution between mother and father within each church, coefficients of confidence were obtained, as throughout this study, by the use of the Confidence Belts for Proportions. The confidence that this distribution may be considered significant is greater than the .99 level for the fundamental church and approximately .90 for the suburban church.

The first null hypothesis may then be rejected for the fundamental church but not entirely for the suburban church, as its confidence coefficients for both Tables 9 and 10 are smaller. It should be noted, though, that significant or not, the direction of the data is in the hypothesized direction for the suburban as well as the fundamental church.

The second null hypothesis is that there will be no significant difference in either church in the number of times the mother is perceived as being more responsible for religious activities at home. The same method of presenting the information and the same tests, with one exception, were used as for the hypothesis just previous. The data appear in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11. Perception of One Parent Being More Responsible for Home Religious Activities by Church

	More	Neither Parent More Responsible	Total	Coefficient of Confidence
Suburban Church	27	51	78	.95 > C > .90
Fundamental Church	n 15	29	44	.95 > C > .90
$X^2 = .03$ Coefficie	ent of Conting	ency = .01414		.60 > p > .50

Table 12. Perception of Which Parent is More Responsible for Home Religious Activities by Church

	Mother More Responsible	Father More Responsible	Total	Coefficient of Confidence
Suburban Church	19	8	27	.95 > C > .90
Fundamental Church	14	1	15	C > .99
Exact Probability =	.08438			

Two things are immediately noticeable in comparing Table 11 to its counterpart in the previous hypothesis, Table 9. First is the fact that a smaller group perceived a difference with regard to home

responsibility than did with church work. In the second instance both churches showed a nearly identical division of opinion, and in the same direction. A chi square test applied to the data presented in Table 11 shows a value of only .03. At one degree of freedom the probability of an association between type of church and only one parent being responsible for religious affairs at home is between the .50 and .60 levels. Thus we accept the hypothesis of no association between these two factors. Confidence coefficients of .90 to .95 for each church indicate that a somewhat significant number of young people were unable to perceive any difference between their parents in this regard.

A comparison of Table 12 with Table 10 shows the same pattern of female dominance when one parent is perceived as more responsible. Confidence coefficients for the suburban and fundamental churches were again .90 and .99 respectively. As Table 12 does not meet all of the assumptions necessary for the use of a chi square analysis, the exact probability was determined. An exact probability of .08438, though close, is greater than our predetermined criteria for rejection of .05 or less. We must accept, though with reservations, the statement that the type of church is not associated with the mother being perceived as more responsible at home. The second null hypothesis, as was the case of the first, is rejected for the fundamental church, but not entirely for the suburban church. There is not a sufficient difference to state that this is a feature of the one church but not of the other.

In summary, Hypothesis VI has dealt with the perception of which parent assumes the greater overt religiously-related responsibilities. Church affiliation was held constant. The data from both churches was in the hypothesized direction, i.e., the mother was perceived as more involved both in church and at home. Only for the fundamental church was the emphasis significant enough to accept the hypothesis, however. Mention should also be made that fewer children were willing to specify

either parent as being more responsible at home than did so with regard to church activity.

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth hypotheses the independent variable is the sex of the respondent; again the dependent variable is perception of parental involvement or concern with religious affairs.

Hypothesis VII: While there will be a difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they see either parent being more involved in church activities when compared to both being equally active, when one parent is specified as being 'more active, ' both boys and girls will more often indicate mother than father.

Table 13. Perception of One Parent Being More Active in Church Work by Sex of Child

		Neither Parent More Active	Total	Coefficient of Confidence
Boys	. 35	17	52	.99 > C > .95
Girls	31	38	69	C > .80
$X^2 = 5.99$	Coefficient of Cont	ingency = .21679		.025 >p>.01

Table 14. Perception of Which Parent is More Active in Church Work by Sex of Child

	Mother More Activ e	Father More Active	Total	Coefficient of Confidence
Boys	22	13	35	About .80
Girls	25	6	31	C > .99
$X^2 = 2.54$	Coefficient of Contin	ngency = .1923	5	.20 > p > .10

The first null hypothesis is that there will be no association between the sex of the child and perception of one parent being more active in church work rather than both the same. From the data in Table 13 and the chi square analysis, we can reject the null hypothesis. The difference between the boys and the girls is very evident. About two-thirds, 67 per cent, of the boys stated that there was a difference compared to less than half of the girls, 45 per cent, perceiving this. The coefficients of confidence dealing with the proportions for each sex were between the .95 and .99 level for the boys, but less than the .80 level for the girls.

The second null hypothesis cannot be rejected, at least not entirely. It states that neither boys nor girls will select the mother as being more active in church work significantly more often than the father. Table 14 shows that both boys and girls did more frequently indicate the mother, rather than the father, as being more active. The confidence coefficient for the girls is greater than .99, indicating that they significantly perceive the mother as more active. Though more of the boys designated mother than father, the confidence level that this is significant is only about .80.

This difference in the emphasis on "mother" might then be assumed to be associated with the sex of the child. Analysis by chi square shows that this association may be stated with only 80 per cent confidence, a level not sufficient for rejecting the hypothesis of no association. The second null hypothesis must then be partially accepted or modified to state that the girls significantly indicated mother more than father, but that the boys did not. This difference itself was not great enough to prove an association between the sex of the child and which parent was selected.

Hypothesis VIII deals with perception of parental responsibility at home in the same manner as the above. Tables 15 and 16 present the data.

Table 15. Perception of One Parent Being More Responsible for Home Religious Activities by Sex of Child

	More	Neither Parent More Responsible		Coefficient of Confidence
Boys	23	29	52	C < .80
Girls	19	51	70	C > .99
$X^2 = 3.87$	Coefficient of Contin	gency = .17607	•	.05 > p >.025

Table 16. Perception of Which Parent Is More Responsible for Home Religious Activities by Sex of Child

	Mother More Responsible	Father More Responsible	Total	Coefficient of Confidence
Boys	20	3	23	C > .99
Girls	13	6	19	.90 > C > .80
Exact Probability =	. 14044			

Hypothesis VIII: There will be a difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they see either parent being more responsible for home religious activities when compared to both being equally responsible. However, when one parent is specified as being 'more responsible,' both boys and girls will more often indicate mother than father.

As was noticed when studying this variable with church type held constant, there is less of a tendency to designate either parent as assuming more responsibility than was true for being active in church work. Particularly is this true of the girls where a confidence

coefficient of greater than .99 shows the significance of the number that could state no difference in parental responsibility. The boys move from a significant number perceiving one parent as being more active in church work to a nearly half and half difference on this variable. This is, of course, not a numerically significant proportion at even the .80 level of confidence.

The first null subhypothesis under Hypothesis VIII is that there will be no association between the sex of the child and the perception of one parent being more responsible for religious activities at home rather than both the same. From the chi square analysis of Table 15 it appears that even though both sexes have moved in the same direction from the proportions in Table 13, there is still an association. The null hypothesis is rejected.

Though the sexes have maintained their comparative positions in regard to selecting one parent rather than seeing no difference (see Tables 13 and 15), a comparison of Tables 14 and 16 indicates a reversal of emphasis. The second subhypothesis, in null form, must state that neither boys nor girls will select the mother as being more responsible for home religious activities significantly more times than the father is selected. First it should be noted that, as has been the case previously, both boys and girls selected mother more times than father, upholding the direction of the main hypothesis. This selection is significant, at greater than 99 per cent confidence, for the boys. The same is not true for the girls where the significance may only be stated with less than 80 per cent confidence.

The assumption was checked that this difference in emphasis is associated with the sex of the child. It was necessary to determine the exact probability of Table 16 rather than use a chi square analysis. The exact probability of .14044 determines that again we are unable to say that the sex of the child is associated with which parent is

perceived as more responsible. The second null hypothesis must be partially accepted or at least modified. The boys significantly selected mother as being more responsible for home religious affairs; the girls selected mother more often than not. Accordingly, the difference does not seem to be clearly associated with the sex of the child.

Hypothesis IX: There will be a difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they see either parent being more concerned about religious matters when compared to both being equally concerned. However, when one parent is specified as being "more concerned," both boys and girls will more often indicate mother than father.

In this third measure of parental religious involvement the hypothesis deals with a variable which is more subjective than the two previous. That the respondents to the questionnaires found it more difficult to distinguish between their parents in this situation than on the more overt behavior is evident from Table 17. Table 18 presents the answers of those who did make a distinction in this regard.

Table 17. Perception of One Parent Being More Concerned with Religion by Sex of Child

	One Parent More Concerned	Neither Parent More Concerned	Coefficient of Confidence
Boys	15	38	C > .99
Girls	18	50	C > .99
$X^2 = .06$	Coefficient of Contin	gency = .0020	.90 > p > .80

Table 18. Perception of Which Parent is More Concerned with Religion by Sex of Child

More Concerned	More Concerned	Coefficient of Confidence
11	4	.90 > C > .80
15	3	.99 > C > .95
	Concerned	Concerned Concerned

A significant number of both boys and girls declined to name one parent as being more concerned about religion than the other. The coefficient of confidence for these proportions was greater than the .99 level in each case. A close similarity is evident in the proportion of each sex that perceived one parent as being more concerned. As might be expected, a chi square test to determine association yielded a value so small that the probability of no association is between .80 and .90. Therefore the first null hypothesis, that there will be no association between the sex of the child and one parent being perceived as more concerned about religion than the other, is accepted.

The second part of the hypothesis is stated again as one of no association and must be partially accepted or modified. Originally it stated that neither boys nor girls would select mother significantly more often than father as being more concerned about religion.

Table 18 neither completely supports or denies this. The small number of respondents to select either parent makes necessary a very high proportion designating one or the other before we can say with any confidence that the division is significant. For the boys in Table 18 the coefficient of confidence is between .80 and .90. In their case

the null hypothesis is accepted. The girls, with a coefficient of confidence between .95 and .99, allow rejection of the null hypothesis as far as they are concerned. As was hypothesized, both sexes did select the mother more frequently than they did the father. The null hypothesis must be modified to account for the data showing that the girls perceive the mother as being more concerned a significant number of times while the boys do not. By determining the exact probability for Table 18, .67267, we must also accept that there is still no association between the sex of the child and the perception of which parent is more concerned.

In summarizing the investigation of the last three hypotheses, five findings may be brought to the attention. (1) When one parent was perceived as more active, responsible, or concerned about religion, the mother was always seen as the more involved by both sexes, though not necessarily significantly so. (2) The less overt the behavior being described, the fewer the number of children able to perceive any difference between their parents. (3) In no case could the sex of the child be said to be associated with the perception of which parent was more involved with religion. (4) In two instances it could be said that there was a significant association between the sex of the child and the perception of one parent being more involved than the other. Both times, the two cases involving the more overt behavior, the boys more frequently than the girls indicated one parent as more active or responsible rather than both the same. (5) When one parent was perceived as more active, two out of three times the girls significantly indicated mother, and one of the three times the boys did so. The one instance when the boys significantly indicated the mother as more involved was the only time that the girls did not make a significant differentiation.

The thesis has been suggested that the more active feminine involvement in religion is due in part to the male involvement in the labor force. Using such logic, then women who work outside of their homes should also be less involved in religious activities. Lazerwitz found this not to be true for church attendance in his study. To investigate this, a differentiation was made between housewives and working mothers in this study. The hypothesis includes all three of the areas of religious involvement to which previous attention has been paid. The supporting data are presented in Tables 19 through 24.

Hypothesis X: The fact of the mother being employed outside of the home will not make an appreciable difference in the perception of her participation or concern in any of the three areas previously defined.

Table 19. Perception of One Parent Being More Active in Church Work by Employment Status of Mother

		One Parent More Active	Neither Parent More Active
Housewives	3	47	42
Working M	others	17	13
$X^2 = .15$	Coefficie	nt of Contingency = .03162	.70 > p > .6

¹Bernard Lazerwitz, "Some Factors Associated with Variations in Church Attendance," <u>Social Forces</u>, Vol. 39, No. 4, May, 1961, p. 304.

²Ibid.

Table 20. Perception of Which Parent is More Active in Church Work by Employment Status of Mother

	Mother More Active	Father More Active
Housewives	34	13
Working Mothers	11	6
$X^2 = .38$ Coefficient	t of Contingency = .07071	.60 > p > .50

Table 21. Perception of One Parent Being More Responsible for Home Religious Activities by Employment Status of Mother

		One Parent More Responsible	Neither Parent More Responsible
Housewives		33	58
Working Moth	ers	9	21
$X^2 = .38$ Coefficient of		of Contingency = .05477	.60 > p > .50

Table 22. Perception of Which Parent is More Responsible for Home Religious Activities by Employment Status of Mother

	Mother More Responsible	Father More Responsible
Housewives	24	9
Working Mothers	9	0
Exact Probability = .086		

Table 23. Perception of One Parent Being More Concerned with Religion by Employment Status of Mother

,		One Parent More Concerned	= : :	either Parent ore Concerned
Housewives		24		67
Working Mot	thers	9		21
$X^2 = .15$	Coefficie	ent of Contingency	.03162	.70 > p > .60

Table 24. Perception of Which Parent is More Concerned with Religion by Employment Status of Mother

	Mother More Concerned	Father More Concerned
Housewives	18	6
Working Mothers	8	1
Exact Probability = .3	36456	

Chi square or exact probability tests were used to test the hypotheses of no association between outside employment of the mother and the three areas of religious involvement. The data presented in these six tables may be easily summarized by saying that in no case is the fact of the mother being employed outside of the home significantly associated with either one parent being perceived as more involved than the other or with which parent is so perceived when one is so specified. If any distinction may be noted at all, it is that two out of three times the working mothers were perceived as more involved than the fathers to a greater degree than was true for the housewives. (See Tables 22 and 24.) Not surprisingly, the one area where the

housewives show a somewhat larger proportion of them more active compared to fathers than is true of the working mothers is activity in church work. This is the area which entails the greatest amount of time.

Though noting these differences, they cannot be considered significant according to our criteria. Therefore Hypothesis X is accepted completely.

The fact that religion seems to be so commonly considered as a part of the woman's special sphere of interest suggests that if the father is perceived as being more involved or concerned with religious affairs, it is due to a very special interest on his part. For this reason and the fact that he still generally retains the authority role to a greater extent than anyone else in the family, the following two hypotheses are made.

Hypothesis XI: When the father is seen as being the most active in church work, he will also be considered the more responsible of the two parents for religious activities at home.

The total number of times the father was selected as more active in church work than the mother was nineteen. Of the nineteen individual respondents who perceived their fathers as more active in church, only three selected him as more responsible for religious activities at home as well. Four respondents, all boys, instead selected mother as more responsible at home; eleven saw no difference. Hypothesis XI is thus rejected.

Hypothesis XII: Religious rituals will assume more prominance in the home if the father is considered more responsible than if the mother is so considered.

Table 25. Prominance of Religious Rituals in the Home by Perception of Which Parent is Most Responsible

	High Prominance [*]	Low Prominance*	Coefficient of Confidence
Mother	21	12	About .80
Father	5	4	C > .80
$X^2 = .0013$	Coefficient of Continge	ency = .00547	.975 > p > .95

High prominance included the cases where at least two of the five family religious rituals on the check-list were a usual practice. It is the equivalent of groups 1 and 2 in Table 7, page 80. Low prominance meant those where less than two rituals were usually practiced and is the equivalent of groups 3 and 4 in Table 7.

After examining Table 25 it becomes evident that Hypothesis XII will also have to be rejected. Comparing the coefficients of confidence, the proportion of homes giving high prominance to religious rituals is higher when the mother is seen as responsible than when the father is so perceived, though in neither case is the proportion actually significant. The very small chi square value further emphasizes that we must accept the hypothesis of no association between the parent who is most responsible and the number of home religious rituals.

From the last two hypotheses it would seem that being more involved in one area of religious endeavor is no particular indication of being more involved in another.

Attitude Scales

Moving from the area of perception of what their parents do, data is now presented dealing with the attitudes the young people have themselves regarding religion and their part in it. For each of the five attitude scales analysis was made first by holding sex constant and then by controlling for church affiliation.

The scales from which the scores presented here were derived were Likert-type scales with five possible answers for each statement ranging from "I Strongly Agree" through "I Don't Know" to "I Strongly Disagree." As all scales did not have the same number of items, the average of the responses to each scale was utilized to make comparisons between scales possible. Possible average scores for each scale ranged from 1.0, the most positive attitude, to 6.0. The actual averaged scores for this study ranged from 1.0 to 4.0. A score of 3.0 represents the neutral or "I Don't Know" position. The responses are clustered on the positive end of the scale due to the fact that the sample was selective while the scale was designed for a total universe. Therefore in presenting the data in tabular form the range of attitudinal positions is generally from extremely positive through a neutralnegative category. The numbers identifying the groups represent scores on the scale, with the smaller numbers, 1.0 and 1.5, representing very positive attitudes.

Hypothesis XIII: Religion will be seen as somewhat more important for women than for men by both boys and girls, and especially will this be true for the suburban church.

Table 26. Importance of Religion for Men as Compared to Women by Sex of Child

	1.0 - 1.5 (Positive)	2.0 - 2.5	3.0 (Neutral)	3.5 - 4.0 (Neutral-Negative)
Boys	25 / 24.27	13 / 16.03	9 / 6.93	5 / 4.77
Girls	31 / 31.73	24 / 20.97	7 / 9.07	6 / 6.23
$X^2 = 2.16$ *	Coefficient	of Contingenc	y = .13038	.10 > P > .05

For tables dealing with attitude scales which are larger than four cells, the expected frequencies are given to the right of the diagonal line.

This same information is next presented for each church separately and then a comparison of the churches with the sexes combined.

Table 27. Suburban Church: Importance of Religion for Men as Compared to Women by Sex of Child

	(Positive) 1.0 - 1.5	2.0 - 2.5	(Neutral) 3.0	(Neutral-Negative) 3.5 - 4.0
Boys	10 / 10.99	8 / 10.20	8 / 5.49	5 / 4.32
Girls	18 / 17.01	18 / 15.80	6 / 8.51	6 / 6.68
$X^2 = 3.00$	Coefficient o	of Contingency	= .18974	.05 > P > .025

Table 28. Fundamental Church: Importance of Religion for Men as Compared to Women by Sex of Child

	(Positive) 1.0 - 1.5	2.0 - 2.5		(Neutral-Negative) 3.5 - 4.0
Boys	15 / 14.34	5 (6 / 66.6)	1	0
Girls	13 / 13.66	6 (7 / 6.34)	1	0
$X^2 = .19^*$	Coefficient of	of Contingency	= .004	.70 > p > .60

The table as presented is not amenable to chi square analysis. To perform the test the data was collapsed into a 2 x 2 table by combining the last three cells (2.0 - 4.0) in each row. The figures obtained are the result of applying the test to the data in this manner.



Table 29. Importance of Religion for Men as Compared to Women by Church

	(Positive) 1.0 - 1.5	2.0 - 2.5	•	(Neutral-Negative) 3.5 - 4.0
Suburban Church	28 / 36.9	26 / 24.4	14 / 10.5	11 / 7.2
Fundamen- tal Churc	h ²⁸ / 19.1	11 / 12.6	2 / 5.5	0 / 3.8
$X^2 = 15.77$	Coefficien	t of Continge	ncy = .3405°	9 .0005 > p

The first null subhypothesis is that religion will not be seen as more important for women than for men by boys or girls. An examination of Table 26 confirms this. The positive attitude, or the lower numerical score, on this scale is an attitude of accepting religion as being as important for men as it is for women. In the case of both boys and girls almost half of the group displayed a very positive attitude that this is a concern of men, 48 per cent of the boys and 46 per cent of the girls. The next largest category for each sex is the "2.0 - 2.5, " or the next most positive. And yet, though both boys and girls were so strongly positive in this attitude, there is some difference. The actual number of boys exceeded the expected frequencies in the "neutral" and "neutral-negative" cells; the girls exceeded the expected frequencies in the "positive" cells. The chi square test allows us to state that there is an association between sex of the child and this attitude with a confidence of 90 to 95 per cent. This level of confidence is not sufficient to meet the stated criteria for a rejection of the null hypothesis, yet is is suggestive of an association.

Further information about the distribution of this attitude between the sexes is found by examining the responses within each church. A comparison of the coefficients of contingency indicates that most of the difference found between the boys and the girls is a reflection of the suburban church. The Baptist boys and girls are very similar in their opinions about this, and uniformly positive about the importance of religion for men.

The greatest divergence of opinion is found when the total sample is examined while holding church affiliation constant. The chi square value is 15.77; the coefficient of contingency .34059, compared to .13038 with sex held constant for the total sample. The probability of no association is less than .0005.

In view of these findings we cannot accept the first part of Hypothesis XIII, for there was not a significant number of young people who viewed religion as more important for women than for men. To the degree that there is a distinction between churches, though, the direction is that of the second section of the hypothesis, i.e., it is the young people of the suburban church who see religion as more important for women. This difference is significant enough to accept the second section of Hypothesis XIII.

The data on the next hypothesized difference in attitude are presented in Tables 30 and 31. The hypothesis states:

Hypothesis XIV: Girls will place more importance on the church as an institution than will boys; but both boys and girls from the fundamentalist church will consider it more important than will the young people from the suburban church.

Analysis of Table 30 shows that there is somewhat of a difference between boys and girls in the importance they place on the church, a difference in the hypothesized direction. But two additional comments need to be made. First, the range of difference is very slight. For both boys and girls the largest single category is the "1.5 - 2.0" or a moderately positive attitude. The girls exceed the expected

Table 30. Importance of Church as an Institution by Sex of Child

	(Positive)			(Neutral-Negative)	
	1.0	1.5 - 2.0	2.5 - 3.0	3.5 - 4.0	
Boys	5 / 5.21	29 / 33.01	17 (19 / 14.78)	2	
Girls	7 / 6.79	47 / 42.99	12 (15 / 19.2 2)	3	
$X^2 = 2.95^*$	Coefficient of	of Contingency	y = .15166	.10 > p > .05	

It was necessary to combine the last two cells of each row to meet the assumptions necessary for a chi square test. The figures in parentheses are the actual and expected frequencies used in applying the test.

Table 31. Importance of Church as an Institution by Church

	(Positive)			eutral-Negative)
	1.0	1.5 - 2.0	2.5 - 3.0	3.5 - 4.0
Suburban Church	3 / 7.87	47 / 49.83	25 (30 / 22.30)	5
Fundament Church	al 9 / 4.13	29 / 26.17	4 (4 / 11.70	0
$X^2 = 16.62$	* Coefficient	of Contingend	cy = .34496	.0005 > p

The value of chi square was determined after combining the last two cells in each row. The figures in parentheses are the actual and expected frequencies used in applying the test.

frequency in this cell and are under it in the next, or neutral, cell. For the boys the reverse is true. Secondly, after applying the chi square test the hypothesis of no association between sex and the importance placed on the church cannot be rejected by our criteria. The probability of no association, though less than .10, is greater than .05.

That the difference in attitude is much more apparent when church affiliation is the independent variable is evidenced by several indices: (1) the coefficient of contingency is more than twice as large; (2) the greatest difference between the expected and actual frequencies occurs in the end or extreme cells, not adjacent ones; and (3) the probability of no association is less than the .0005 level. The second part of Hypothesis XIV may then be accepted, though not the first.

Hypothesis XV: Girls will rate religion as being more important for their self-image than will boys, as will the young people from the fundamental church more than those from the suburban church.

Table 32. Importance of Religion for the Self-Image by Sex of Child

	(Positive) 1.0 - 1.5	2.0 - 2.5	(Neutral) 3.0	3.5 - 4.0
Boys	18 / 17.22	7 / 11.79	7 (9 / 4.99)	2
Girls	20 / 20.78	19 / 14.21	2 (2 / 6.01)	0
$X^2 = 9.53^*$	Coefficient	of Contingency	y = .33466	.0005 > p

The value of chi square was determined after combining the last two cells in each row. The figures in parentheses are the actual and expected frequencies used in applying the test.

Table 33. Importance of Religion for the Self-Image by Church

	(Positive) 1.0 - 1.5	2.0 - 2.5	(Neutral) (Ne	eutral-Negative) 3.5 - 4.0
Suburban Church	3 / 4.73	22 / 22.70	19 (21 / 13.49)	2
Fundaments Church	al 13 / 6.19	15 / 14.30	l (1 / 8.51)	0
$X^2 = 23.08$	* Coefficient	of Contingence	ey .48477	.0005 > p

Chi square determined as noted in Table 33.

This hypothesis, unlike the two just previous, may be completely accepted as Tables 32 and 33 show. The first null hypothesis would be that there is no association between sex of the child and the perception of the importance of religion for the self-image. The chi square value of 9.53, at two degrees of freedom, means that the probability of no association is less than .0005. This is considerably less than the .05 limit set for rejection of the null hypothesis. The direction of the difference is in the stated direction. (See Table 32.) The second subhypothesis is that there will be no association between the type of church and the importance of religion for the self-image. This is even more definitely rejected as a comparison of the two coefficients of contingency indicate. They are .33466 for the data regarding differentiation by sex and .48477 when church type is held constant.

The remaining two hypotheses dealing with attitudes change their premise from an expected difference between the sexes to one of no significant difference.

Hypothesis XVI: There will be little difference between boys and girls in their zeal for propagating their religious faith, but there will be a significant difference between churches in this regard with the fundamental church ranking higher.

Table 34. Perception of Need for Propagating Religious Faith by Sex of Child

	(Positive)		(N	(Neutral-Negative)	
	1.0	1.5 - 2.0	2.5 - 3.0	3.5 - 4.0	
Boys	12 / 10.6	11 / 11.00	9 (11 / 12.4)	2	
Girls	11 / 12.4	13 / 13.00	14 (16 / 14.6)	2	
$X^2 = .63^*$	Coefficient	of Contingenc	y = .08944	.80 > p > .70	

Table 35. Perception of Need for Propagating Religious Faith by Church

•	Positive) .0	1.5 - 2.0	2.5 - 3.0	Neutral-Negative) 3.5 - 4.0
Suburban Church	0 / 14.0	18 / 14.6	23 (27 / 16.4)	4
Fundamental Church	23 / 9.0	6 / 9.4	0 (0 / 10., 6)	0
$X^2 = 55.30^*$	Coefficie	nt of Conting	ency = .65345	.0005 > p

Chi square, as has been the case with previous tables, was determined by combining the last two cells in each row. The figures in parentheses are those actually used for the expected and actual frequencies.

Of the five hypotheses which deal with attitudes and compare the differences between the sexes with the differences between the churches, this is the most extreme variation in contingency coefficients. For Table 34, the difference between the sexes with regard to religious zeal, the hypothesis of no association was accepted. The probability of no association was between .70 and .80; the coefficient of contingency .08944. Compared to this was a contingency coefficient of .65345 for the data dealing with zeal by church affiliation. That there is an association may be stated with considerably greater than 99.95 per cent confidence. As hypothesized, the young people of the fundamental church are much more cognizant of a need and a command to propagate the gospel. Therefore Hypothesis XVI is completely accepted.

The last attitude to be considered is the recognition of ambiguity in religious beliefs. As the scale consisted of only one question, the responses are grouped simply as "No Ambiguity Recognized," and "Ambiguity Recognized."

Hypothesis XVII: There will be little difference between boys and girls in the degree to which they recognize any ambiguity in their religious affirmations, but again the significant difference will be between the churches with the young people from the fundamentalist church perceiving less ambiguity.

Table 36. Perception of Ambiguity in Religious Beliefs by Sex of Child

	Ambiguity Recognized	No Ambiguity Recognized
Boys	24 / 22.97	10 / 11.03
Girls	26 / 27.03	14 / 12.97
$X^2 = .27$	Coefficient of Contingency = .06324	.80 > p > .70

Table 37. Perception of Ambiguity in Religious Beliefs by Church

		Ambiguity Recognized		Ambiguity ognized
Suburban Chui	rch	37 / 30.41	8 /	14.59
Fundamental (Church	13 / 19.59	16 /	9.41
$X^2 = 10.04$	Coefficient	t of Contingency =	. 34496	.005 > p > .001

Taking the hypothesis in its two null-subhypothesis forms, it is first stated that there will be no association between the sex of the child and the perception of any ambiguity in religious affirmations. The data in Table 36 support this. The probability of no association is between .70 and .80. Though the hypothesis makes no suggestion as to whether ambiguity will or will not be recognized, it is interesting to note that the larger group in each sex is the one that does see some ambiguity.

The second null hypothesis posits no association between the type of church and recognition of ambiguity. This time the null form is rejected as an association may be stated with more than 99.5 per cent confidence. The hypothesized direction is also correct, i.e., the young people from the suburban church are more cognizant of conflict and doubt regarding their religious beliefs. By rejecting the second null hypothesis while accepting the first we find that we are also accepting Hypothesis XVII completely as stated.

Having considered five attitudes and compared each by holding first sex and then church affiliation constant, four things are noticeable:

(1) In every case there was a significant difference between the churches with the young people of the fundamental church always more positive about the church and religion and its importance; (2) On only one of the

five hypotheses was there enough of a difference between the sexes to allow rejection of the hypothesis of no association. Even in that instance, the importance of religion for the self-image, the differences between the churches exceeded that between the sexes; (3) There was a much greater difference between the boys and girls in the suburban church than in the fundamental church with regard to the importance of religion for men. The difference in the suburban church showed that the girls were somewhat more inclined to think religion was important for men than were the boys; (4) Though the difference between the sexes might not be significant, with one exception the girls maintained a more positive attitude than the boys.

The last hypothesis to be considered introduces a different independent variable. This time the effort is to determine if any difference in attitude occurs when the mother is perceived as being more concerned about religion than the father. "Concern," rather than one of the "activity" rankings was used as the independent variable because it was felt that a difference perceived in this more subjective area where difficulty had been encountered in making a distinction should indicate a very definite interest on the part of the parent. The scale used was also the one dealing with a great deal of personal internalization of the importance of religion—the Importance of Religion for the Self-Image.

As the hypothesis states the expected findings for "both boys and girls," Tables 38 and 39 give this information independently for each sex. Table 40 gives the combined data.

Hypothesis XVIII: There will be a difference in the importance of religion for the self image when mother rather than father, or both parents equally, is perceived as being more concerned about religious matters. This will be true for both boys and girls.



Table 38. Boys--Importance of Religion for the Self-Image by Which Parent Is Perceived as Most Concerned About Religion

	(Positive) 1.0 - 2.0	(Neutral - Negative) 2.5 - 4.0
Mother Concerned	3	3
Father or Both Concerned	19	8
Exact Probability = .9214		

Table 39. Girls--Importance of Religion for the Self-Image by Which Parent Is Perceived as Most Concerned About Religion

	(Positive) 1.0 - 2.0	(Neutral - Negative) 2.5 - 4.0
Mother Concerned	6	4
Father or Both Concerned	25	6
Exact Probability = .9580		

Table 40. Importance of Religion for the Self-Image by Which Parent Is Perceived as Most Concerned About Religion

•	Positive) 1.5 - 2.0	(Neutral-Negative) 2.5 - 3.0	(Negative) 3.5 - 4.0
Mother Con- cerned	5/3.46 4/8	5 (7 / 4.54)	2
Father or Both Concerned	11/12.54 33/29	14 (14 /16.46)	0
$X^2 = 5.12^*$ Co	pefficient of Conti	ngency = .25298	.01 > p > .005

Chi square was again determined after combining the last two cells of each row.

The null hypothesis is one of no association between the perception of mother being the most concerned about religion and the importance of religion for the self-image of the child. For the boys and girls separately the numbers in most cells were very small. The test of no association utilized in these cases was the Fisher Exact Probability Test. Because of the small numbers and the number of possible occurrences using these marginal totals—the probabilities of which have to be summed—neither of these tables can be said to indicate any type of association between the two factors compared.

When the tables are combined, however, and a chi square test applied, it is possible to reject the null hypothesis. Though the hypothesis did not state in which direction the difference would be, this can be ascertained by looking at Table 40. When the mother, rather than the father or both parents equally, is considered to be more concerned about religion, the scale value on the importance of religion to the child drops slightly. This drop is only 1 to 1.5 scale points, yet the number of cases can be considered significant with greater than 99 per cent confidence. Hypothesis XVIII is thus accepted though it must be noted that the tests of the sexes independently were not significant.

CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Limitations of the Study

Before attempting any interpretation of the data presented in this thesis, some of the limitations of the study need recognition.

These, it would seem, may be divided into two basic types:

(1) limitations which are inherent in exploratory and case study methods of investigation; and (2) specific limitations or unique factors about the sample which should be mentioned.

All research is built upon previous research and theory, and the more study that has been done, the more refined the following work may be. In areas where little previous study has been conducted, it is necessary to take more of an exploratory approach. Such was the case in this study. While quite a considerable sociological literature exists dealing with the family, and an increasing amount of study is being done on religion, not much has been attempted in relating the two in any manner. Due to this lack of previous knowledge, some of the data gathered regarding this relationship is not as precise as could be desired. Consequently the data for fewer of the hypotheses can meet the accepted .05 or less level of probability for rejection of the null hypothesis.

Because of the exploratory nature of the research and the small size of the sample, only limited generalizations can be made.

The results must be stated only in terms of the immediate group studied.

One last limitation related to the design should be mentioned.

This is the fact that any field research planned and executed by a single individual is necessarily limited in scope and in the amount of interpretive data manipulation that can be carried out.

There are then three limitations which should be mentioned that are due to the selection of the particular groups studied. (1) The suburban church used in this study, because of its location near a large university, draws very heavily from university personnel. The requirement of graduate education for university teaching and research likely has caused an upward bias in the educational level of the heads of households and possibly in the socio-economic status scores as these are based on occupation. It may also be that this type of background instills something of its own philosophy of life and religion which is not necessarily typical of a suburban group.

- (2) A bias of a different type may exist in the sample from the Baptist church. Whereas the sample of young people from the suburban church came from church school classes, the sample from the Baptist church were attendants at special youth meetings and thus might indicate a more intense interest in religion than a sample drawn from the Sunday School would evince.
- (3) The sample size is not large, and consequently the data is subject to the limitations attendant upon small samples. In some cases distributions which would probably have been statistically significant for a larger sample had to be rejected.

Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings

Perhaps the most evident findings are those concerned with the institutional comparison of the two churches, for these deal with material which was somewhat less exploratory in nature.

The finding that the fundamental church is more sectarian than the community ecumenical-type church is hardly a startling conclusion, as part of the criteria for sectness is also a part of the definition of fundamentalism. By this I am speaking of the belief in Biblical literalism and a more fervent and emotional type of service. But having established that the Baptist church is more sectarian, it is then interesting to note the areas of difference and the areas of near agreement between the churches. These may suggest possible first areas of accommodation of a sectarian group.

An area of close similarity is the style of the worship service itself, including the use of a printed program, the type of music, and the amount of lay participation. The emphasis that the Baptist church is putting on the Sunday School, its teaching agency, combined with the absence of a general altar service in the Sunday evening evangelistic meeting is an indication that the changing emphasis from evangelism to education maybe an early area of accommodation to the church type. One further point is that while there is still a difference in the amount and type of education for the ministry, the Baptist church does not take a negative attitude toward education per se, an attitude often suggested as a part of the sectarian philosophy.

The greatest difference noted is in the social characteristics of the congregation, particularly education and socio-economic status, and the doctrinal emphasis--the content of the sermons and the Sunday School lessons. If these are related, as has often been assumed, then as one changes, the other should change in some manner also. The range of socio-economic and educational levels in the fundamental

¹For example see Russell Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," in Milton J. Yinger, (ed.), Religion, Society, and the Individual, op. cit., also, Benton Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?" Social Forces, Vol. 39, No. 4, May 1961.

church indicates that there may be a transition currently taking place in this variable. The doctrinal statement is still, however, the statement of the fundamental position.

The suburban church, with its quite homogeneous congregation in terms of these social characteristics, views itself as "continuous with the Protestant tradition common to the major denominations." More particularly these "major denominations" are the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational. Yet the doctrine, or lack of it, of a personal salvation in Woodlawn Community Church is hardly in the early Methodist revivalist tradition. The Baptist church, more recently—and currently—associated with sectarian views still holds this doctrine.

What is being suggested is that the stated doctrinal positions, whether entirely believed and applied to life or not, may be among the last areas to change in any type of accommodation. The social aspects are more flexible and more easily adapted to meet the tastes or preferences of the congregation.

A second finding which invites some interpretation in this institutional comparison is Hypothesis II which stated that the community ecumenical church would be more representative of Niebuhr's "Church of the Middle Class" than would the fundamental church. This hypothesis was not accepted, and in actuality the Baptist church seemed to more accurately fit the description.

Three possible reasons that this hypothesis had to be rejected could be: (1) the fundamentalist church has a larger middle-class element than the suburban church; (2) the assumption that the church is representative of a class at all is false; or (3) the definition of middle class is not accurate. We may, by referring to Table I,

[&]quot;"What We Are and What We Seek to Become"--Woodlawn Community Church, op. cit.

discount the first reason. As for the second, the fact that each church does present a rather definite emphasis, though different from each other, suggests the presence of some reason. This may be class, or it may be another factor. At this point we cannot say.

The third possible reason demands a closer inspection.

Niebuhr's middle class is a bourgeois, capitalistic, or commercial class, as evidenced by the liberty with which he substitutes one word for the other. Its church as he describes it is the church of the Protestant Ethic, the "pursuit of individual salvation through hard work, thrift, and competitive struggle." Some would prefer to call these the attributes of the American Way of Life, but it matters little. They refer to the same attitudes. This is a middle class, then, defined on an economic or occupational basis. According to the 1961 edition of the Dictionary of Sociology, however,

Middle class therefore today is a term designating a heterogeneous section of the population... They have few common economic interests. Whatever unity they possess lies in their educational standards, their standard of living and ideals of family life, their mores and recreational interests.²

In <u>The Organization Man</u>, the thesis is put forth by Whyte that the day of Niebuhr's middle class and the Protestant Ethic has almost passed. No longer is the independent businessman or the small industrialist the dominant member of the middle class. In his place is the member of the larger organization, one who finds that the Protestant Ethic does not seem practical when one is a small part of a large group.

¹William H. Whyte, Jr., <u>The Organization Man</u>, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), p. 4.

²Henry Pratt Fairchild, (ed.) <u>Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences</u>, Students' Outline Series, (Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams, and Company, 1961), p. 193.

Arising in the place of this previous ethic, according to Whyte, is the Social Ethic.

By social ethic I mean that contemporary body of thought which makes morally legitimate the pressures of society against the individual. Its major propositions are three: a belief in the group as the source of creativity; a belief in "belongingness" as the ultimate need of the individual; and a belief in the application of science to achieve the belongingness. 1

This, in turn, is quite descriptive of the ethic or philosophy of the Woodlawn Community Church, suggesting that (1) the church may indeed emphasize class values, but that (2) the definition of the middle class as used by Niebuhr is not as applicable to day as it may have been at the writing of The Social Sources of Denominationalism in 1929.

This does not explain, however, the inclusion of these Protestant Ethic values in the fundamentalist church with its large group of working people. For this, a study by Benton Johnson may be applicable. Though dealing with Holiness groups, considered more strongly lower class and more sectarian than the Baptists, his argument could still be valid for the latter. As mentioned earlier, the attributes of the "Protestant Ethic" are called by many the "American Way of Life." Their position as dominant values in the society was undoubtedly aided by strong church approval during the period of the founding and settling of the United States. While today they may be less practiced, they still receive at least verbal recognition as being distinctively American values. Johnson "presents evidence for the view that Holiness religion may . . . function as an agency of the socialization of the lower class in these dominant values of American society."

¹Whyte, op. cit., p. 7.

²Benton Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?" op. cit.

It is other-worldly in the sense of expecting the greatest personal joy in the hereafter, but it involves as a condition of this the devotion to doing the will of God in this world. This will can be realized in almost any kind of activity, but it demands consistent output of effort, a denial of distracting pleasures, and a focus on achievement. The positive emphasis on self-application, consistency, and achievement, are the principal Holiness themes that directly converge with dominant American values. 1

This same orientation toward life would seem to be a part of the philosophy of this other evangelical, though non-Holiness group.

In noticing the church-family contacts it may at first seem that here is an association to which each family member may belong—individually. Yet the church through time has staunchly preached the sanctity of families and the evil of family separation. Each of the churches in our study has to an extent recognized this incongruity and attempted to adjust the program to it. Neither has done so by eliminating any of the groups divided by age and sex differentials, but each has some program which includes the whole family.

The suburban church does this with an intensive program designed especially for the family and including the newest ideas of education, psychology, etc. In addition there is a week-long family camp for a few families each year. The Baptist church makes a less direct, though more frequent, attack on the problem, whether or not they are completely cognizant of it as such. This is done by the teaching of the importance of regular church attendance and religious rituals such as family worship for everyone as a religious norm. These activities which then occur at very frequent intervals—church at least twice a week, grace at every meal, etc.—provide combined family experiences in the regular routine of life.

Another way of noting the differences is to say that the fundamental approach is based on the sanctity of the family as an institution because it is a religious norm that divorce and subsequent remarriage are wrong.

¹Ibid., p. 316.

The community church approach, in line with much contemporary thought, is the "every member of the family happy" ideal. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and each church takes some of the philosophy of the other, the difference being one of emphasis. The two approaches may lead to slightly different concepts of what family goals are, and how they are to be obtained. Such consequential actions are not, however, a part of this discussion.

Moving to the area of the children's perceptions of which parent is more concerned with religious affairs, we are faced with several factors. One is the fact that when one parent is designated as more involved religiously than the other, it is more often the mother than the father. Yet the fact also remains that a great deal of the time no difference between parents could be noted. This may just as well be a feature of "no participation or responsibility" as one of "equal responsibility." Particularly is this likely to be true of the suburban church where the church itself places less emphasis on experiences and practices which can readily be defined as "religious." If, for whatever reason, the norm is for the mother to be more involved—a norm that cross—cuts church type—then the greater emphasis of the fundamental church on religious practices would provide more opportunity for this to be perceived by the children—as in fact it was.

Somewhat antithetical to the results which showed that the Baptist young people more than those of the suburban church definitely perceived the mother as more religiously involved was the finding that they were also more apt to indicate religion as being as necessary for men as for women. This second finding may be explained, however, as a feature of the doctrinal emphasis on the need of each person for individual salvation.

Reasons have been given for the active feminine interest in religion which are based on the role they play and the amount of contact

they have with other groups as adults, i.e., their time is not as strictly scheduled or as taken with task functions as is the man's in the labor force; they have fewer contacts outside of the home beside the church group than does the man with his occupational role. The results of the attitude scales in this study, though not too statistically significant, are enough to be suggestive that this interest is not something acquired with adulthood. Whether it is anticipatory socialization, or, as suggested by one author, "a result of differential social-psychological experiences between the sexes," or some other factor, the more positive attitude of the girls toward religion would seem to begin some time during childhood. These scales were administered to teenagers, and the more positive attitude was already noticeable.

A final note of emphasis to the feminine strength exhibited is added when it is considered that a greater proportion of the girls in the sample were from the suburban church than was the case with the boys, and it was the suburban church which took a less positive view throughout the study than the fundamental church.

This then brings us to the next point to be considered, the church differential. When dealing with attitude scales the association between church type and attitude always exceeded the association of one sex or the other with a particular attitude. Thus a more or less positive attitude on the importance of religion would seem to be a matter of religious training. Yet the perception of which parent, or whether one more than the other, is more overtly involved with religious affairs seems more closely associated with sex than with church type. This suggests that regardless of the intensity with which these views may be held, there may be an overriding norm which operates across denominational lines, etc., as to the manner in which each sex views its place in the church program.

¹Lazerwitz, op. cit., p. 308.

Last to be considered is the effect this feminine dominance may have on the young people.

Such a feminine prominance has been a comparatively recent phenomenon in the history of Christianity. The current effects can be seen in the active women's groups (each church in this study has three such groups compared to one for the men), and the higher rate of women's church attendance. However the long-range effects such as occur when new generations take control of an institution are still somewhat speculative, for there has not been a sufficient time lapse to note this. By considering the situation as it now exists, there are some facts which may give some indication of the direction of change, however.

A pattern of interaction between any two subsystems, once established, is likely to continue unless forced to change because of outside pressures or a major internal change within one of the systems. Such may well be the case with the pattern of female activity in the church. Two findings in this study that also indicate this trend might continue are: (1) the finding that the boys have a slightly less positive attitude about the importance of religion and the church than the girls have; and (2) the finding that the boys in the suburban ecumenical church perceive religion as being less important for men than for women to a greater degree than any of the other groups tested.

Another pattern which once begun is likely to reinforce itself is the trend away from reliance on a strictly religious program or religious basis for action. The less positive the attitude about the necessity of the religious element itself, and the more ambiguity that is seen in the religious affirmations, the more the church is going to have to rely on some other means to keep its adherents. The fundamental church, as long as it maintains its emphasis on a spiritual elite and a personal

lbid.

salvation has a means of holding its members—a reason for their belonging—though this may limit somewhat the number of people willing to accept membership under these conditions. When this emphasis shifts, then reliance must be placed on some other interest. Such a church becomes an example of Will Herberg's thesis that modern American religious membership is not simply a concern for ultimate reality but also a means of immediate social identity or belonging.

Relating the above two patterns of thought, should the finding be correct that there is a less positive attitude on the part of the children when the mother is perceived as more concerned than the father, then this pattern of feminine dominance may serve to hasten the trend from the religious to the secular emphasis, and consequently then detract from the extremely feminine participation.

In the review of the literature section of this thesis mention was made of the suggestion that in a paternal authoritarian family system part of the authority seemed to be derived from the father's position as "priest" of the family. If then these studies indicate that the mother is seen as the more concerned with religious affairs and the more active representative of the family in the church system, what may this mean for the family system? That this will lead to a maternal authoritarian type of family does not seem in the least likely. While a changing religious emphasis may have helped--and partially been a result of-the movement toward an equalitarian family, there is nothing in its doctrine to support a matriarchy. The stated Scriptural position is that the man remains the head of the family. In the second place, the equalitarian family was the result of many influences and changing relationships in the other subsystems of society. These do not now seem to be pushing toward recognized female dominance of the family. And finally, if a pronounced feminine concern leads to a lessening of interest and perception of religion as important on the part of the other

family members--and consequently speeds the accommodation toward a social rather than a religious approach--then the very prop which would give her her authority, her "priestly" function would be robbed of its real power and significance. In support we may note that in the suburban church with less emphasis on a "religious" approach, the children are also less apt to perceive the mother as more concerned.

It must be remembered that these suggested trends do not take into account at least two important factors: (1) they are based on the assumption of a maintenance of the present state of balance and interaction among the various subsystems of society. A major disruption of these relationships, gradual or sudden, due to happenings such as war or the threat of war, natural disaster, etc., might mean a shift in the interaction pattern between the church and family as well.

(2) There has been no account taken of the growth and stability of the church as a maturing institution which has vested interests. Nor has the vitality that religion has shown and the resistance to being eliminated been mentioned. These too may have a bearing on the future relationship of the church and the family.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Summary

This thesis has been an exploratory study dealing basically with the sociology of religion and attempting to relate this to some of the knowledge gained through sociology about the family. Two Protestant churches were compared according to the church-sect and economic differences which the literature has suggested exist. With these differences in mind the type of "family program" of each church received some attention, as did the young people's perceptions as to their parents' involvement in religious activities.

The general hypotheses were that the fundamental church would be more sectarian than the ecumenical suburban church, that this would affect the type of program designed to reach the family and its needs, as well as the perception of which family members were most active in church activities. From current literature it was hypothesized that the mother would be perceived as the most involved of the two parents in either church, and when this was the case, it was desired to see if this affected in any manner the view that the young people held of the importance of religion.

The churches used for the study were located in a midwestern city and an adjacent suburb. Information regarding the church programs was obtained through interviews, open-ended questionnaires, printed literature distributed by the churches, and participation in and

observation of the services. Data on the perception of the children was obtained by use of self-administering questionnaires given to the young people in each church.

Statistical analysis of data included the use of chi square, the coefficient of contingency, and the exact probability tests to determine the likelihood of association between independent samples. Confidence Belts for Proportions were used as a guide to the significance of binomial distributions. Analysis of the non-numerical data was simply by presentation of the relevant material and interpretation by the author.

The findings, in brief, are that the fundamental church, while more sectarian and with a larger number of working class people, is also more like the description of the "Church of the Middle Class" as described by Niebuhr. In accommodation from sect to church type the social characteristics seem liable to change more quickly than the doctrinal positions. In regard to a "family program," both churches teach and preach the benefits of a unified family; both also provide separate activities for each age and sex group. Each does provide some type of program where the family is together however.

When dealing with the perceptions that the children have of their parents' religious involvement, the number of children able to perceive any difference between their parents involvement decreased as the behavior being considered became less overt. Though the numbers were often insignificant, it was always the mother rather than the father who was considered more involved. In the difference between churches, the fundamental church had a stronger association with the perception of mother being more active than did the suburban church. The difference in this regard was more pronounced between the sexes, however, than between the churches. No pattern emerged as to which sex perceived which parent as most involved. In the area of attitude scales the girls were uniformly more positive than the boys about religion

except in the matter of zeal, but the difference was always less than the difference between the churches on the same scale. In these cases the fundamental church group was always the more positive in outlook.

The final hypothesis dealing with the importance of religion when the mother was considered the most active or concerned indicated a less-positive attitude in this situation than when the father was so considered, or both parents were perceived as equally concerned.

Suggestions for Further Research

Many of the findings suggested by this study stand in need of more refined research and larger samples before any definite conclusions may be drawn.

Research aimed more directly at discovering the age range at which the attitudes toward religion begin to differ by sex, as well as the reasons for this, would aid in building a more complete understanding of the sociology of religion. In line with this, the instrument to measure the attitude toward the comparative importance of religion for each sex needs refining and further testing. A third area of further research is the difference in the child's orientation toward religion when one parent rather than the other is perceived as more concerned with religious affairs.

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- Keen, Clarence M. "Success or Failure in the Christian Life."
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•	"What We Are and What We Seek to Become."
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APPENDIX A

The questionnaires administered to the young people of the churches: (1) the questionnaire for the elementary school age group, and (2) the questionnaire for the high school age group. You are going to fill out a booklet of questions about your family, this church, and some things that you do and think about. This is not a test. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers.

No one will see anything that you write except the people who are working on this study at Michigan State University. If you don't know what a question means, please raise your hand. The person who gave you this booklet will help you.

Thank you for your help.

Your	Name		
Your	Address	 	
Code	Number		

	Code Number
Αŀ	BOUT YOURSELF
l.	What is your age now?
2.	Date of Birth (Month) (Day) (Year)
	(Month) (Day) (Year)
3.	What grade were you in this past year at school?
4.	Sex Boy Girl
5.	Have you ever gone to some other church regularly? Yes No
	If your answer is "yes," please write down the name of the last church you went to regularly and how old you were when you stopped going there.
	(Name of Church) (Your age)
6.	Do you regularly come to Sunday School? Yes No
7.	Are you a regular member of any other group at church (such as Junior Choir)? Yes No
	If your answer is "yes," what group do you belong to?
ΑI	BOUT YOUR FAMILY
1.	Which of these people live in your home now?
	Father Step-Father Mother Step-Mother Older Sisters How many older sisters? Younger Sisters How many younger sisters? Older Brothers How many older brothers? Younger Brothers How many younger brothers? Other relatives (such as grandfather, aunt, cousin) How many? Other people (such as friends, boarders, etc.) How many?

ABOUT YOUR FATHER

l.	How old is he?
	25 - 30 years old 46 - 50 years old 31 - 35 years old 50 - 55 years old 36 - 40 years old Older than 55 years 41 - 45 years old He is not living
2.	His occupation (or what he did, if he is dead or retired)
	What kind of work does he do?
	What is the name of the place where he works?
	Is he the owner, a manager or supervisor, an employee, or a professional person?
	Owner Manager or Supervisor Employee Professional
3.	How far did he go in school?
	Did not graduate from high school High school graduate Some college, but did not graduate from college College graduate Post-graduate work (more than 4 years of college, such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, college professors, etc.) I don't know
4.	Does he come to this church? Yes No
	If the answer is "no," does he go to any church? Yes No
	What church does he go to?
ΑI	BOUT YOUR MOTHER
l.	How old is she?
	25 - 30 years old 46 - 50 years old 31 - 35 years old 50 - 55 years old 36 - 40 years old Older than 55 years 41 - 45 years old She is not living

2. Does she work besides kee	ping house?	Yes	No					
If the answer is "yes," wh	If the answer is "yes," what kind of work does she do?							
What is the name of the pla	ace where sh	e works	?					
How long has she done this	sort of wor	k?						
l year or less 2 - 4 years	5 10	- 9 years years o	s r more					
Is she the owner, a manag professional person?	er or superv	isor, an	employe	e or a				
Owner, Manager Professional	or Superviso	r,E	Em ployee	,				
3. How far did she go in school	ol?							
Did not graduate from High school graduate Some college but did College graduate Post-graduate work (doctors, lawyers, de I don't know	not graduate	years o	•		as			
4. Does she come to this chur			1. 2. V	NI.				
	If the answer is ''no, '' does she go to any church? Yes No							
What church does she go to	?							
ABOUT BOTH PARENTS AND	YOURSELF	7						
1. Some people go to church of put a check in the squares ing people go to church.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·							
	Usually	•			Never			
	twice/week	once a week	twice a month	times a year				
Yourself	1		1	, , , ,				
Your father, or step-father			<u> </u>					
Your mother, or step-mother								
Older Sisters								
Older Brothers	1		1	T				

2.	This question is asking about how man	•		•	
	mother and father may take part in. I which you think show what they do.			•	es
	Usually goes to church, Bible Study, or Adult Study Group in the middle of the week.	Mother	Father	Both	
	Belongs to at least one group at church				
	Is an officer or teacher in Sunday School				
	Sponsors some group such as a Young People's Group	·			
	Does visitation for the church regularly				
	Is on a church board or committee				
	Ushers				
	Other (please explain)				-
3.	Which one of your parents do you think work?	is the <u>m</u>	nore acti	ve in o	hurch
	Mother Father San	ne	Neither	of th	em
4.	Some families do certain things togeth How many of the following things does			oup at	home.
		Usually	Someti	mes	Never
	Say grace at meals				
	Have family Bible reading, prayer or devotions				•
	Have the children say bed-time prayers				
	Have special religious things that you do at special times such as Christmas, Easter, or Lent				
	All attend church together				

Other (please explain)

5.	Which one of your parents do you think is more that family religious activities are carried on a	-	ed in seeing
	MotherFatherSameNeither	er of them	
6.	Do you think that one of your parents is more is matters than the other? Yes No	nterested	in religious
	If the answer is "yes," which one?Moth	er	Father
7.	Do you think that you would like to go to anothe YesNo	r kind of o	church?
8.	If it were entirely up to you, would you go to ch YesNo	nurch at a	11?
9.	How would your parents feel if you wanted to chat stop coming to church at all?	nange chui	ches or
		Mother	Father
	Would be very disappointed		
	Would mind somewhat	<u> </u>	
	Would not care		
	Might be glad		
	Would be very glad		
10.	Which one of your parents would you be most lithe things in this list?	kely to ta	lk to about
	Ç	Mother	Father
	Your friends		
	God		
	School		
	What things are right or wrong to do		
	How you look or your manners		

The rest of these questions ask only about what you think. There is no right or wrong answer. Just put a check in the box which comes the closest to showing the way you feel about the statement.

Ç ,,	I AGRE		I Don't		AGREE
l. A person needs to be a Christian to be really happy.	Very much	A little	Know	A little	Very much
2. My father is interested in religious matters.					
3. A minister's job is more important than my father's job.					
4. Church and religious faith are more important for women than for men.					
5. People go into church work because they cannot be successful in any other field.			· ·		
6. Church activities are important for men.					
7. The United States would be just as nice a place to live if there were no churches.			-		
8. Everybody should go to church.					
9. Religious faith is important for women.		-		·	
10. Mothers should be more responsible for seeing that children get religious training than fathers.					
ll. My mother is interested in religious matters.					
12. Religious faith is important for men.					
13. It doesn't matter if father comes to church as long as mother comes and brings the children.					
14. Church activities are important for women.					

You are about to fill out a booklet of questions about things which all of us think about at some time in our lives. We want to find out what you and other young people say about these things. THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE ARE NO "RIGHT" OR "WRONG" ANSWERS.

All of your answers will be completely confidential and <u>no</u> <u>one</u> other than those working with this research project at Michigan State University will see the answers you have given. You <u>are</u> asked to give your name so that we may compare information from different sources.

If you are puzzled about what a particular question is asking, raise your hand to signal for help, and go on to the next question. The person who passed out this booklet will come to explain the question as quickly as possible.

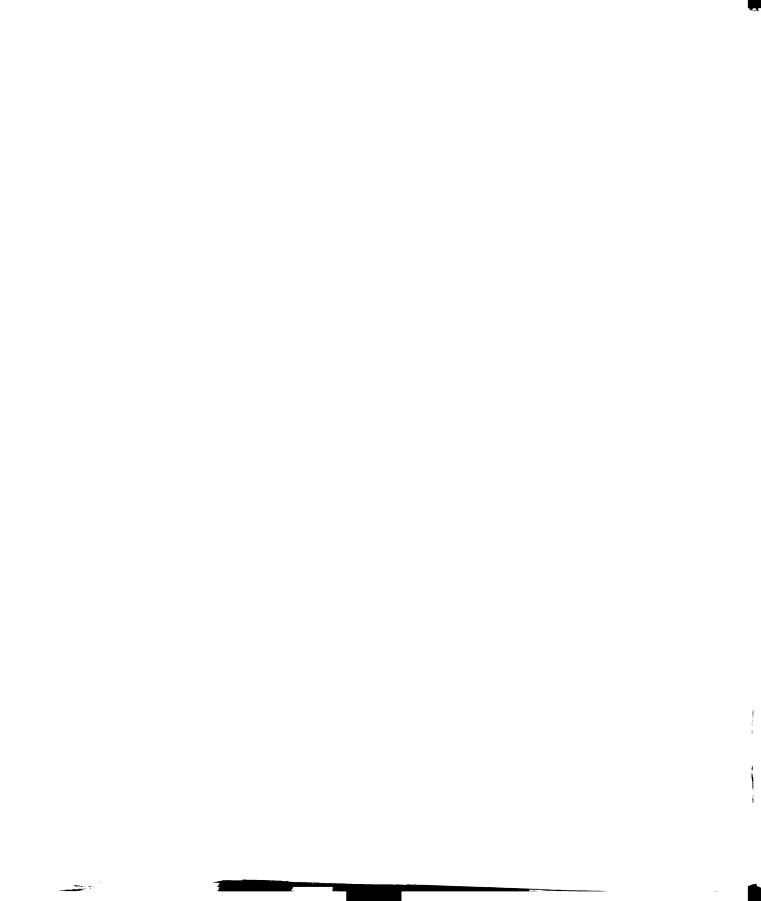
Thank you for your help.

NAME		 	
ADDRESS	·	70-30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30	
Code Number			

Сс	de Number			
1.	What is your age now?			
2.	Date of Birth			
٠.		(Day)	(Year)	
3.	What grade were you in this pa	st year at school	?	
4.	Sex: Boy Girl			
5.	Have you ever lived in a differ	ent city than you	live in now? Yes	No
	If the answer is "yes," please you lived and how old you were live. Also, please give the naryou lived there.	when you moved	to where you now	
	(City) (State)	(Age) (Na	me of Church)	
6.	Have you ever attended a differ lived where you do now? Yes_		•	
	If the answer is "yes," please attended, how long you went the attending there.	-		
	(Name of Church) (How	w long you attend	ed) (Age)	
7.	On the line opposite each Churchelease put a check mark if you officer or leader in that activit	have been a regu	_	
		I am, or have been, a regular member	I am, or have been, an officer or leader	
	Sunday School Class			
	Young People's Group			
	Affirmation Seminar			
	Choir			
	Special Musical Group			
	Instrumental Musical Group			
	Ball Team or Sports Group			
	Summer Work Trip			
	Other (please explain)			

8.	Do you or any members of your family regularly receive any religious papers or magazines? Yes No
	If the answer is "yes," about how many does your family receive?
ΑI	BOUT YOUR FAMILY
l.	Which of the following people live in your home at the present time?
	Father Step-Father Mother Step-Mother Older Sisters How many? Younger Sisters How many? Older Brothers How many? Younger Brothers How many? Other relatives (such as grandfather, aunt, cousin) How many? Other people (such as friends, boarders, etc.) How many?
2.	How many children do your parents have who live <u>away</u> from home? For example, a brother or sister who is married, at college, or in the armed services?
	BrothersSisters
ΑE	BOUT YOUR FATHER (Or Step-Father, whichever you live with)
l.	How old is he?
	25 - 30 years old 46 - 50 years old 31 - 35 years old 50 - 55 years old 36 - 40 years old Older than 55 years old 40 - 45 years old He is not living
2.	His occupation (Or what he did, if he is dead or retired)
	What kind of work does he do
	What kind of place does he work in?
	Is he the owner, a manager or supervisor, an employee, or a professional person?
	Owner Manager or Supervisor Employee Professional

3.	How far did he go in school?
	Did not graduate from high school High school graduate
	Some college, but did not graduate from college College graduate
	Post-graduate work (more than 4 years of college, including
	doctors, lawyers, college professors, etc.)
	I don't know
4.	Does he attend this church? Yes No
	If the answer is "no," does he attend any church? Yes No
	Which church does he attend?
ΑF	BOUT YOUR MOTHER
l.	How old is she?
	25 - 30 years old 46 - 50 years old
	31 - 35 years old 51 - 55 years old
	36 - 40 years old Older than 55 years
	41 - 45 years oldShe is not living
2.	Her occupation (Or what she did, if she is dead or retired)
	What kind of work does she do?
	(If the answer is "HOUSEWIFE, "Go on to Question 3.)
	How long has she done this sort of work?
	l year or less5 - 9 years
	2 - 4 yearsl0 years or more
	What kind of a place does she work in?
	Is she the owner, a manager or supervisor, an employee, or a professional person?
	OwnerManager or SupervisorEmployeeProfessional
3.	Does she attend this church? Yes No
	If the answer is "no," does she attend any church? Yes No
	Which church does she attend?



4.	How far did she go in sch	hool?						
	Did not graduate fr High school gradua Some college, but of College graduate Post-graduate work doctors, lawyers, I don't know	te did not gradua k (more than 4	te fron	of c	olle		ncluding	
Αŀ	BOUT BOTH PARENTS A	ND YOURSEL	F					
1.	Some people attend churcheck the squares which people attend.	indicate how	often y	ou t h	ink	the fo	llowing	
		Usually twice a week	Usuall	,	Once		A few times	Neve
		or more	once a		twic mon		a year	
	Yourself		, cox				1	
	Your mother, or step- mother							
	Your father, or step- father							
	Old Sister (1)							
	(2)							
	Older Brother (1)							
	(2)		1					
2.	This question is concerned with how many church activities your mother and father may take part in, not just church attendance. Please check the squares which you think indicate their activities. Mother Father Both Usually attends church, Bible Study, or							
	Adult Study Group during	ng the week.						
	Participates in at least of	one church gro	up					
	Is an officer or teacher i	n Sunday Scho	ol					
	Sponsors some group suc	ch as a youth	group					
	Does visitation for the ch	nurch regulari	у					
	Participates in a musica	l group						
	Is on a church board or o	committee						
	Other (please explain)							

3.	Which of your parents would you say is the more active in church work?					
	MotherFathe	rSa	me	Nei	ther	
4.	Some families have various prac group at home. How many of th			-		•
		Usua	11 y	Occasiona	lly	Never
	Say grace at meals					
	Have family Bible reading, pray or devotions	er				
	Have bed-time prayers, at least the small children	for				
	Have special activities, "cere- monies," or celebrations of a religious nature at special times such as Christmas, Easter, or Lent.	5				
	All attend church together					
	Other (please explain)					
5.	Which of your parents do you fee that family religious activities a MotherFatherSa	re carrie	-	at home?	or se	eing
6.	Do you feel that you could say the interested in religious matters to		•	-		
	If the answer is "Yes," which or	ie?				_
7.	Have you ever thought of changir ing a different type of church?		eligio No		and	attend-
8.	Can you see yourself not attendi	ng church	at al	1? Yes_		No
9.	How would your parents feel is y attending church completely?	ou should	d chai Moth	J	hes o Fath	•
	Would be very disappointed					
	Would mind somewhat					
	Would not care					
	Might be glad Would be very glad					
	rould be very blad		<u> </u>		L	

10. Which of your parents would you be most likely to ask questions about the following subjects?

	Mother	Father	Both
Your friends			
Politics			
Personal appearance and manners			
God			
Money matters			
What is right or wrong to do			
Your future work and plans			
The things that you do and the places that you go for fun.			
Sex			
Dating			



The rest of the questions deal only with your personal opinions. There is no right or wrong answer. Just put a check in the box which comes the closest to expressing the way you feel about the statement.

	I AGREE Very much A little		I Don't Know		AGREE Very much
l. When I am thinking seriously about lite, my ideas about God and religion are about the most important ideas I have.		Amue	Know	Alltie	very much
2. A person needs to be a Christian to be truly happy.					
3. I find that my ideas about God and religion have a great deal of influence on how I think about other things.			-		
4. My father is concerned about religious matters.					
5. Church and religious faith are more important for women than for men.					
6. Believing as I do about Christianity is very important to being the kind of a person I want to be.					
7. A minister's job is more important than my father's job.					
8. The church is one of the most important places in which we learn how to be better people.					
9. If my ideas about religious values were different, I believe that the way I live would be very different.					

	I AGREE		I Don't	I DISAGREE	
Ve	ry much	A little	Know	A little	Very much
10. I would consider work- ing full-time for a church or a religious organization when I start to work.					
ll. Religion is a subject in which I am not particularly interested.					
12. Mothers should be more responsible for seeing that children get religious training than fathers.	l				
13. People go into church work because they cannot make a success in any other field.					
14. I very often think about matters relating to my religious beliefs.					
15. Church activities are important for men.					
l6. It doesn't really matter what a person believes about religion as long as he is satisfied with his beliefs.					
17. Even though there will be those who will disagree with me, it is my duty to make my religious position known.					
18. Religious faith is important for women.					
19. The United States would be just as nice a place to live if there were no churches.					
20. I would not attend church as often as I do if my parents did not make me.					-

	I AGRI Very much		I Don't		GREE Very much
21. I believe there would not be so many problems in the world if more people understood about God and Christianity correctly.	very much		Mow	A IIIIe	very much
22. Religious faith is important for men.		·			
23. I have a duty to help those who are confused about Christianity.					
24. It makes no real dif- ference if father comes to church as long as mother attends with the children.					
25. There is no point in discussing religious beliefs, because there is little chance of changing people's minds.					
26. Church activities are important for women.					
27. I expect to be attending church ten years from now.					
28. I believe that the world would be a better place to live if more people believed about God and Jesus Christ the way I do.					
29. My mother is concerned about religious matters.					
30. Although usually I am sure about what I believe, there are times when I doubt my religious faith.			·		

APPENDIX B

The items of the attitudinal sections of the questionnaires listed in scale groups, with discriminatory power as determined by item analysis listed for those scales original to this study.

1. The Importance of Religion for Men as Compared to Women. (Administered to complete sample)

<u>Item</u>	Discriminatory Power
*Church and religious faith are more important for women than for men.	1.96
*Mothers should be more responsible for seeing that children get religious training than fathers.	2.09
Church activities are important for men.	2.32
Religious faith is important for women.	1.96
Religious faith is important for men.	2.09
*It doesn't matter if father comes to church as long as mother comes with the children.	1.58
Church activities are important for women.	2.09
2. The Importance of the Church as an Institution. (Short Form: Administered to elementary school ag	e respondents)
A minister's job is more important than my father's job.	2.20
*People go into church work because they cannot be successful in any other field.	1.40
*The United States would be just as nice a place to live if there were no churches.	1.80
Everybody should go to church.	1.60

Negative items, i.e., those scored in reverse, are marked by an asterisk.

2. The Importance of the Church as an Institution.
(Long Form: Administered to high school age respondents)

Item	Discriminatory Power
A minister's job is more important than my father's job.	2.53
The church is one of the most important places in which we learn how to be better people.	1.35
I would consider working full-time for a church or a religious organization when I start to work.	1.88
*People go into church work because they cannot make a success in any other field.	.52
*The United States would be just as nice a place to live if there were no churches.	1.11
*I would not attend church as often as I do if my parents did not make me.	1.23
I expect to be attending church ten years from now.	1.00

3. The Importance of Religion for the Self-Image. (Administered to high school age respondents)

When I am thinking seriously about life, my ideas about God and religion are about the most important ideas I have.

I find that my ideas about God and religion have a great deal of influence on how I think about other things.

Believing as I do about Christianity is very important to being the kind of person I want to be.

If my ideas about religious values were different, I believe that the way I live would be very different.

*Religion is a subject in which I am <u>not</u> particularly interested.

I very often think about matters relating to my religious beliefs.

- 4. Perception of Need for Propagating Religious Faith. (Administered to high school age respondents)
 - *It doesn't really matter what a person believes about religion as long as he is satisfied with his beliefs.

Even though there will be those who will disagree with me, it is my duty to make my religious position known.

I believe there would not be so many problems in the world if more people understood about God and Christianity correctly.

I have a duty to help those who are confused about Christianity.

*There is no point in discussing religious beliefs, because there is little chance of changing people's minds.

I believe that the world would be a better place to live if more people believed about God and Jesus Christ the way I do.

5. Perception of Religious Ambiguity.

(Administered to high school age respondents)

Although usually I am sure about what I believe, there are times when I doubt my religious faith.

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