

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT
OF RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

A Study of Form Five
Students in Thirteen Melbourne Schools.

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The whole of this thesis is based
upon original research conducted
by the author as a scholar in the
Department of Sociology in the
Research School of Social Sciences
at the Australian National University,
February 1966 to January 1969.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "D. C. Hickman". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent loop at the start of the first name.

D. C. HICKMAN.

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

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S Y N O P S I S

This study endeavours to explain differences in the religious orientation of Form Five students in terms of differences in their social contexts. In complex societies, with religious pluralism, individuals are exposed to different definitions of reality according to their membership of subgroups. Their orientation may be influenced not only by their membership of subgroups but also the value they place on being approved by these groups : the extent to which the groups are "reference groups".

Religious orientation is not considered as a uni-dimensional concept; but various aspects of religious orientation are considered separately throughout the study.

The importance of membership of two social categories for religious orientation is considered. There are consistent differences in religious orientation between boys and girls and some evidence that the students, particularly boys conform to the perceived orientation of the majority of their age-category. Responses to questions about the relative importance of approval of peers and adults and the strength of popular theme involvement permit further specification of the associations.

Some students perceive themselves to hold a minority religious position, deny religious legitimacy to those who hold other positions and consider the differences to be serious ones. These students tend to have similar characteristics such as denomination and parental religious

background, but there is little evidence that they form social ghettos. Those who deny legitimacy to the religious views of others tend to show stronger religious involvement than others who attend church with the same frequency.

There are important differences between schools which may arise either from background factors, the formal religious education given at the school or the social relations in the secondary school. The various explanations are explored briefly.

Friendship patterns and the religious orientation of the students are related to each other in most schools. This result is confirmed by a number of procedures.

The local church is important in providing social support for the religious commitment of a few students but does not appear as crucial for most. Churchgoing itself requires the social support of friends or parents, even for students whose personal religious commitment appears strong.

The religious patterns in subgroups show neither complete uniformity nor random variation. The social mechanisms which permit some diversity of religious orientation in student subgroups are examined. There is little evidence of drift from religion in mid-adolescence. "Privatism" limits the impact of social pressures to conformity and a few significant others often provide sufficient social support to maintain a religious position.

The reasons for the limited effectiveness of social influence questions are discussed and suggestions made for future research.

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF RELIGION : PURPOSE, PLAN AND STRATEGY

I. Purpose and Plan

The Purpose of this Study

Sociological research in religion usually has one or more of three aims. One is to explore the consequences of various religious beliefs and practices for other social institutions and for the structure of society as a whole. A second is to explore the concept of religion itself and to determine the relationship between various attitudes and aspects of behaviour usually regarded as religious. A third is to explain why various religious institutions, beliefs or practices exist among some people and not others.

This last is the aim of this research project. It sets out to determine why there are differences in the religious orientation (a general term used to cover beliefs, practices, feelings, attitudes and goals) among students in secondary schools in Melbourne.

The approach to be taken is that of explaining the differences in terms of the network of social sub-systems in which the student is involved. These include organisations¹ (such as schools), informal groups² (such as friendships) and social categories³ (such as age-category).

¹ Organisations will be understood as "Social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals."
A. Etzioni, Modern Organisations (1964), p.3.

² A group will be understood in this study as "a plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account and who are aware of some significant commonality".
M. S. Olmstead, The Small Group (1959), p.21.

³ A social category will be understood as an aggregate of social statuses, the occupants of which need not be in social interaction. This definition is taken from R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (1957), p.299, though it is not his exact wording. Examples of social categories are professionals, widows, those of a certain age range, etc.

The first part of this chapter will review various approaches which have been taken in explaining religious orientation and will give the rationale of my approach. The second part of the chapter will outline how the survey was designed and conducted and how the results were analysed. A full explanation of the theoretical presuppositions of the approach is deferred until Chapter II.

Some Approaches to the Explanation of Religious Orientation

Studies which have sought to explain religious differences and analyse religious influences within societies¹ have been extremely varied. A number of studies have been conducted to find what factors people consider have influenced their religious orientation. The study reported by Allport and that conducted by Iisager may be taken as examples:

TABLE 1 - 1
Religious Influences

<u>Allport Study</u> ²		<u>Iisager Study</u> ²		
Reasons given for the sense of need for religious sentiment		Factors contributing to first formation of religious attitudes		
	Per cent respondents who mentioned		Per cent who: mentioned as most important	
Parents	67	Parents	38	(15)
Other People	57	Reasoning	34	(15)
Fear	51	School	33	(7)
Church	40	Upbringing	20	(6)
Gratitude	37	Reading	15	(1)
Aesthetic and reading	30	Friends	11	(3)
Conformity with tradition	27	Discussions	7	(0)
Sorrow or bereavement	18	Dramatic incidents	7	(2)
Mystical experiences	17	Confirmation	7	(0)
Sexual turmoil	16	Other	15	(1)

(Non-exclusive per cents)

¹ I shall not consider here studies of religious differences between societies which are usually explained in terms of the function of the particular religion for that society.

² G. W. Allport, The Individual and His Religion (1951), p.44.

H. Iisager, "Factors Influencing the Formation and Change of Political and Religious Attitudes" (1949), p.256.

As interesting as these catalogues of explanations of religious orientation may be, they suffer from confusing conceptually different classes of explanations. Experiential explanations ("mystical experiences", "dramatic incidents"), explanations in terms of functions served by religion for the individual (reduction of "fear", expression of "gratitude") and explanations in terms of influential people or groups ("parents", "friends", "school") should not be considered as competing explanations. They are supplementary to each other. Taken together they fill out our understanding of the processes by which a person comes to a particular religious position. Of course, it may be significant to note whether a person first answers in terms of events, reasons, people, or attributes of religion. This may tell us what is salient to a person in his own understanding of religious influences.

Not every study of religious influences can attempt explanations at each of these levels but a study should be designed so that there is clarity about what kind of explanation is being given.¹ I will therefore outline some of the possible alternatives to place the approach of this project in perspective.

Experiential Approaches. When changes in religious orientation are being explained, reference may be made to specific events, ranging from listening to a sermon to a narrow escape from death. However, an experiential explanation is incomplete in itself for the reason that similar experiences (e.g. bereavement) can have vastly differing consequences according to how they are interpreted. It is important to know the meaning given to these experiences - the "definition of the situation".²

¹ E. Katz and P. F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (1955), p.190, point out that an adequate "accounting scheme" or "explanation" in impact analysis will distinguish at a minimum social influences, relevant attributes of the "product" chosen and relevant attitudes of the person choosing. Impact analysis refers to analysis of change as a result of exposure to attempts to influence.

² W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1965), pp.934-936. This theme will be pursued in Chapter II.

In dealing with some communities it may be possible to assume that the definition of the situation is the same throughout the community. In societies with religious pluralism, such as Australia, this cannot be assumed. A drought might be interpreted by some as a "call to prayer and repentance", to others an illustration of the need for man to free himself from beliefs which inhibit his efforts to control his own destiny. To understand these differences in individual interpretation, it is helpful to consider the different interpretations of groups and categories within the community. Usually interpretations of a situation are not idiosyncratic but are socially given and explicable in terms of the individual's social relations.

Traumatic personal experiences may also be used to explain religious change, in which case explanation is often put in terms which emphasise idiosyncratic, sometimes even pathological factors. This level of explanation may be important, but may lead to sociological factors being overlooked. For instance, Moberg has argued that the experience of conversion may be induced ^{by} groups which placed a high value on this experience.¹

Glock and Stark made a similar point in their discussion of religious experience. They challenged the basic assumption,

that religious experience is problematic and is primarily an individually motivated act in our society. Such an assumption, it would seem, is predicated on a simplistic view of our modern society as homogeneous and on a corresponding failure to perceive the great tangle of subgroups and subcultures which make an American Society something of a fiction unless it is defined with a good deal of sophistication.²

They concluded that "the data indicate that a good portion of religious experience can be attributed to norm compliance with enduring social situations".³

¹ D. O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (1962), p.432.

² G. Y. Glock and R. Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (1965), p.152.

³ Ibid. p.168.

Again, Brown in an analysis of some religious characteristics and personality variables, concluded that the personality variables are not the primary determinants of religious orientation.

Religious beliefs are acquired and maintained within a social context which supports and moulds them. The affective concomitants of religious beliefs are probably not specific to religion, being more subtle and variable than those usually postulated. Affective factors influence the way in which an individual expresses any belief.

The findings of Glock and Stark, Brown and others suggest it would be wise to check if unexpected religious behaviour is simply conformity to the norms of some group before calling in abnormal psychology.

Functional approaches seek to explain religious orientations in terms of personality or social needs. These may vary from the need for company of the widow to the need for compensation or security of those who are socially or economically deprived.² Explanations of the "present religious revival" in America in terms of the attempts of the middle class to achieve social identity and relieve anxiety about guilt through the "organisation church" would fall in this category of explanation.³

While this type of explanation is important, Merton's concept of "functional alternatives"⁴ indicates that there is no necessary connection between certain personality needs and a given religious orientation. In the pluralist society there are many organisations which might provide a sense of belonging, many "causes" which might give their disciples a sense of achievement. For instance, Glock and Stark have shown that radical politics and religion appear to be

¹ L. B. Brown, "The Structure of Religious Belief" (1966), p.270.

² A summary of types of functional explanations and evidence for and against the importance of them has been given by M. Argyle, Religious Behaviour (1958), Chapter 12.

³ G. Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (1961), pp.94-98.

⁴ R. K. Merton (1957), pp.33-34.

functional alternatives for coping with economic deprivation.¹ Whether or not a religious response is made to personality needs will depend on socialisation processes, particularly the kind of response valued by those whom the individual respects most.

Further the feeling of need may be itself group-induced. Thus the need for freedom from guilt may be increased if values of the group stress guilt. The group may give the individual a sense of deprivation in regard to the standards of the group, and then induce behaviour or attitudes designed to overcome the deprivation.

Social Context Approaches. The social context approaches to religion are based upon a sociology of knowledge which has been stated well by Berger:

Human consciousness emerges out of practical activity. Its contents, pre-theoretical as well as theoretical, remain related to this activity in diverse ways.... In other words, the relationship between consciousness and activity is a dialectical one - activity produces ideas, which in turn produces new forms of activity....

The socially produced world attains and retains the statue of objective reality in the consciousness of its inhabitants in the course of common, continuing social activity. Conversely the status of objective reality will be lost if the common social activity that served as its infrastructure disintegrates.²

In pluralist societies, such as Australia, we can argue that different members of society, standing in different places in the network of social sub-systems, are going to be exposed to a different extent and receive different degrees of support for religious ideas, feelings and behaviour. To some, certain religious concepts may appear as real and important, to others they may appear absurd or irrelevant to life.

It would be wrong to argue that other perspectives were unnecessary, but the perspective of seeking to understand the religious

¹ G. Y. Glock and R. Stark (1965), pp.199-200. Glock and Stark do not use the term "functional alternatives" but the analysis follows these lines.

² P. Berger, "A Sociological View of the Secularization of Theology" (1967), p.10.

orientation of an adolescent in terms of his place in a network of social sub-systems (school, family, peer group, etc.) is an important one.¹ An adolescent's social context refers to his involvements in various social relationships, and in groups and his membership of social categories.

Within the "social context" sphere of explanation many attempts have been made to show influences on religious orientation. The approach of these but not the results, will be reviewed here.

On a broad scale Lenski sought to discover whether particular groups or categories such as first and third generation immigrants or those who had recently moved from the semi-rural south to an urban community showed a higher level of religious involvement.²

At the other extreme there are studies which have sought primarily to examine the effect of one particular institution on the religious orientation of its members. For instance Arsenian sought to examine changes in religious ideas and concepts of students attending a men's college at a professional school in New England which placed special emphasis on "human engineering". Various factors inside and outside college which might enable specification of influences, were listed and students were asked to say if they had contributed to an increase in favourable or unfavourable attitudes toward religion or had no influence either way.³

In between the study of the effect of a particular institution and the study of the consequences of belonging to broad social categories is the study of the effect of a particular type of institution. Greeley and Rossi, Lenski, Neuwien, Strommen and, in Australia, Mol, Robertson

¹ The theoretical presuppositions of this position are explored in more detail in Chapter II.

² G. Lenski, The Religious Factor (1963), pp.43-47.

³ S. Arsenian, "Changes in Evaluative Attitudes during Four Years of College" (1943), pp.338-349.

and Scott and Orr have explored differences in religious orientation between those who attended church schools and those who did not.¹ Alves sought to explain differences in religious orientation among students of grammar and secondary modern schools in terms of region and quality of provisions for religious education.²

Some of the studies above (e.g. Alves) surveyed students who were still at school, while Greeley and Rossi and Mol surveyed principally adults. The advantage of the latter is that long-run as well as immediate correlates of church schooling could be examined. On the other hand, the social system of the schools could not be examined in operation. In fact, the studies that could have done this did not do it either.

Finally Rosen's study of Jewish youth attempted to examine the influence on religious orientation of a number of groups and categories: peer group, formal youth groups, the family, the minority Jewish community and society as a whole. He argued:

An understanding of so complex a phenomenon as attitude formation requires a research design which considers the possibility of multiple and even conflicting reference and membership group as relevant factors. Certainly, in any study of adolescence the researcher must be alerted to the chance that there may be referents of even greater significance to the adolescent than his parents.³

Approach of this Research Project

In general design, this study is closer to Rosen's than it is to any other previous study.

Only students were surveyed. However, it was not the major purpose of the study to compare the effects of different types of schools. Had

¹ A. M. Greeley and P. H. Rossi, The Education of Catholic Americans (1966) Lanski (1963), pp.267 ff.
R. A. Neuwien (ed.) Catholic Schools in Action : A Report (1966)
M. P. Strommen, Profiles of Church Youth (1963)
J. J. Mol, "The Effects of Denominational Schools in Australia" (1968^A)
Y. Robertson, "Some Religious Practices and Attitudes of School Adolescents" (1968)
E. Scott and K. Orr, "Values in the Secondary School" (1967)

² C. Alves, Religion and the Secondary School (1968).

³ B. C. Rosen, "The Reference Group Approach to the Parental Factor in Attitude and Behaviour Formation" (1955^A), p.43.
E. Cox, Sixth Form Religion (1967) pp.48-54 also explores a diversity of social factors very briefly.

this been the prime purpose, a random sample of students in all schools or a much larger number of schools representative of the various types would have been surveyed. Some attention is paid to type of school in Chapter VI, but most of the study is concerned with the exploration of social context factors which might explain differences in religious orientation within schools as well as between schools. These factors were expected to be important in all the schools surveyed.

The second way in which this study should be distinguished from most studies of the religious effects of type of school is in its analysis of the social relations within the schools. Greeley and Rossi noted that "social scientists are ready to concede that a considerable amount of socialization occurs in the schoolmilieu, but they suggest that it takes place, not as a result of formal instruction in the classroom but rather in the informal groups which grow up among the students".¹ However, the nature of their study did not enable them to distinguish between the consequences of the students' participation in informal groups and the formal processes of education. A number of studies have concerned themselves with the student social system and its interaction with the official values of the educational institution, some of the most notable being Newcomb's Bennington study, the studies of adolescent values by Coleman and Turner and Hargreaves' analysis of the norms established by streamed forms in an English Secondary Modern School.² Of course, these studies were not concerned with religion except incidentally.

The pitfalls of studying the norms of members of an organisation without studying it as a social system are illustrated by Webster's panel study of Vassar College (U.S.A.). He argued that his results showed a process of increased independence and differentiation during

¹ A. M. Greeley and P. H. Rossi (1966), p.7.

² T. M. Newcomb, Personality and Social Change (1943)
 J. S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (1961)
 R. H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (1964)
 D. H. Hargreaves, Social Relations in a Secondary School (1967)

late adolescence. Certainly the attitudes of most moved in the opposite direction to the initial majority viewpoint.¹ However, Webster's deduction from this is suspect. It may well be that the shift in attitudes represented conformity to prestige figures in the college or to an incorrectly perceived majority opinion of peers. Such may have been evident had the social relations of the college students been examined.

Finally this study is not confined to influences operating within the school. For instance, the religious orientation of the students surveyed is considered in relation to the importance students place on their membership of an age-category, the influence of which is not confined to school. Like Rosen, I have attempted to take into account a number of groups and social categories. While this makes for methodological problems, a more comprehensive picture yields a much more satisfactory understanding. Further, it becomes possible to see if some associations are subsumed by others. For instance, it can be asked if any association found between the religious orientation of friends can be explained by the common religious orientation of their parents. Considering a number of persons, groups and categories enables the researcher to hold one possible factor constant so as to ascertain whether another is independent in its association with religious orientation, and also to give some assessment of the relative importance of various factors.

A variety of approaches is necessary to explore the multiplicity of factors. The same method of analysis is not appropriate for the study of the significance or religious orientation of membership of a clearly definable social system such as Form Five in a school in contrast to membership of a social category such as age-category. The methods of analysis have been dictated by a desire to exploit all the relevant data to answer the questions of the research, rather than by the dictates of uniformity or symmetry. However, a variety of

¹ H. Webster, "Changes in Attitude during College" (1958), p.691.

approaches need not involve methodological confusion. I hope it will be clear that the approach to analysis in each chapter is determined by a desire to maximise the value of the data in answering the questions posed.

Of course, it has not been possible to be exhaustive in the social influences which have been investigated. Little attention has been paid to the possible importance of mass media and youth clubs, while almost certainly the most powerful social unit, the family, has been used for the purposes of comparison rather than explored in depth in its own right. Emphasis has been placed on relations with young people of the same age as a category, school, church and peer groups and friends, particularly school friends.

Finally, it has not been possible to be definitive about the direction of causation in most cases. Time sequence usually can not be ascertained. For the most part all that can be shown are associations compatible with various influence processes. The problems of direction of causation are discussed as they arise in the interpretation of associations.

II. Strategy - Some Aspects of Methodology

Survey Design

Most survey designs represent the outcome of two factors: practical considerations and the aims of the research.

Time clearly limited possible approaches to the assessment of the importance of various aspects of the social context for religious orientation. A study of students over the period of their stay in secondary school would have given a view of factors in operation as well as establishing priority in time of associated variables. Changes in religious orientation could have been linked with changes in social context. Such a panel study was not possible in a project timed for

three years from first conceptualisation and background reading to submission of the final draft. Instead a snapshot analysis was necessary.

As the purpose of the research was to examine social influences on adolescents including the informal social system of the school and the peer group, a random sample of adolescents, even had this been feasible, would have been inappropriate. The population was chosen with the desire "to investigate persons in relation to their social context".¹ Taking schools as units, it was possible to obtain direct information as well as the respondents' perception of their social context.²

In broad terms, the survey could be described as explanatory rather than descriptive.³ It was not the main purpose of the survey to ascertain the proportion of adolescents, or even of Form Five students, who held certain beliefs. To this extent a random sample was not necessary. However, lack of a random sample means that even associations of variables found among the students surveyed cannot necessarily be projected to a wider population. This problem is discussed further in the section on the use of statistics.

Turner obtained the best of both worlds in his study of Californian high schools by choosing representative schools, he compared the characteristics of the students in these schools with the characteristics of the age-group in the area and concluded "we are relatively confident that the sample is representative of the

¹ Glock and Stark (1965), p.218.

² Rosen came to the same conclusion regarding the need to sacrifice representativeness to study group effects. No attempt was made to obtain a representative sample of the entire American Jewish adolescent universe. This was not our goal. Rather, our focus was upon some group factors which influence the development of religious attitudes and behaviour; hence we sought only to obtain a sample sufficiently large and varied to enable us to study the effects of these factors. B. C. Rosen, Adolescence and Religion (1965), p.13.

³ In reference to Hyman's classification, H. H. Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (1965), pp.66-67.

twelfth-grade population of Los Angeles..."¹ One criteria for the choice of the thirteen schools in this survey was to represent the range of socio-economic backgrounds of different areas. However, the schools are of a different size and I also wished to represent a range of denominations among the church schools and to choose schools with large and small Form Five groups. The diverse requirements made it impossible to obtain respondents who were representative of Form Five students even of the metropolitan area of Melbourne.²

The case for this decision should be elaborated.

1. It was intended to test whether certain variables (e.g. peer group religious characteristics and personal religious characteristics) would be positively associated no matter what the type of school. If such an association could be shown to exist not only among the population surveyed as a whole but also among boys' and girls' groups in all thirteen schools of varied student composition and religious affiliation, the burden would be on the critic to show why the association should not be expected to hold in any other Melbourne metropolitan school. On the other hand, where an association was not universal it might be possible to suggest the contextual limitations of the association.

2. As differences between schools were to be examined, choosing a range of schools maximised the chances of finding student subcultures and other school factors which could be distinguished sharply and thus their consequences for religious orientation examined.

The varied nature of the schools is illustrated by Table 1 - 2.

The range of schools is not complete as there is no Catholic girls' school with girls primarily from families with low socio-economic status, no girls' technical school or girls' secondary school and so on. However, all the major Protestant denominations are represented, while the high schools range in size, length of time the school has been

¹ Turner (1964), p.22:

² Coleman made a similar choice: "Schools were selected not for their similarities, nor their 'representativeness' but for their differences." Coleman (1961), p.58.

TABLE 1 - 2

Characteristics of the Schools Surveyed

School	Type	Affiliation	Number in Form Five (according to rolls at time of survey)	Sex	Boarders	Chaplain or equivalent	Socio-economic rank of main drawing area ^a
Woodville	High	State	105	Co-ed	No	No	III
Burnham	High	State	70	Co-ed	No	No	V
Inberg	High	State	85	Co-ed	No	No	VI
Greenfall	High	State	126	Girls	No	No	II
Plenbern Girls' College	Independent	Protestant	88	Girls	Yes	Yes ^b	II
Arbour Girls' College	Independent	Protestant	70	Girls	No	Yes	IV
Newscape	High	State	120	Co-ed	No	Yes	II
Southdown	High	State	48	Co-ed	No	No	III
Roman Catholic Girls' School (R.C.G.S.)	Independent	Catholic	49	Girls	Yes	Yes	I
Catholic Boys' School	Independent	Catholic	162	Boys	No	Yes	- ^c
Edgevale Grammar	Independent	Protestant	70	Boys	Yes	Yes	III
Centreburn	Technical	State	31	Boys	No	Yes	VIII
Eastwood College	Independent	Protastant	141	Boys	No	Yes	II

^a The socio-economic status ranking is according to that given by F. Lancaster Jones, "A Social Ranking of Melbourne Suburbs" (1967), pp.109-110. Lancaster Jones classified the suburbs of Melbourne according to an index calculated from scores on a variety of socio-economic characteristics. The ranking used here is the one according to socio-economic status scores only. (Another ranking included ethnicity scores.) There were eight ranks.

^b Not at the time of the survey but a Chaplain is normally employed.

^c Boys come from such a variety of suburbs it is not possible to generalise.

presenting students for the Form Five examinations and in inner-outer metropolitan location.

Given that students were to be surveyed in social units rather than a random sample taken, the school was the only satisfactory choice of unit.

The other possible context in which to find respondents would have been local churches. Of course, this would have limited the survey to those with some contact with a church. While research among churchgoers is needed, I was anxious to include a wider range of respondents. Further the church did not offer such good prospects of tapping friendship groups as school. This was verified by students' response to the question on how many of their five closest friends went to the same church and how many went to the same school. Even those who certainly would have been surveyed if their church had been surveyed (weekly churchgoers) found more of their friends in the same school than in the same church.

TABLE 1 - 3

Weekly Churchgoers who had Friends
in Same School and Same Church

	% having all five best friends:		% having none of five best friends:	
	in same school	in same church	in same school	in same church
Boys	15	4	6	37
Girls	20	10	2	28

The limitation of choosing the context of the school was, of course, that those who had left school would be excluded from the survey. However, in a study with more than enough background variables this was not a disadvantage. The study of the impact of the informal social system of factory or office on religious orientation would have been fascinating but would have required a separate questionnaire.

One way of catching more early school leavers would have been to have administered the questionnaire at the Form Four level. (Students

can leave school legally when they reach 15 years of age.) However, the larger numbers in each form would have meant fewer schools could have been surveyed, so a sacrifice in the variety of schools would have been necessary. Also Form Four is often divided into classes which are together for nearly all subjects so the group as a whole would have been a less viable unit to take as a social system. But most important of all was my belief that Form Five students with an extra year and greater maturity would be able to give more perceptive (and hence more valid and reliable) answers to questions on their own attitudes and those of others.

Table 1 - 4 (p.17) gives, in a crude form, an idea of the numbers who had left school in the various schools. However, allowance has to be made for those who were doing Form Two in 1964 but did not reach Form Five in 1967 because they repeated a year and also for those who left the particular school for some other school. On the other hand, new students from other schools and those repeating a year in Forms Three, Four or Five would inflate the numbers in Form Five in 1967.

It would have been possible to obtain smaller and more mature groups by surveying Form Six rather than Form Five. However, most groups would then have been far below optimum size for carrying out statistical operations and the students would have been a far more select group. Many schools would have been reluctant to release Form Six students from normal classes to complete the questionnaire, when Matriculation external examination results mean so much for the prestige of schools. Finally I am doubtful if Form Six students would have been so helpful in filling in a forced-choice questionnaire. With clear thinking a new toy to them, they represent one of the most 'critical' groups in the community.

The Instrument

The survey design dictated the type of instrument to be used. If the entire group of Form Five students at each school was to participate in the survey, an interviewer-administered questionnaire or a less structured interview would have been prohibitive in time.

TABLE 1 - 4

Comparative Holding Power
of the Schools in the Survey

<u>School</u>		Students in Form Two 1 August 1964	Students in Form Five 1 August 1967 (repeat students in brackets)	Index of Holding Power ^a
Woodville H.S.	M:	76	54	.71
	F:	112	50 (12)	.45
Burnham H.S.	M:	66	42	.64
	F:	79	27 (11)	.34
Inberg H.S.	M:	85	60	.71
	F:	72	23 (5)	.32
Newscape H.S.	M:	73	66	.90
	F:	85	51 (8)	.60
Southdown H.S.	M:	44	24	.55
	F:	69	24 (5)	.35
Greenfall H.S.	F:	151	131 (14)	.87
Centreburn T.S.	M:	172	31 (1)	.18
Plenbern Girls' College	F:	87	88 ^b (7)	1.00+
Arbour Girls' College	F:	67	70 ^c (4)	1.00+
R.C.G.S.	F:	39	47 (7)	1.00+
Edgevale Boys' Grammar	M:	77	71 (14)	.92
Eastwood Boys' College	M:	142	139 (30)	.98
Catholic Boys' College	M:	155 ^d	?	-

^a Index of Holding Power =

$$\frac{\text{Students in Form Five 1967} + \text{Students in Form Two 1964}}{\text{Students in Form Two 1964}}$$
 Nearly all figures here were obtained from official returns made to the Education Department.

^b Included a group of new boarders from the country.

^c Included a number of Asian students relatively new to the school.

^d A composite of Junior and Senior School figures.

A self-administered questionnaire which students could complete simultaneously was economical in time and relatively easy to administer.

There was, of course, a loss in the process; the chance to probe, clarify, deal with misunderstandings and capture the nuances of answers.

I do not propose to debate here the old issue as to whether responses are more or less honest in the interview situation compared with the self-administered questionnaire situation. There are obviously points on both sides. My conviction is that for this particular topic, the anonymity of the procedure helped to make most students relaxed and frank. Only in a very few cases were there signs of anxiety shown at the time, or revealed by the comments made on the questionnaire.

Few who design questionnaires can be satisfied with them twenty-four months later. This questionnaire was no exception. Only a few questions could not be used but many others I would have gladly amended while others would have been added.

The purpose of the survey, placing religious orientation in its social context (including perceptions of that context), necessitated questions in five broad fields:

1. basic data such as age, sex, type of primary school, occupation of father, size of family;
2. aspects of personal religious orientation;
3. perceived religious orientation of the persons, groups and categories against which personal religious orientation could be matched;
4. involvement and reference group¹ questions which sought to disclose the relationship of the respondent to groups and categories;
5. sociometric questions which enabled personal religious orientation to be matched against actual religious orientation of school friends.

As it was intended to pursue the possibility of a number of groups and categories being important for religious orientation and also to

¹ The concept of reference group will be developed in Chapter III.

explore religious orientation as a multi-dimensional concept, the questionnaire promised to be long enough to outlive the hospitality of the schools. Many questions which I would have liked to ask had to be omitted.

In the process of compromise and sacrifice I chose, as a general rule, to keep a large range of variables rather than obtain 'thickness of data' on a smaller area. For the most part the questionnaire contains single measures rather than indices. In a number of cases there are parallel measures that have not been combined in an index. However, indices of 'religious experience', 'perceived socio-cultural distance between serious Christians and others', 'perceived personal religious change' and 'salience of religious goals or considerations' have been used. These indices are used with no claim of measuring some ultimate factor. Rather the items of the index were chosen to represent the range of items usually considered to be examples of the phenomena under consideration.

Lack of room in the questionnaire was not the only reason for the paucity of indices built into it. While an index offers a chance to obtain greater validity, a poorly constructed index may do worse than one simply worded direct question, especially when seeking to discover a fairly specific attitude. There was not enough time to do the elaborate pre-testing required to build up sound indices with high inter-correlation of items assured. Finally questions on perceptions of others' attitudes are often a strain to a respondent. Consequently it seemed wise to rely in most cases on single measures for perception of each aspect of religious orientation of other people.

Although the lack of multiple measures has left the argument fragile at points, on matters of influence, it has been possible to argue from observation of 'parallel associations between religious orientation variables and social-context variables from group to group and from one aspect of religious orientation to another. This does not reinforce the validity of each measure of religious orientation but it

does bolster the argument that some kind of association has been established between aspects of religious orientation and social-context variables.¹

The questionnaire was designed to be completed by most students within an hour. Extra sheets with open-ended questions were provided for those who finished early.

The majority of questions were of the forced choice kind to increase speed of response and to reduce non-response. Pilot tests had indicated that a much higher percentage of students failed to answer open-ended questions. Marginal comments, however, were encouraged, both to provide an outlet for student dissatisfaction with responses provided and to obtain qualitative information which might assist the interpretation of data. Wording of individual questions will be discussed, where necessary. Generally questions could have allowed for finer discriminations. Students were capable of making these discriminations, enjoyed doing so and were worried when there were not enough categories. Marginal comments complaining of lack of clarity or ambiguity were very rare but students frequently invented extra response categories.

The response rate to all forced choice questions was high. The lowest was on questions concerning the perception of others' religious orientation where non-response sometimes reached 5 per cent (usually 3 - 4 per cent) and on ranking questions where students omitted to rank and filled in only their first choice.² Crucial questions to test willingness to give personal information were the questions about religious experience where response rate was 96.9 per cent and on prayer where it was 97.8 per cent. Of course, some questions, although not these two, included a 'have no idea', 'don't know' or 'I have never thought about it' response categories, so that students could choose a response without giving personal information.

¹ For further reference to parallel correlations see p.28.

² Q.19 Q.29 Q.39.

The motivation of students filling out the questionnaire was sufficiently high to suggest that students generally would not answer in a careless manner or in a deliberately dishonest manner. As students were missing two periods of school, their disposition was usually favourable from the start. Marginal comments, comments in response to the last questions which asked students for their reactions to the questionnaire, and interview comments suggest many found the task absorbing. Others were 'happy to be of help' and only a few had any objections to the procedure. There were a handful of students who did not co-operate; only six questionnaires had to be rejected and apart from isolated pairs there was no evidence of attempted collusion.¹

The reliability of some questions was checked at the pilot study stage by second administration of questions at one school, but numbers were not large enough to do tests of significance. Inspection suggested that the items were probably reasonably reliable. Apart from this, reliability assessment has depended upon consistency in a few cases where this can be checked in the questionnaire.

In many cases questions have strong face validity as they assess quite specific attitudes. The interpretation of other questions was discussed with students during the pilot studies and in group interviews. There was also an encouraging match between the sentiments expressed in the open-ended questions and responses to forced-choice questions. Also items which measured allied fields nearly always had strong associations. Finally it was possible to check the number who stated that they were repeating Form Five against school records. Students were honest in this matter.

¹ Supervision was continuous, but where different classes were completing the questionnaire simultaneously teachers supervised while I toured the rooms, checking and dealing with any problems. At only two schools were there any causes to be dissatisfied with aspects of supervision but even then there could not have been collusion on a scale that would have affected the overall results.

Supplementary Data

The self-administered questionnaire was the basic instrument. All quantitative analysis depends upon it. However, it was considered that group interviews and observation might provide data useful in interpreting results found by quantitative procedures and for understanding the 'social meaning'¹ of various activities and responses in each school context.

Group interviews of students were conducted at all schools. As it was not intended to obtain quantitative and directly comparable material from these interviews, they were composed of volunteers and the interview schedule was only loosely structured. Normally three students took part in an interview, but the number varied from two to four. All interviews were tape-recorded. Duration varied from twenty minutes to ninety minutes, with most lasting about forty minutes.

Through the interviews information was gathered regarding:

1. the interpretation of various questions by students;
2. their own religious orientation and interpretation of religious influences for the purpose of gaining insights productive of hypotheses;
3. their interpretation of the school policy and their feelings about the social system of the school which might help to explain variations between schools.²

Informal interviews took place with Heads of schools, Chaplains, teachers, instructors in religious education and the clergymen of some churches where a number of respondents were members. From these

¹ An instance of the 'social meaning' gained is in regard to the questions on participation in school clubs and other (including church) clubs and teams. Interviews made it clear that at least at two schools there was strong pressure from school authorities aimed at preventing students participating in other than school sports teams whenever this might conceivably detract from performance in school teams. This example is fairly straightforward; the systematic differences in interpretation of the term 'traditional beliefs' were more subtle. These differences will be discussed in Chapter II,

² In retrospect I believe it would have been helpful to have conducted most of the group interviews after preliminary analysis of the data had been undertaken.

informants much information was gained on school expectations, and also another perspective on student behaviour and attitudes.

Observation included visits to school assemblies, religious education classes, voluntary religious groups in schools, conferences organised by religious groups and church services. Attention was given to material illustrative of religious education, school newspapers and magazines, and other documents which would assist in interpreting religious influences on the students and student life. In two schools I was able to examine some student written work concerning religious matters.

Statistics from the Education Department were used to ascertain comparative rates of drop-out in the schools.

Pilot Tests

One major and two minor pilot tests were conducted in Melbourne schools. The first, a minor pilot test, conducted in one inner suburban high school, was designed to gauge the reaction of students to questions about religious orientation and religious influences. The second, a major pilot test in three schools was used to assist in the wording of specific questions and also to give some preliminary crude estimate as to whether certain hypotheses might be vindicated. The third, a minor pilot test was more specifically concerned with refining indicators of a few concepts and re-testing a group in one school.

In spite of the pilot tests many questions in the final questionnaire were untested. This was due to the development of some new concepts in the three month interval (inevitable because of the holiday break) between final pilot test and final questionnaire and partly because the pilot tests had not provided any clear indication as to suitable questions on some areas which were crucial.¹

¹ The format of questions concerning the perceptions of others provided many difficulties.

Analysis of Results

Questionnaires were coded by myself, a quality control check being made by paid assistants and self, although in the case of questions where coding errors were found to be frequent (i.e. approximately 4 per cent)¹ or the question seemed to be a pivotal one, a check of all questionnaires was made. As there were few open-ended questions coding was not a difficult task, although the 1,111 questionnaires made it a tedious one.

From the coding, the Data Processing Unit of the Australian National University punched three cards, checking of each card being an automatic part of the process.

Questionnaires were retained as certain qualitative information was not punched (e.g. answers to Question 60) and some marginal comments were illuminating. Quotations from the questionnaires have been used in the text at various points. However, most of the consequent analysis was based on information on the cards.

A Counter/Sorter and the Australian National University Computer (I.B.M. 360) were used in the analysis of data. Standard contingency table programmes and some specially prepared programmes were used.

Reference has been made before to the variety of methods of analysis of the data which are employed. Basically, multivariate analysis was used to explore associations under various conditions to test and specify their nature.² Sociometric questions (Questions 59 A-D) were used to identify school friends for the analysis of friends and religious orientation (Chapter VII) and to obtain a picture of the structure of Form Five and the significance of religious variables in the pattern of social relationships. The advantages of these procedures will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

¹ This occurred only in two questions.

² P. Lazarsfeld, "The General Idea of Multivariate Analysis - Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation" (1955), pp.115-125.

Sociometric data was gathered by writing on the blackboard (or issuing on a cyclostyled sheet) numbers for each student participating in the survey. Students were assured that the purpose of this procedure was not to trace back opinions to individuals but were told that if they still had misgivings they should omit their own number. Some students did omit their number, but in a few of the cases it was possible to reliably deduce it from a check on their choice of friends and on the numbers given by these friends.¹

Measuring and Testing Relationships

Much of the research is focused around specific hypothesis. However, the emphasis is on exploration rather than testing. The study is a natural field survey, the topic is a wide one and there are few prior investigations in the same area. Consequently, it is necessary to cast some sections of the study in a more flexible form. There are sections in which typologies are developed which are not used for further quantitative analysis. In other sections several approaches are made to the same question, so that final assessment depended on the weighing up of evidence of a varied nature rather than formal acceptance or rejection of a hypothesis.

Even when a quite specific relationship is being investigated, there is not always much to be gained by setting out a formal hypothesis as against merely posing a question. Lack of a preliminary hypothesis does not in itself detract from the trustworthiness of findings.

Whether a finding is predicted in advance or explained post hoc, some body of theory is necessary. The crucial matter is whether a set of findings are consistent and consistently sensible when judged from a broader perspective.²

¹ See Chapter VIII

² N. J. Demerath III, Social Class and American Protestantism (1965) pp.58-59. Another approach is to set out alternative hypothesis beforehand to explain each possible outcome of the empirical investigations, e.g. C. Y. Glock, B. B. Ringer and E. R. Babbie To Comfort and To Challenge (1967) pp.125-127.

Finally, rejecting or accepting a hypothesis may sometimes convey a false impression of precision. The hypothesis may be supported in some sub-groups and not others, by some measures and not others, in 'most' schools but not in 'almost all'. Each specific test of the hypothesis can be reported, but then the task of weighing up the results of the specific tests must be accomplished.

Significance tests (chi-square) are calculated at various points in the study but not much emphasis is placed on them.

There are a number of reasons for this:

1. The students surveyed are not a sample of any defined population. The result of a significance test could refer only to the confidence of obtaining the same finding in a hypothetical population matched on important background variables. It is difficult to imagine any future student population of similar composition. Certainly statistical significance alone could not be used to justify extrapolation of the finding to other students in Form Five in Melbourne. Significance tests are only occasionally reported for the entire group (or all the boys or all the girls) and little importance is placed upon the results.

Within each school it is considered that significance tests have more validity. Each school may be considered representative of types of schools. Also, when a result has been shown to be consistent in all the schools, it can be argued that internal differences among the students surveyed probably do not matter for the relationship. With caution a significance test for all students can then be calculated and the findings extrapolated to a population of Form Five students which has no differences besides those represented by the range of schools.

2. It was anticipated that many of the social context factors being explored would be marginal factors. They may be important only for some of the students surveyed or their effect may be hidden by other pressures. However, marginal factors are often

interesting ones. They may be the most manipulable for those who wish to bring about change. They may explain apparent exceptions to general tendencies and facilitate higher-level generalisations.

In the case of marginal associations, chi-square tests, will not often result in statistically significant findings. However, lack of statistical significance does not prove that there is no relationship between variables - only that any relationship could be the result of sampling error.

As the students in this survey are a complete population, any relevant result not so marginal that it could easily be explained by response or coding errors demands some attention. However, there is a broader argument which Smith has put forward lucidly in a recent book review:

We are not in a position to deal with small but real differences as long as we depend upon chi-square and similar tests of significance to prove or reject the null hypothesis. It is highly probable that whatever differences religious differences do make are of an order which is obscured by such an analysis. What is needed is to test whether repeatedly small differences in the same direction prove that individual slight differences are in fact real.¹

Consequently more stress has been placed on the consistency of results in schools and other subgroups than on finding statistical significance.

3. The second point concerned important relationships which might be overlooked if statistical significance was considered essential. However, statistical significance by itself does not guarantee that there is an important relationship. A positive result of a chi-square test, does not show the strength of an association, nor does it specify the nature of a relationship between two variables (e.g. whether it is linear or curvilinear).²

¹ R. C. Smith, Review of "Religion in American Culture" (1965), p.170.

² T. J. Duggan and C. W. Dean, "Common Misinterpretations of Significance Levels in Sociological Journals" (1968) mentioned these points in a discussion of pitfalls associated with the use of chi-square.

Various safeguards against wrong inferences from tests of significance have been used in this study. Tables with more than four cells were always inspected to discern the nature of the relationship between variables. The actual contingency tables are often presented in the test. Some statistic of strength of association such as the difference between percentages or gamma co-efficient is always reported.

A further safeguard of the authenticity of an association is its consistency in a number of subgroups.¹

Subgroup analysis is reported at many points throughout the text, to investigate specific hypotheses about contextual limitations of relationships, to check for spuriousness in relationships and to add weight to findings. Parallel indicators are used to test relationships. It is realised that there is some degree of "contamination" involved in this procedure since parallel religious variables are not independent of each other.² However, the degree of association among the religious variable is not so high as to be giving merely multiple-weighting to the one text. This is particularly so when parallel measures are found for both variables being considered.³

A further advantage of the separate testing of a multiplicity of indicators (of aspects of religious orientation) so that each indicator has a different distribution of favourable-unfavourable to religious responses. If an association exists between all these indicators and the predictor variables then there is an assurance that the

¹ J. S. Coleman, "Tests of Significance in Survey Analysis" (1958), p. 59, and Lenski (1963), p.369. Lenski argued for finding "relationships among a goodly number of variables of comparable theoretical significance".

² Hyman (1965), p.183, has pointed out the dangers of contamination when replicating by using several different indicators of a variable, although he approves of the procedure in principle.

³ Eg. An association may be found between perceived belief of friends and personal belief and also between perceived religious concern of friends and personal religious concern. Both associations illustrate the general point that perceived religious orientation of friends is positively associated with personal religious orientation.

relationship is evident no matter what cutting point is used for measures of religious involvement.

The Gamma Co-efficient. As a measure of strength of association the gamma co-efficient has been used throughout the text. Gamma was chosen in preference to other possible statistics (e.g. contingency co-efficient) because it is easier to interpret in common sense terms, because it is sensitive to order and so suitable for quasi-continuous variables and because it permits comparison of strengths of association which have a quite specific meaning.

The gamma co-efficient is based on the proportion of pairs whose rank order on two variables is the same as against the proportion where their rank order is different. A pair has the same rank order on two variables if S_1 ranks above S_2 on both variables but a different rank order if S_1 ranks above S_2 on one variable but below S_2 on the other variable. So the formula is derived:

$$\text{GAMMA} = \frac{\text{Number of positive pairs} - \text{Number of negative pairs}}{\text{Number of positive pairs} + \text{Number of negative pairs}}$$

Costner has argued that gamma can be interpreted as "the proportion by which error in estimating the order of pairs of units can be reduced as one shift from a random device for estimating order" to the rule "that where gamma is positive anticipate the 'same' order on the dependent variable for a given pair as their order on the independent variable" and the opposite where gamma is negative.¹

¹ H. L. Costner, "Criteria for Measures of Association" (1965), p.347.

The gamma co-efficient is also discussed by:

L. A. Goodman and W. H. Kruskal, (the originators of the measure), "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications" (1954), pp.732-764.

R. S. Weiss, Statistics and Social Research (1968), pp.198-206.

M. Zelditch Jr., A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics (1966), pp.180-186.

V. L. Senders, Measurement and Statistics (1958), pp.130-133.

Greeley and Rossi used the reduction in error interpretation in their study of the effects of Catholic schooling.¹

While the contingency co-efficient is insensitive to order, gamma can exploit the quasi-continuous nature of data in contingency tables with more than two rows or two columns.² Further, the numerical value of gamma does not depend on which of the two variables is regarded as independent.³ If the table is collapsed to a 2 x 2 table gamma becomes identical to Yule's Q.

Gammas can be compared for subgroups and net gamma co-efficients calculated. The net gamma is calculated by comparing only pairs who are alike on some third variable. However, there are some difficulties in making comparisons because of the sensitivity of gamma to row changes when the number in a column is low. The co-efficient still has the same meaning but the statistic is unreliable if numerically few shifts result in an enormous proportional increase or reduction of error. It is open to large-scale distortion due to a few response or coding errors. Further, a table with more columns and rows will tend to produce lower co-efficients. Where comparisons of strength of association are made between subgroups it is necessary to have the same number of rows and columns in the tables of each subgroup.

Recently a method of assessing the significance of the gamma has been suggested,⁴ but this was too late for use in this study. Where significance tests were required, chi-square or Fisher's exact test was calculated even if strength of association was calculated by gamma. Both ultimately refer to the same table.

¹ Greeley and Rossi (1966), pp.79-81.

² Most variables in this survey can be regarded as quasi-continuous.

³ Costner (1965), p.347.

⁴ Weiss (1968), pp.269-274.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL CONTEXT IN MODERN SOCIETIES
- THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

Social Context and Value Orientations

There is nothing new in the view that group support is important in maintaining a religious perspective on life. This proposition was close to the heart of Durkheim's thesis about religion:

To strengthen those sentiments which, if left to themselves, would soon weaken, it is sufficient to bring those who hold them together, and to put them into closer and more active relations with another.¹

Such assertions can be subsumed under the more general and basic proposition, held by most sociologists and social psychologists, that the definition of reality of the individual is largely socially determined. The individual takes for granted what "everybody knows" - the everybody being the people he knows.² In some cases "such social definitions are so uncontested that the individual does not realize that assumptions could be different".³

It is generally recognised that there is religious pluralism in most modern western societies. This statement should be broadened further. Religious world-views (or perspectives in which there are supernatural referents) are one of a set of alternative world-views which co-exist in societies.⁴ It would be more appropriate to conclude

¹ E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1965), pp.240-241.

² P. L. Berger and T. Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality (1966), p.23, have given an extremely lucid account of this process.

³ T. M. Newcomb, R. H. Turner and P. E. Converse, Social Psychology (1966), p.146.

⁴ The term "world-view" does not necessarily imply a clearly formulated intellectual viewpoint.

that there are alternative value orientations. A value orientation is a term used to identify those "over-arching and sacred systems of symbols, beliefs, values and practices concerning ultimate meaning which men shape to interpret the world".¹

Berger and Luckman have noted the consequences of this pluralism for the religious interpretation of the world. The very existence of alternatives tends to undermine the feeling that any viewpoint is an objective one. Definitions of reality no longer go unchallenged and consequently cannot be considered inevitable. Berger argued that religion, resting on superempirical certitudes, finds the pluralistic situation a secularising one.²

The development of pluralism is intertwined with the increasing structural differentiation in societies.³ Special use of language and symbols develops in subgroups which are centered around occupations or recreational interests. There are, for instance, the pop world, the world of the research chemist, and the world of the interstate transport drivers. The definition of reality of one section of society is not necessarily that of others. There are "socially segregated subuniverses of meaning".⁴ These subuniverses provide the context in which world-views can originate and be sustained.

If pluralism exists in modern western societies then, through the the mass media, most members of the societies will be conscious that

¹ Glock and Stark (1965), p.9. The line of argument here follows that of Glock and Stark, pp.3-12.

² In "the market of world-views ... any certitudes that go much beyond the empirical necessities of society and the individual to function" are very difficult to maintain. Berger (1967), p.9, and Berger and Luckman (1966), pp.100-101.

³ Structural differentiation refers to the process by which new groups and organisations develop to share functions previously performed by only one group or organisation. Economic specialisation is one aspect of this process. Another example is the trend in some societies, for what were previously the responsibilities of only the family to be shared by schools, youth clubs, vocational guidance centres and so on.

⁴ Berger and Luckman (1966), p.79.

there are differences in world-views. However, the relative isolation of the nuclear family and the opportunity to be highly selective in close friendships afforded by large organisations, the telephone and the automobile, means there may be social reinforcement for only one world-view at a close interpersonal level. Others who are different can be kept at a distance.

Thus members of one society may receive support for maintaining substantially different interpretations of reality according to their place in the network of social sub-systems. It is possible that isolation from other groups may be sufficient for subjective confidence in a particular value orientation to be very strong.¹

The students surveyed in the thirteen schools in Melbourne show a variety of attitudes toward religion. Some could not understand why questions should be asked about religion - a matter of so little consequence. Others had a place for religion but it was clearly not that of a co-ordinating perspective or value orientation:

"I believe in God but I do not think religion should play too large a part in my life." (2203M)

Others again claimed that religion was very important to them. This study seeks to relate such variations in outlook, in belief and in practice to membership of different groups and exposure to the definitions given by others.

A number of students are aware that their feelings about religion are partially dependent on those of people about them. A few are articulate about this. The quotations below are responses to the question, "When, if at all, does God seem most real to you?"² They are only a selection of the responses which could be used to illustrate the point:

¹ Such a view is supported by Glock and Stark (1965). p.152, and Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1966), p.146, Par.3.

² A question on the extra sheet for those who finished the main questionnaire early.

God also seems real to me when I see how people come into Christianity. (2078F)

God seems most real to me, when I see Him at work in other people. When I hear of or see devout and truly Christian people doing great deeds and making sacrifices for God, e.g. such people as missionaries. (0514F)

God seems most real to me when I read of miracles performed with relatively modern men, e.g. ... - and when I see peoples' lives genuinely transformed (especially educated people). (0568F)

God seems most real to me when I see how many people believe that he is real without any doubt whatsoever. (0597F)

God seems more real to me when I am at church or a church meeting and I feel that all the other people there in fact believe in God (6736M)

God seems most real to me at times of group discussion (at church) when other peoples' experiences are expressed and I am encouraged by the power of God and the reality in other peoples' lives. (2104F)

At Mass ... I say why do all these people believe in this Mass and Jesus Christ, etc. Then I say in my mind it must be the true religion because of the belief of all those other people. (4813M)

The vast majority of respondents did not give such explicit comments. Nor is it necessary that social confirmation of belief takes this direct form. Among the popular responses to the question as to when God seemed real were like these:

When I'm in need of guidance that only he can give. (6772M)

At night when I lie in bed I think about God and I pray to Him. But I pray like I'm having a conversation with Him and I feel that he's very close. (0358F)

It might be argued that these responses have little to do with any process of social confirmation. However, it can be asked why these students associate occasions of aloneness and guidance with feelings that God is real while another student may write:

God does not seem at all real to me when people start asking God for advice and guidance I think they are really only asking themselves and are guided by their consciences and their common sense and they call this God. (0350M)

The theoretical orientation informing this thesis is that such differences in interpretation arise from groups with contrasting views of reality.¹ When respondents do not make explicit reference to people who have helped to sustain their beliefs it may be possible to observe associations between the religious beliefs and practices of the respondent and those with whom he has entered into social relationships. For instance those from churchgoing families, or with churchgoing friends may be more likely to go to church regularly themselves. Analysis of such associations will be the general principle to be followed in this study. However, there are a number of elaborations and qualifications that must be made.

The Correlational Approach - Some Qualifications

The correlational approach described above has several practical difficulties. The difficulties arise in obtaining independent measures of the religious perspective of the formal organisations, social categories, groups and persons who constitute the social context for each respondent.

Inferences from Involvement

Two formal organisations were considered in this survey - school and church. Independent measures of the religious orientation of the schools and churches were not obtained for practical reasons, although in the case of school there are some indicators of the official religious aims and perceived religious belief of the majority of Form Five students. In the case of ascertaining official religious aims, the observation and interviewing necessary to obtain a reliable assessment would have constituted a separate study. The issue is taken up in more detail in Chapter VI.

¹ The case for the incompleteness of psychological explanations of differences of interpretation has already been argued. The point is raised again here to point or pose the problem of how explanations in terms of social context can be verified.

This does not mean that school must be discarded as a factor to be examined. For instance, it is possible to find out whether or not students in the Form Five groups in various schools do vary on measures of religion more than expected by chance. If this is the case it indicates that school and/or some other common social context shared by students of the same school is a factor in explaining religious orientation.

The social context of church posed similar difficulties. To have obtained independent information about the particular local churches in which the students in this survey participated would have required collection of data from over two hundred different local churches. No doubt, these local churches would differ in the support given to a religious interpretation of reality - and in which of many religious interpretations of reality were given. Emphases of clergy and church members could be expected to differ substantially.

However, it was considered worthwhile to examine whether being involved in any church was associated with differences in religious orientation. Chapter VIII is an attempt to deal with this question.

Inferences from Perceptions of Others

In one case it was possible to obtain an independent measure of religious orientation of others. The sociometric questions permitted identification of school friends, whose religious orientation could then be compared with their nominator. However, there was no independent measure of the parents' religious orientation nor that of most students of the same age as the respondent (a social category which will be referred to as age-category). Reliance had to be placed on the perceptions by students of others. This in turn raises theoretical and methodological issues.

Dependence on the perceptions of the religious orientation of others has advantages and disadvantages. There are reasons to believe

perceptions will not always be accurate, but in examining the social context which influences a person there is a strong argument that perceptions rather than the "objective" situation matter most.

The interpretation of any situation does not depend simply on the external stimuli presented in the situation. Previous socialisation will play an important part in a way in which the perceiver selects and classes what he sees and experiences. His previous learning - cognitive structures, wishes, goals will influence perception. The "world in which he lives is not the world as society or the scientific observer sees it but as he sees it himself".¹

MacLeod made a similar point regarding the social structure of the world in which the individual is living:

The individual for whom China is represented by the corner laundryman and Russia by the whiskered terrorist of the cartoons is living in a world quite different from that of the student of Chinese literature and Russian military strategy. Any attitudes which they evince towards China and Russia cannot be adequately understood until we know what cognitive structures are represented by these worlds.²

Other writers have stressed the differences in the construction of a situation according to previous experience and already established frames of reference.³

¹ Thomas and Znaniecki (1965), p.936.

² MacLeod (1957), p.46.

³ R. K. Merton and A. S. Rossi, "Contribution to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour" (1957), pp.227 ff.
Concept of relative derivation.

M. Sherif and C. W. Sherif,
An Outline of Social Psychology (1956), pp.85-86.

M. Sherif and C. I. Hovland,
Social Judgment (1961), pp.4-5, 11.

The procedure of matching personal attitudes with perceived attitudes or perceived expectations of others has been followed in many surveys.¹

The assumption of most of these studies is that much of the influence of others will be mediated through the individual's perception of others, although these perceptions may not be explicit until made so by questioning. And where there is misperception of others this is also important in explaining the attitudes of the perceiver.

However, any given association between an individual's orientation and the perceived orientation of others is often difficult to interpret. Studies have shown that a number of personality and other factors influence interpersonal perception.

On the level of personality, some people are more open to information and accessible to the cues that others present.²

Some studies have shown that leaders estimate group opinion more accurately than ordinary members but this is probably because they influence group opinion. This finding is not consistent and may depend on the nature of the group and degree of congruence in the group.³

¹ e.g.: T. D. Kemper, "Self-Conceptions and the Expectations of Significant Others" (1966), p.335.

Rosen (1965) - In regard to perceived expectations of parents.

T. M. Newcomb, The Acquaintance Process (1961)

See Chapter VIII.

R. L. Gorden, "Interaction between Attitude and the Definition of the Situation in the Expression of Opinion" (1954)

E. L. Quarantelli and J. Cooper, "Self-Conceptions and Others : A Further Test of Meadian Hypotheses" (1966)

² The characteristic described as "intraceptiveness" - Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1966), p.179.

³ G. A. Talland, "The Assessment of Group Opinion by Leaders and their Influence on its Formations" (1954), p.433.

R. W. Hites and D. T. Campbell, "A Test of the Ability of Fraternity Leaders to Estimate Group Opinion" (1950), p.99.

As explained before, perception of others will also depend on already established reference points. Judgment of how religious other people are will involve reference to a variety of other people, groups, stereotypes and standards.¹ A student whose home background has been very strict in religious matters may judge classmates with moderate religious interest as extremely irreligious while another student whose parents ignore religion may perceive the same classmates as very concerned about religion. Self-estimate will also depend to a large extent on the reference standards adopted.

Another distortion in perception arises from the perceiver stereotyping those whom he observes. "Most people have preconceptions to the effect that certain personal characteristics belong together".² When one characteristic is observed, they may "see" the others they expect irrespective of cues presented. Thus a person who is a regular churchgoer and has favourable attitudes toward religion may impute unfavourable attitudes toward religion to all those he knows are not churchgoers.

Probably the most consistent and well-documented way in which perceived orientation of others and actual orientation of others will differ is the phenomena of projection. Newcomb, Turner and Converse have noted evidence that people tend to perceive other groups as agreeing with themselves more than the reality justifies.³ There is a tendency to "universalize" one's own opinion. Wallen found that in a small residential college for women there was, in spite of the social interaction which should have facilitated realistic assessment of others, "a reliable tendency for our subjects to estimate the attitudes of others so that their own opinion coincides with that of the estimated majority".⁴ Gottlieb and Ramsey found a similar

¹ Rosen (1965), pp.51-62. The problem is discussed in Appendix B.

² Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1966), pp.163-165, also elaborated pp.166-168.

³ Ibid. pp.250-252.

⁴ R. Wallen, "Individual's Estimate of Group Opinion" (1943), p.272.

phenomena when asking students which of four student orientations was typical and which orientation was his own. The students tended to choose their own orientation as typical.¹

Davis also has noted that a person who holds a value is more likely to perceive others as holding the value. He argued that this process of under-estimation of differences between self and other which he calls "assimilation" is especially likely to occur when there is little actual difference, but the opposite process of over-estimation of differences ("contrast") is likely to occur when the gap is considerable.²

There are reasons for expecting that projection will take place more often when a respondent is being asked to state the opinions of a category of people than when asked to state the opinions of a small group or individual. Bott has analysed how concepts of class are built up, not through "any direct immediate experience of belonging to a class as a membership, except on the now rare occasions when classes act as corporate groups", but through constructing an image from the raw materials of experience in the individual's primary groups. She considered that in these "constructed" reference groups, projection of personal norms onto the group was particularly likely to occur in the process of interpretation of experience.³

Projection could result from a simple failure to note how others differ from self - a mistake based on inadequate information or faulty observation. However, projection is likely to occur especially when the others are people who are important or liked. "The more attractive O is to P, the more likely it is that P will attribute other favourable properties to him; attraction often invites

¹ D. Gottlieb and C. E. Ramsey, The American Adolescent (1964), p.195.

² J. A. Davis, "Intellectual Climates of 135 American Colleges and Universities : A Study in Social Psychophysics" (1963), pp.110-128.

³ E. Bott, "The Concept of Class as a Reference Group" (1954), pp.262-266.

judgments that are distorted toward agreement with oneself"¹ We shall term this projection as "affect-laden projection". By the same token "affect-laden contrast" may occur in which there is distortion of the opinions of those to whom one is hostile, in the direction of over-estimation of differences. To interpret projection as affect-laden it would be necessary to show independently of the association that P wanted O to be in agreement with him.

The various factors which intervene between stimulus and perception make it more important to discover an individual's perceptions of others, not merely their actual orientation. Yet the problem of interpretation remains.

The problem of interpretation of an association between the perceived orientation of others and personal orientation raises the question of the status in this study of the theory concerning the importance of social context. If the importance of social context is a theoretical presupposition then, from this presupposition, it could be argued that perceived orientation of others must necessarily be influential if the others are attractive to the perceiver. Any association which can be shown to arise at least partly from affect-laden projection is an indication that the "others" have been or at least will be influential for the norms of the perceiver.

On the other hand, if the importance of social context is a hypothesis to be demonstrated, it would be circular to argue, without independent evidence, that perceptions of others are or will be important. An association between perceived orientation of others and personal orientation could be due to any of a number of factors and, if it is hypothetical that social context is important, there is no guarantee that the perceptions will influence the future behaviour of the perceiver.

The solution suggested here is a compromise. Explanation of the religious orientation of adolescents in terms of social context

¹ Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1966), p.72.

is not merely an assumption. It provides a framework for analysis - a framework which can be shown to be helpful or not helpful. If there is no patterned association according to perceptions of others and involvement in certain groups and organisations, the framework will have been found inadequate in this case. Until further evidence was available, we would have to conclude that adolescent religion is better explained in other ways. Further, if there were no associations for which influence seemed to be the most likely explanation, we could conclude only that the results are compatible with explanations in terms of social context. The study aims to achieve more than this, at least on occasions.

However, in isolation these comments over-rate the dependence of theory on the results of one survey. The importance of the social context in explaining behaviour and attitudes has received substantial support from the cumulative development of theory as well as a multitude of experiments and surveys. The convergence of sociology of knowledge and group experiments in social psychology on this point is impressive.

The study could not be so pretentious as to claim to "test" the theory - rather to see how well it "fits" in the particular case of explaining adolescent religion. It is, therefore, considered legitimate to show how results fit with the theory - how they could be interpreted in terms of the theory - what their implications are in terms of the theory, even if not all other explanations can be ruled out in each case.

There are some circumstances in which perceptions are likely to be reasonably reliable. The extent to which perceptions and "reality" differ will partly depend on how specific and overt are the behaviour of and the attitudes of the objects of perception. Thus perception of the churchgoing of parents should be more accurate than perception of parents' concern about religion. The latter is

sufficiently vague for assimilation and/or contrast effects to take place.¹

The interpretation of associations will be further discussed as specific issues arise.

Multi-Group Membership and Reference Groups

The Value of the Reference Group Concept

Knowing whether or not a person is a member of a given social category or formal organisation may help to explain his religious orientation. However, a simple dichotomy between membership and non-membership is only a crude indicator of the social relationships involved. Many formal organisations permit a diversity in types of involvement.

A number of typologies of involvement have been constructed in developing theories about organisations. Some of these typologies include as one dimension the extent to which the norms of the organisation are accepted or the motivation for conformity.² At a number of points in this study there will be an attempt to differentiate between students according to their type of involvement in groups and organisations.

¹ It could be argued from this that it would have been wise to make all questions concerning perceptions of others refer to specific attitudes. However, perceptions of others frequently take the form of vague generalisations, from which the specific attitudes of others are inferred: "He is obviously a sceptic so I guess he wouldn't believe in the miracles." Different reference standards certainly did affect to some extent the perception of others. The group interviews uncovered one instance of this - different criteria of what constituted "traditional beliefs". For details see Appendix B.

² For instance Etzioni's distinction between alienative, calculative and moral involvement, A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations (1961), pp.9-10.

Also see:

H. P. Gouldner, "Dimensions of Organisational Commitment" (1960)
 W. M. Evan, "Dimensions of Participation in Voluntary Associations" (1957)

Closely tied with type of involvement is the relative importance to an individual of the many groups and organisations in which he is involved. These groups and organisations are not likely to agree always in their expectations of the individual so that he must appear as a nonconformist in some of them. One function of reference group theory is to point out that there will be some groups whose approval will be more valued than others.¹

The other major function of reference group theory is to point to the possible influence of others with whom the individual is not in association at the time whose respect is desired.

The individual's symbolic processes are highly developed and can present to the mind's eye a much larger assortment than is given in direct immediate experience

The point to be stressed is that the links in the interpersonal chain do not have to be forged exclusively via direct social relations.²

The Concept of the Reference Group

The reference group concept has become popular, some might say over-used, in recent years.³ Attention must be paid to the

¹ Compare H. Sherif and C. W. Sherif "The Concept of Reference Group in Human Relations" (1953), p.205.

² H. H. Hyman, "Reflections on Reference Groups" (1960), pp.384, 391. The concept of reference group is not merely useful for alerting the researcher to non-membership reference groups but also to membership groups not normally expected to influence a person in a given sphere of behaviour. There has been a tendency to explain behaviour in terms of the one salient group and to label those not accepting the norms of the group as "deviant" without inquiring into the social support for this deviance. The factory employee whose reference group for his attitudes toward his employers is his church (rather than his union or his workmates) or a church member whose reference group for religious behaviour is his friends in a sports team (rather than church friends or the clergy) are two examples where reference group theory alerts us to membership groups not usually considered relevant in a given context.

³ For instance see the criticism of E. L. Linn, "Reference Group : A Case Study of Conceptual Diffusion" (1966), pp.489-499. The sections to follow are partly based on a paper by G. Little and D. C. Hickman, "Reference Groups" (1967). This paper also sought to examine the reasons why a person chooses one reference group rather than another, an issue which will not be discussed in this study.

clarification of this concept. This will involve a study of some definitions given by others and also some ways in which the reference group concept has been used in practice. Finally I shall give my own understanding of the concept.

Newcomb defined reference group in the following way:

If a person's attitudes are influenced by a set of norms which he assumes that he shares with other individuals, these individuals constitute for him a reference group.¹

There is some disagreement as to how conscious the 'referring' and sharing of norms must be.

Emery and Katz² argued that 'there is no reason to assume that comparisons of self with others are uniformly conscious'. Rosen considers it important to pay attention to reference groups whose importance the subject 'does not perceive or cannot verbalize'.³

Taft, in reply to Emery and Katz, suggested that a person cannot be said to use a group as a reference if he is unaware of the norms of the group or if he believes that his own opinions are different from the norms of a group 'even though his beliefs may in reality coincide with group norms'.⁴

One may agree with Taft's comments that ignorance of the norms of a group or denial that one's own norms are substantially similar would be incompatible with the group being a reference group for the norms under consideration. However, this does not mean that the explicit sharing of norms postulated by Newcomb is necessary. When the congruence of norms is brought to the attention of the subject he should acknowledge this congruence, although even then he may not be

¹ T. M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (1950), p.225.

² F. E. Emery and F. M. Katz, "Social Theory and Minority Group Behaviour" (1951), p.26.

³ Rosen (1965^A), p.144.

⁴ R. Taft, "Minority Group Behaviour and Reference Group Theory" (1952), pp.19-21.

prepared to admit any process of influence. The process of identification with the norms of others is often hidden rather than explicit.

Newcomb's stress on consciousness of sharing does draw attention to the problem of distinguishing reference group influence from congruence of norms resulting from other processes such as parallel learning situations.¹ It is important, however, to allow scope for the cases where a person's very embeddedness in his group has obscured the extent to which he refers to it. It may be only a conflict situation, a challenge to the norms which he shares with the group or the appearance of a rival reference group which arouses consciousness of the sharing of the norms.

Newcomb's definition includes the case in which a group is not responsible for the establishment of the attitudes of an individual but is responsible for their maintenance and consistency.²

Sherif argued that 'reference groups can be characterised simply as those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically'.³ It is not clear what 'psychologically relate oneself' could mean except 'take as a reference group'. The narrower concept of the individual aspiring to actually participate in the reference group is helpful but should not be regarded as a necessary condition. It is quite possible to accept a distant group as a reference group without wishing for personal interaction in the group which may be only an embarrassment.⁴

¹ i.e. A. and B. both experience a given social situation from which their learning is the same.

² C. N. Alexander Jr. and E. Q. Campbell, "Peer Influences on Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Attainments" (1964), p.568, make a similar point.

³ Sherif (1953), p.206.

⁴ For instance a person in the working class may follow patterns of upper class behaviour in the hope of being approved by the upper class, but may be no more than distant approval. Frequent social interaction may be only an embarrassment.

What is important is that the individual desires the approval of the group or that his own self approval is based on what the group would approve.

The question of interaction also raises the issue of reference persons and reference categories as well as reference groups. Merton and Rossi have drawn attention to the possible importance of reference categories.¹ It may be for many aspects of behaviour, individuals are the ones whose approval is important for self concept: they may be the significant others. 'Referents' will be the term used to cover reference groups, reference categories and reference persons in future, although as much literature mentions only reference groups, it must be understood that reference categories and reference persons are often implied by this term.

Kelley raised another problem of conceptualisation. He preferred to distinguish between two types of reference groups:

Identification Group - 'a group in which an individual is motivated to gain or maintain acceptance'.

Evaluation Group - 'a group which the person sees as a reference point in making evaluations of himself or others'.² Merton noted, in discussing this distinction in terms of contrast between the 'normative type' and 'comparison type' of reference group that the distinction was an analytical one since the same reference group could serve both functions.³ Often it is because the group is an identification group that it is a comparison group. In cases where values and expectations are concerned the individual must absorb the values and expectations by some process before he uses them to judge himself, or else the comparison will be purely an academic one with

¹ R. K. Merton and A. S. Rossi, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour" (1957), p.246.
See earlier definition of a social category, p.1.

² H. H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups" (1952), pp.411-412.

³ Merton (1957), pp.283-284.

no consequences for self-esteem for action. He may of course, have absorbed the values or expectations long before the particular comparison group appears but in many cases the same group will be responsible for the content of the standards for the self-evaluation and itself the measuring stick in self-evaluation. Thus a young convert of Billy Graham might first accept the beliefs and goals set forth by the evangelist and then use Billy Graham as his comparative referent for assessing the level of his own Christian zeal or that of his fellow church members.

Rosen supports this view, arguing:

...the same person or group may, and frequently does, serve as a reference group for both self-appraisal and attitude formation. Probably this happens when the attribute involved in the comparison is important to the individual. That is to say, if the characteristic being compared (e.g. beauty, religiosity, card skill) is of sufficient value to the individual so that its absence or presence affects his self-esteem, then the other person or group involved in the comparison is likely to be a significant reference for attitude formation.¹

In this study I will be concerned principally with reference groups as identification groups.

The final clarification of the reference group concept concerns the difference between the reference group influence process and processes of influence that more resemble coercion.

Sherif distinguished between the influence of membership groups even though they are not reference groups ('the immediate pressures of the group situation he moves in') and reference group influence. Where a cleavage exists between membership group and reference group the subject will be 'pushed in one direction by his actual membership group - pulled in the opposite direction by his reference group'.² But what is the difference between being 'pushed' and 'pulled'?

¹ Rosen (1965), p.51. Rosen elaborated a case where a comparative referent is not a normative one. If a person is not interested in cards his comparison with an expert card player will have no consequences for self-esteem.

² Sherif (1953), p.223.

Various attempts have been made to classify types of group influence along such lines. One of the most common classifications is between that which induces public conformity to group opinion but with private dissent, and that which induces conformity to group opinion whether or not the individual is under surveillance by the group.¹ This classification is a helpful one, but wisely, no one has attempted to equate the dichotomy with the dichotomy between 'reference group pull' and 'membership group push'. Norms will be adopted in the first place because of desire for acceptance in the group even if a person is not privately convinced about them. At least in the early stage these norms are likely to be more salient when the group is present physically or symbolically.² This means at the early stage of reference group influence public conformity without private acceptance is possible.

Kelman makes some conceptual distinctions in his study on conformity which will be useful for further analysis. He distinguishes between:

Compliance - where the compliant 'does not adopt the induced behaviour - for example a particular opinion response - because he believes in its content, but because it is instrumental in the production of satisfying social effect'.

Identification - where 'it is important to the individual's own self-concept to meet the expectations of his friendship role ... or occupational role'. Opinions adopted through identification 'remain tied to the external source and dependent on social support'.

¹ This classification is used for instance by L. Festinger, "An Analysis of Compliant Behaviour"(1953^A), P.235, and by H. C. Kelman, "Processes of Opinion Change" (1964), p.267.

² W. W. Charters Jr. and T. M. Newcomb, "Some Additional Effects of Experimentally Increased Salience" (1968), p.98.

Internalisation - 'can be said to occur when an individual accepts influence because the induced behaviour is congruent with his value system'.¹

This analysis of Kelman is extremely productive for improving our understanding of reference group influence. However, modifications immediately suggest themselves.

Firstly Kelman's three types of conformity may in some cases merely be stages of one process of influence. At first adoption of group norms may arise for the sake of some extrinsic reward offered by the group, but after some time the group may be valued for itself because of its association with the reward or social relationships developed during interaction. Finally it is likely that the norms will come to be seen as good in themselves. 'Balance theory' suggests there will be at least a tendency for the norms so learned to become related to the general value system or else modified themselves.² Another way of stating this is to argue with Mead that the norms of significant others become part of self-concept.³

Secondly, when a person wishes to adopt the norms of a person or group because prestige and/or credibility is attached to them then it could be argued that the individual has accepted the induced behaviour because it is congruent with his value system: his value system includes as an element in it commitment to a group or person. Here again a very rigid distinction between identification and internalisation falls down.

However, Kelman's trichotomy does permit the placing of one boundary to reference group influence. If an attempted attitude change is successful entirely because the induced change is congruent with attitudes already held and the group or person is purely a 'neutral conveyance' of information then there has been no reference

¹ Kelman (1964), p.267.

² Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1965), p.148.

³ G. H. Mead (1965), p.739.

group influence. Although this would occur rarely, on many occasions the content of the induced attitude, rather than any person or group, may be the most important reason why it was accepted. Even here, maintenance of opinion amid further pressures to change may depend on reference groups.

Reference group influence has not yet been distinguished clearly from coercion. The distinction is clear enough in common sense terms. We understand what is meant if we are told that one 13-year-old goes to church because 'his father compels him' and another because 'he respects his father and wants to be like him'. The difficulty comes only when in the first case it is asked why the father's command should be compulsion to the boy. The father may have said, 'no church - no picnic in the afternoon'. It would then seem that the boy conformed to his father's wishes to gain acceptance or favour in the family group for the reward this would bring. Stated in these terms, the behaviour meets the requirements of the definition of reference group influence.

In a study of the meaning of compliance, Festinger suggested that a distinction should be made between conformity obtained through threat of punishment (which will be effective only if the individual is prevented from leaving the group) and that obtained through promise of reward, this latter leading eventually to private acceptance as well as public compliance.¹ Such a distinction might be promising in distinguishing reference group influence from compulsion if 'promise of reward' and 'threat of punishment' themselves could be clearly distinguished. However it often seems a matter of mere expression. If, in our previous example, the father says, 'Go to church and we will take you on the picnic', it sounds like a reward promised, but if the father says, 'If you don't go to church you won't be allowed to come on the picnic', it sounds like a punishment threatened.

¹ Festinger (1953), pp.239-242.

It is proposed that there is a more satisfactory way of distinguishing compulsion and reference group taking in theory although it is by no means easy to use in actual research. It is suggested that we have an example of reference group taking, rather than coercion, other conditions being satisfied, if the category, group or person whose norms, goals, expectations, is considered to have the right to influence in the matter under consideration (the concept of a negative reference group being for the present excluded from discussion). In other cases it is more appropriate to talk of group pressures, or coercion. This is further explained in the following example.

Subject A wishes to belong to a certain peer group. He considers therefore that the group has certain legitimate spheres of influence over him, even where this requires attitude change on his part. He might define these fields where the group is favourably evaluated as a source of norms to include leisure interests, attitudes to the family, religion and political attitudes. To Subject A then attempts to influence in these matters, however expressed, will constitute reference group influence. However, Subject B may define more narrowly the field in which he considers the peer group has the right to influence. He may for instance, exclude political attitudes. Attempts to make him conform to the political attitudes of the group so as he gains the other rewards of being a member of the group, however these attempts are made, will constitute pressure or coercion. The crucial point becomes whether the subject regards the influence as legitimate or not.¹

If Turner's assessment of patterns of youth culture as segmental and ritualistic is correct then youth culture is an example of group demands sometimes going beyond what is considered their legitimate

¹ This is not unlike the conditions for reflexive role-taking as described by Turner. R. H. Turner, "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint and Reference-Group Behaviour" (1956), p.225.

sphere of influence.¹ He claimed that 'most youth do not acquire an inner conviction corresponding in degree to their external conformity'.² The precarious nature of the youth's position in his peer group 'constrains him even when he values the good will of his parents more'.³

Of course, there may be people, groups and categories who are referents for practically all aspects of life - whose evaluation is so important for self-concept that their influence is pervasive. These are what Denzin regards as 'orientational others' as opposed to the 'role-specific others'.⁴

Merton also makes a similar distinction between the "role model ... denoting a more limited identification with an individual in only one or a selected few of his roles" and the reference person or reference individual denoting an effort "to approximate the behaviour and values of that individual in his several roles".⁵ I prefer the solution of Denzin who regarded the cases of both specific and diffuse influence as examples of the reference group process. It should be noted that the difference between orientational and role-specific referents does not refer to any inherent qualities of the referent but to the way in which the individual regards the referent.⁶

¹ Turner (1964), pp.144-145. Turner's analysis will be more fully developed in Chapter V.

² Ibid, p.145.

³ Ibid, p.144.

⁴ N. K. Denzin, "The Significant Others of a College Population" (1966), p.300.

⁵ Merton (1957), pp.302-303.

⁶ See also R. H. Turner, "Reference Groups of Future-Oriented Men" (1955), p.131. The viable alternative is to regard as a reference group only the most important group, as indicated by a number of general questions about whose opinion is most valued. Rosen used both interpretations of reference group. He asked questions referring specifically to religion, ~~but~~ he also used other questions which did not refer specifically to religion, to discover the relative importance of friends and parents. Rosen (1965), pp.47, 103.

If the more specific interpretation of referent is accepted, a large number of groups and social categories may be referents for an individual at some time or other. However, in any particular situation, only a limited number of these could be regarded as referents. The criterion of legitimacy of influence permits discrimination among the many influences which may be operating in the situation. Only the influences which are defined by the individual as legitimate can be regarded as referents.

Summary. In this thesis we shall be concerned principally with referents acting as points of identification rather than points of comparison, while recognising the two are closely associated.

Referents include persons and categories as well as groups.

It is necessary to show that norms are shared to establish that reference group influence has taken place. However, this sharing may not be recognised until attention is drawn to it.

At some stage in the process of adoption or maintenance of norms their adoption or maintenance must be related in an important way to the desire to gain approval of the referent, though not necessarily to gain membership of a group or category. This distinguishes reference group influence from behaviour not so closely tied to the approval of people and avoids the process becoming co-terminous with 'learning'. Also the influence must be in a sphere where it is considered the referent has the right to influence. Otherwise the behaviour is better described as the outcome of group pressures or coercion. There will be some referents who are given a wide sphere of legitimate influence (orientational others) while others may be given a narrower sphere.

Some Problems in the Discovery and Measurement of Reference Group Influence.

There has been little systematic study of the ways in which reference group influence can be established. Such a bewildering

array of methods and measures have been used that it is difficult to believe that they are all identifying the same phenomena.

Turner's experiment in variations in wording of questions designed to find out which of sets of characteristics were preferred in other people is instructive in this regard.

Turner in The Social Context of Ambition asked his respondents to choose persons of contrasting characteristics from paired alternatives. He asked his questions in three forms:

- A. 'Whom would you rather have as a friend?'
- B. 'Which kind of person do you admire most?'
- C. 'Which kind of person would you rather be?'¹

He found that there was a systematic variation in responses according to the form in which the question was asked. Turner makes substantive deductions from this, regarding adolescent values. Theoretical deductions might be suggested also. Different referents might be chosen according to the form of the question because the question calls to attention different social situations and thus shades of differences in the frame of reference also occur.²

¹ Turner (1964), pp.80-84, 159.

² The first question (A) will lead to nomination of referents with whom the subject will be concerned to maintain friendship and participation and thus acceptance. These referents might be termed 'audience' referents. They may not represent his 'ideal' image of what people should be but rather the kind of people he likes to mix with, bearing in mind his own limitations.

The second question (B) regarding the person admired most does not carry any implication that one has to associate with this person. A subject asked this question can nominate for instance a person he thinks of so highly that he would not dare to associate with him because he would feel his own inadequacy displayed. The person admired is still a reference person for there will be tendency for his norms to be influential in the formulation subject's own. Such a person (or group) might be termed an 'admiration' referent.

The third question suggests a referent somewhere in between the first and the second. What a person wants to be like will no doubt be influenced by the 'ideal' but also by self-assessment of capabilities and a knowledge of the kind of person he needs to be to win the approval of those whom he wants as friends. The person whom the subject most wishes to be like could be termed an 'aspiration' referent.

This example points to the need to take into account the particular questions used to discover a person's referents when interpreting responses.

Many other different forms of the same basic question have been used. Rosen asked, 'Who are the people whose good opinion of you is most important to you?'¹ Denzin asked two questions to distinguish orientational and role specific others:

Would you please give me a list of those persons or groups of people whose evaluation of you as a PERSON concern you MOST?

Would you please give me a list of those persons or groups of people whose evaluation of you as a STUDENT on -- campus concerns you the MOST?²

All the questions above require specific nomination of referents in quite explicit terms. Others who are salient at the time are more likely to be mentioned as referents. The nominator may forget some basic referents because he has reached the stage of having internalised their norms or because they are taken for granted. Techniques based on specific nomination of referents run the risk of missing the 'others' whose values have been accepted over a period of time or in the past. Ironically, the more effective the internalisation process the more likely is the respondent to believe the norms are his alone. The same defect applies to attempts to obtain a person's reference groups by noting their spontaneous mention of individuals and groups as anchors for change or non-change or as frames of reference.³

Some researchers have preferred more indirect indicators of referents, based on measures of the social relations of the respondent. Siegel and Siegel 'discovered' the referents of students from a vote by secret ballot for desired place of residence.⁴ Sherif

¹ Among some other questions designed to discover referents, e.g. Rosen (1955^A), pp.139-141; Rosen (1965), p.68.

² Denzin (1966), p.300.

³ E. Stern and S. Keller, "Spontaneous Group References in France" (1968), p.200, use spontaneous mentions.

⁴ A. Siegel and S. Siegel, Reference Groups, Membership Groups and Attitude Change" (1957), p.364.

and Sherif regarded voluntary friendship groups as reference groups, claiming that "the groups under study are groups of the members' own creation or their own choosing, that is, their reference groups".¹

The assumption that all voluntary membership groups are reference groups in respect to at least some aspects of behaviour would seem a reasonable one. However, their approval may not be valued for the particular aspect of behaviour under consideration. Further the sociometric technique usually ignores non-membership groups. Hyman and his co-authors, in their study of an encampment as a reference group, avoided this pitfall by including indicators such as "how frequently ex-campers stop and think about the former campers".²

Other researchers have been more concerned to find out if a specific group is a reference group and consequently have sought indicators of the relation of the individual to the group. Hartley asked questions about many aspects of attachment to the group - personal involvement, valence, acceptance of influence, public identification, interaction and evaluation.³ Turner asked if life-time friends would be chosen from the group, about ease and relaxation felt in the group and about experiences of dominance, submission or equality in the group.⁴ Newcomb obtained an index of community identification with Bennington College based on the frequency with which individuals were named as "being absorbed in College community affairs" and other similar descriptions.⁵

This approach can build a quite complex picture of the relation of the individual to the group. However, Hartley herself has pointed

¹ Sherif and Sherif, Reference Groups (1964), p.265.

² H. H. Hyman, C. R. Wright and T. K. Hopkins, "Reference Groups and the Maintenance of Changes in Attitudes and Behaviour" (1968), p.390.

³ R. Hartley, "The Acceptance of New Reference Groups" (1956),
Vol. III, pp.13-17.

⁴ Turner (1955), p.133.

⁵ T. M. Newcomb, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups : The Bennington Study" (1958), p.267.

out the dangers of measuring acceptance of a group by participation and enthusiastic responses to questions, for it leads to an under-estimation of reference group influence on 'passive acceptors' who lack the verbal facility or who have a good deal of social inhibition.¹ Again we have the attitude to the group in general and not evidence as to whether the group is a referent for the particular sphere of behaviour under consideration. Lacking any other evidence we can only assume that, if the group is highly evaluated, it is an 'orientational other'.²

Sherif and Sherif outlined their approach as:

- (a) a specification of stimulus situations,
- (b) a study of individuals' 'self-pictures', and
- (c) a study of the informal groups of which they have been members.³

The Sherif study is a clear example of the 'congruence' approach. The dependent variable - the individual's level of aspiration - is compared with group aspirations to gauge the extent of social support for the individual's attitude. This is the general approach described at the start of the chapter, in which association or correlation is established.

In principle, this approach can be extended to groups outside the individual's immediate environment (i.e. to non-membership reference groups) by defining his social situation in a comprehensive way. In practice, there may be a tendency to confine attention to a few membership groups. Since there is an almost limitless number of possible reference groups, cost, in time and money, is against the broader approach.

¹ Hartley (1955), Vol. I, pp.6, 8.

² Compare Newcomb: "the reputation index is informative as to the degree and direction of the tendency to use the total membership group as a general reference group, but not necessarily as a group to which social attitudes are referred". Newcomb (1958), p.268.

³ Sherif and Sherif (1964), p.254.

There is a more fundamental objection, directed at the assumption that congruence of attitudes or behaviour, is necessarily the result of reference group influence. It has been argued on other pages that it is necessary to distinguish reference group influence from coercion and from common learning. Measurement of association may be indispensable evidence that reference group influence has taken place in a particular case, but association by itself is inadequate as an indicator of reference group influence.

Rosen combined direct questioning about referents with the 'congruence' approach. To show that individual B has group A as a reference group to attitude (x), the following information is necessary:

- (1) A's attitude to (x)
- (2) B's " " (x)
- (3) B's " " A
- (4) B's self-expectations with regard to (x)
i.e. what he feels his attitude should be.

Rosen is looking for a correlation between B's and A's attitude to (x) that is greater if B's attitude to A is favourable. He calls this reference group influence, and not coercion, if B's self-expectations correspond with A's attitude.¹ In this way the subjective legitimacy of influence is guaranteed.

Expressed in a different way, Rosen considered that to establish reference group influence we must know not only what are the attitudes of A and B, but the attitudes of B to A. And it is not enough to show that A is a 'significant other'; it must be shown that A is so with regard to (x).

The Use of the Reference Group Concept in this Survey

It was not possible to incorporate all the theoretical refinements made in this chapter in the design of the questionnaire or analysis of results.

¹ This is a summary of Rosen (1965), pp.66-67.

The concept of reference group is used or tested in three ways in this study:

- (a) When students are in a situation of cross-pressure (for instance when parents and friends differ in religious orientation) a test is made to see if knowing which group a person regards as more important to him predicts which group he will be more like in religious orientation.
- (b) Students differ in regard to how similar they are to the perceived orientation of various persons, groups or categories. A test is made to see if the differences can be explained in terms of whether or not the persons, groups or categories are nominated as referents. The hypothesis is that the association between personal orientation and perceived orientation of others will be stronger for those who nominate the others as referents.
- (c) From time to time nomination of people whose agreement is considered important for religious matters is examined apart from any associations.

The questions used to find out who were nominated as referents by students will be examined in detail as they are used. However, it should be noted that not all questions referred specifically to religion. Some questions determined who may be orientational others but their influence in religious matters may not be considered legitimate. It is not always possible, therefore, to distinguish between reference group influence and coercion. One question (question 40) asked how much the student would like certain people to be in agreement with his views about religion : where a positive response is given, this indicates only that the people are potential referents, not that influence has taken place.

In addition to the various reference group questions an open-ended question regard religious influences was used. The same question was asked by Rosen:

Who are the people (if any) who have helped you feel the way you do about religion?¹

This question often elicited interesting information, including the nomination of people who had turned away students from a viewpoint by their advocacy of it (negative referents). However, it could not be used extensively for quantitative analysis. Some students answered the question too thoroughly, giving such a long list of influentials that it was difficult to know who were the important ones. Others ignored the question. The question did give the opportunity for nomination of non-membership reference groups.

Summary

The social context approach used in this study is in accord with the theoretical orientations of many sociologists and social psychologists. As few respondents are aware of the influence of their social context in their interpretations of reality, the indirect approach of examining associations is necessary. In only a few cases could direct independent measures be obtained of the religious orientation supported by organisations and groups to which students belonged. However, it is still possible to examine the relationship between involvement in these organisations and groups and the religious orientation of students.

Perceptions of others are important in mediation of the influence of others. It is important, therefore, to examine the students' perceptions of the orientation of others, although the interpretation of any association between personal orientation and perceived orientation of others is sometimes debatable.

¹ Rosen (1965), p.68.

To refer to the perceptions of the religious orientation of others who constitute the social environment of the students, the term "religious world" will be used. The implications of the way in which students conceptualise the religious world will be discussed, especially in Chapter V.

As students were members of many groups, questions were included in an attempt to see which groups were reference groups for the religious orientation of the students. It was expected that those who were nominated as referents would be the ones with whom students would be most in accord in their religious orientation.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

CONCEPT, INDICATORS AND SOME

GENERAL FINDINGS

As this chapter covers a diverse range of topics the following outline is given:-

- PART I A conceptualisation of religious orientation.
- PART II A Review of some Indicators of Religious Involvement and choice of Indicators for this Project.
- PART III Australian background:
Some findings about religion in Australia.
- PART IV Survey findings - Frequency Distribution of some Measures of Religious Involvement.
- PART V Differences between boys and girls in Religious Involvement.
- PART VI Religious Orientation and Socio-Economic Status.

PART I - A Conceptualisation of Religious Orientation

The purpose of this section is to clarify what is meant by religious orientation.¹ Part II will explain why various indicators of religious orientation were chosen.

Confusion and disagreement about the meaning of religion exist at the popular level, in theological debate and in the scientific study of religious phenomena. As this study focuses on one particular religion - Christianity,² the analysis to follow will be especially concerned with the conceptualisation of the Christian religion, but most of the points have wider application.

Recent controversy throughout the world would suggest there is widespread disagreement about what constitutes the essence of the Christian religion.³ One local illustration of this was the debate in Melbourne which centred around David Pope, an Anglican clergyman who attacked some conservative doctrines (about the nature of God) in an outspoken manner. The Melbourne Herald at the height of the debate devoted the best part of two pages to letters from correspondents and reviews of theological trends in other countries.⁴

The lack of consensus about what is the essence of Christianity was revealed in group interviews and comments on the questionnaires among students whom I surveyed. For instance, one girl who was interviewed considered that "everyone is a Christian to a certain extent". She defined a Christian in terms of moral principles; being sincere and honest and doing things for people. This could be

¹ The term 'religious involvement' is also used at points in the study.

² There were a small number of students from other religions, but even the largest of the groups - Jewish students - were not numerous enough to analyse separately.

³ I am not arguing that there was a 'golden era' when there was consensus.

⁴ The Herald, 4 May 1968. The Herald is the only evening daily paper in Melbourne.

compared with the crisp response another girl made to the question as to how many people she thought were Christians:

It depends whether you mean a Christian or one who follows Christian principles.

When she was asked for her definition she replied:

A Christian is one who follows the words of Christ as it was put in the Bible and obeys it and has faith in it.

Others, particularly the less interested boys, were more likely to define Christianity in terms of 'going to church and all that'.

On the level of the scientific study of religion one can find almost as many classifications of religious orientation as one can find articles, with relatively little cumulative research. The position has improved slightly in recent years, principally due to the work of Glock and Stark which will be referred to in more detail later in this chapter.

Glock and Stark have pointed out that if one wishes to measure and study religious commitment, the first task is to determine in what ways people can be religious.¹ Apart from Glock's own suggestions, writers have tackled the problem in a number of contrasting ways.

Some Approaches to the Measurement of Religiousness

The simplest solution is to choose measures popularly regarded as reflecting whether or not a person is religious, such as churchgoing and belief in certain doctrines, and to combine them in an index. If the task is to find the correlates of what is socially defined as being religious, such an index may do the job well.

A study by Keedy is an example of this approach. He investigated the association between anomie, authoritarianism, ethnocentrism and 'religious orthodoxy'. His ten scale item consists of items of religious practice, denominationalist belief items and more general

¹ Glock and Stark (1965), p.19.

belief items. He admitted that the scale was 'not strictly unidimensional' but argued that it did 'have a consistent focus'.¹

Goldsen and his co-authors used four indicators of religiousness in their study of American college students: the need for a religious faith, belief in a Divine God, the belief that church or religion has its own personality and religion as a major source of satisfaction in life (church-going was considered but excluded from the index). The writers found these items fitted the criteria for a scale and so used them to form an index, when investigating the correlates of religiousness.²

While these indices 'work', they lack conceptual clarity and the flexibility for use in exploring further hypotheses arising from apparently inconsistent results. When the concept of religiousness is broken down into its component measures new discoveries may be made. For instance Photiadis and Johnson discovered that scores on the Borgadus Social Distance Scale for ethnic distance were negatively related to church attendance and positively related to orthodox belief.³

In this thesis developing a broad index of religiousness such as that of Keedy and Goldsen was rejected for a number of reasons. First it would not build on the work of Glock and Stark and others and therefore would not assist in cumulative research to the same extent. Second, I was concerned to find out if certain aspects of religious orientation were affected in different ways by social-context factors. Third, religiousness as a concept seemed so vague

¹ T. C. Keedy Jr., "Anomie and Religious Orthodoxy" (1958), p.35.

² R. K. Goldsen, M. Rosenberg, R. W. Williams Jr., and E. A. Suchman, What College Students Think (1960), pp.153-161, 169-173.

³ J. D. Photiadis and A. L. Johnson, "Orthodoxy, Church Participation and Authoritarianism" (1963), p.244.

and open to differing interpretations that more specific concepts were required for the task.

A second alternative is to allow the respondents to define the nature of religion. Rosen in his study of Jewish youth, partially adopted this approach, which worked quite well for the population he studied.

Jewish adolescents in this study exhibited a high degree of consensus as to what religion and religiosity meant. Almost without exception they defined religion in terms of religious practice.¹

The step of discovering the respondents' interpretation of religion makes the interpretation of the data much more likely to be accurate. However, if only the data relating to respondent's definition of religion is examined, behaviour which others (including the researcher) might regard as religious must be ignored. This is not necessarily a serious limitation: no study can do everything. However, Rosen himself later examined 'traditional beliefs' and 'traditional practices' separately.²

I suspect too, as hinted at by the earlier quotations, that among Catholic and Protestant students, particularly the latter, there may be a lower consensus as to what is understood by the Christian religion compared with the understanding of Jewish religion by Jewish adolescents.

The third approach has been suggested by Yinger. He has noted that religiosity is usually measured 'in terms of a traditional, even a very conservative standard. Religious liberals become, by such measures, less religious, not simply differently religious.'³ He would

¹ Thus, when adolescents were asked to explain their answers to the question, 'How religious would you say you are - strongly religious, moderately religious, only slightly, or not at all religious?' all but six respondents justified their self-estimation in terms of their observance (or lack of observance) of some religious practice." Rosen (1965), p.10.

² Ibid, Chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

³ J. M. Yinger, "Pluralism, Religion and Secularism" (1967), p.23.

prefer to obtain measures of 'a religious orientation separate from the content through which it is expressed.'¹

Yinger has assessed the situation correctly but his positive programme may be in vain. Content and 'religious disposition' may be so intimately connected that the respondents are unable to dissociate them. Further, if respondents are asked to react to abstract concepts of religion their responses may reflect principally their reaction to abstractions per se. No doubt, it is easy to criticise tentative questions designed to test a new concept but the attempt is important enough to demand some comment.

Respondents were invited to express their degree of agreement with such statements as these:

Suffering, injustice, and finally death are the lot of man; but their meaning for us can be strongly affected by what we believe.

Somehow I cannot get very interested in the talk about 'the basic human condition' and 'man's ultimate problems'.

Despite the many problems of life, the conflict and the violence, I believe that somehow men are going to learn to live in mutual respect and peace with one another.

Efforts to deal with the human situation by religious means, whatever the content of the beliefs and practices, seem to me to be misplaced - a waste of time and resources.²

The responses indicating religious involvement to the first two items³ are likely to be more acceptable to the highly educated or intellectual than the man in the street. The concepts used in the second question are philosophical. If Yinger wished to define religion in terms of a philosophical approach to life, the questions may be appropriate, but such a definition would exclude much usually regarded as religious phenomena. Further, the third question is biased against those who see no hope for this world but are very concerned about the next. Such people are usually regarded as religious.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Presumably agreement with the first and disagreement with the second.

Yinger's questions and probably his basic conceptualisation of religion may represent no more than yet another aspect of religious orientation to be considered - an important one perhaps, but with few claims to be defined as the essence of religion.

In any case this research project is more concerned with studying religious orientation embodied with its specific content rather than just a religious outlook on life.

The fourth approach, systematically developed by Glock and Stark (although certainly used beforehand by others without explicit exposition of concepts) is the multi-dimensional approach.

In the midst of the great variation in detail, there nevertheless exists in the world's religions, considerable consensus as to the more general areas in which religiosity ought to be manifested. These general areas may be thought of as the core dimensions of religiosity. Five such dimensions can be distinguished; within one or another of these dimensions all the many and diverse manifestations of religiosity, prescribed by the different religions of the world can be ordered. We shall call these dimensions the experiential, the ritualistic, the ideological, the intellectual, and the consequential.¹

Ritualistic: religious practices, e.g. church attendance, private devotions, etc.

Ideological: beliefs and attitudes.

Intellectual: knowledge of the content of a belief system.

Experiential: experience of religious emotion; communication with the divine.

Consequential: behavioural consequences of religious commitment in man's relation to man.²

It is possible to further sub-divide these. For instance, within the ideological dimension it is possible to classify beliefs and attitudes according to::

¹ Glock and Stark (1965), pp.19-20. My interpretation is that Glock and Stark do not use the term dimension as equivalent to factor: it is not implied that the measures of each dimension will correlate within dimensions more strongly than across dimensions.

² Ibid, p.20.

- (i) their orthodoxy or heterodoxy;
- (ii) the function served by the belief;
- (iii) the salience of the attitude in relation to other attitudes;
- (iv) the amount of discrimination or sophistication shown in the belief.¹

Stark has classified religious experience according to the degree of "intimacy with the divine" involved in the experience.²

It is important to realise the classifications of types of religious involvement may at least partially correspond to these dimensions,³ but also may cut across these dimensions. Someone may be "sect-like" or "church-like" in their attitudes and also in the religious feelings they experience.⁴

For two reasons the multi-dimensional approach appeared to be appropriate for this research project. Firstly it involved a minimum of assumptions about the nature of religious orientation and which aspects were the crucial ones to measure. Secondly, it seemed likely that various groups might have a more powerful influence on one aspect of religious orientation than another. For instance "religious experience" being more private, might be less amenable to peer group influence than churchgoing. Parents' influence in relation to peer group might be relatively greater on prayer and Bible reading (usually home-based) than on choice of religious goals when alternatives posed in the question were set in a school situation.

Greeley and Rossi used a multi-dimensional approach to religious orientation. This enabled them to discover which of four predictor variables - sex, level of education, type of school and religiousness of parents - was most strongly related to each aspect of religiousness.

¹ Ibid, pp.24-25.

² Ibid, pp.42-43; and

R. Stark, "A Taxonomy of Religious Experience" (1965), p.99.

³ The church-type, sect-type classification is partly based on the different emphasis given to the ritualistic and experiential dimensions.

⁴ The meaning of church-type and sect-type is to be considered in Ch.V.

While the design of this survey did not permit the precise relative weighting of the importance of predictor variables, the procedure used by Greeley and Rossi served as a model of analysis.¹

PART II - A Review of some Indicators of Religious Involvement
and Choice of Indicators for this Project

The Ritualistic Dimension

Demerath has suggested that the distinction between private and public ritual is an important one.² They will be considered separately here.

Studies of public ritual have focused on orientations to the organised church. By far the most significant contribution has been made by Fichter.

In seeking to analyse the parish in sociological terms, Fichter classified his respondents according to frequency of observation of the ritual of the church and attendance of children at parochial schools. These indicators enabled him to classify church members as nuclear (active participants), modal (conventional practising), marginal (those who conformed to the bare minimum of what was prescribed by the church) and dormant (those who were non church members but had a preference for the Catholic church as a denomination or those who had "given up" Catholicism but had not joined another denomination.³ This classification enabled Fichter to draw some interesting conclusions about the extent and basis of solidarity in the parish.

¹ Greeley and Rossi (1966) p.105. The relevant table from the book is reproduced in Appendix C.

² Demerath (1965), p.48.

³ J. H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish (1954) pp.15, 22.

Fichter was aware that orientation to the church is not an accurate guide to religious involvement even at the level of ritual involvement. He noted for instance the increasing importance of supraparochial activities of the church.¹ and the fact that participation in parish societies was often a reflection of secular social interests and solidarity.²

Main attempted to test the validity of various combinations of church membership, leadership and church attendance as an index of church participation of a sample of Protestant churchgoers. He concluded that no one combination worked much better than any other.³ He noted that, if inactive members and non-members had been included in his population, a different index to the one he finally chose would have been necessary.⁴

Some studies have not separated private and public aspects of ritual. Strommen in his study of Lutheran youth in U.S.A. sought a more general measure of religious commitment (although still within the ritual dimension). He used five indicators to classify religious and irreligious youth: attendance at Sunday School, Church attendance, Bible reading, Prayer and Percentage of Income given to the Church.⁵ In contrast, Lenski in his Detroit study took church attendance as an indicator of "associational involvement" and the frequency with which a person prayed and sought to determine God's will when he had important decisions to make, as indicators of 'devotionalism'.⁶

¹ Ibid, p.147.

² Ibid, pp.53-55; and another study illustrating the problem of finding indicators of ritualistic religious orientation is reported by J. F. Cuber, "Marginal Church Participants" (1940), pp.57-62.

³ E. D. Main, "Participation in Protestant Churches" (1967), p.178.

⁴ Ibid, p.179.

⁵ Strommen (1963), pp.42-43, 82.

⁶ Lenski (1963), pp.23-25.

These studies indicate that there is no consensus, at least as yet, as to ways of measuring the extent of ritual religious commitment.

The questionnaire of this survey included questions on church attendance (Q.31), participation in church clubs (Q.18), leadership in the church or its organisations (Q.35), prayer (Q.32) and Bible reading (Q.33).¹ It became clear at the coding stage that the variety of church clubs and types of leadership made an aggregation of these measures difficult to interpret. The other three measures were also considered independently. Bible reading would have been particularly difficult to combine with other indicators because of the lesser emphasis of Catholics on personal Bible reading. Thus the study has a variety of measures of ritual religious involvement but these will be considered separately.

Ideological Dimension

The ideological dimension is the most complex dimension, in which a multitude of sub-classifications of belief according to content, style, motivation, strength and mode of acquisition have been suggested.

Researchers have been fascinated by the question of motivation for religious involvement, an aspect which has probably received more attention than any other, at least in the United States.² Glock and Stark have suggested that the respondent cannot be asked directly: What are the functions of religious belief? as he will be unaware of many of the latent functions of his beliefs.³ While this is true, it may be helpful to classify respondents according to what they think motivates them.

¹ The Questionnaire is reproduced in full in Appendix A.

² For instance: W. Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (1956); Demerath (1965); Glock, Ringar and Babbie (1967). It is not obvious that the motivation factor should be considered as part of the ideological dimension but it cannot be placed easily anywhere else, and Glock and Stark do place functions of belief in this dimension.

³ Glock and Stark (1965), p.26.

Pfautz, for instance, has applied Weber's classification of the four modes of orientation.¹ He conducted a content analysis of reasons given for becoming a Christian Scientist as given in written testimonies in a period of over a hundred years. Those stating benefits of a magical or personal religious nature were considered as "affectual", explicit statements about healing as "value rational", statements which referred to material benefits as "purposeful rational" and statements that mentioned parents were Christian Scientists as "traditional".² Pfautz was able to show a change of emphasis over the period in the direction anticipated by the hypothesis of secularisation (a trend towards "purposeful rational" responses). He thus showed the possibility of using even unstructured, highly personal statements of motivation as indicators of orientation.

Herberg, in his analysis of the American religious situation, distinguished between inner-directed religion and other-directed religion. The latter is characterised by the functions it performs:

Religion is valued as conferring a sense of sociability and 'belonging', a sense of being really and truly of the world and society....³

This classification is closely allied to the institutionalist-individualist and intrinsic-extrinsic classifications discussed by Allport, Brown and others.⁴ Allport developed this distinction between

¹ H. W. Pfautz, "Christian Science : A Case Study of the Social Psychological Aspect of Secularization" (1956), pp.246-251.

² One testimony might fall into all or several categories.

³ Herberg (1956), p.277.

⁴ G. W. Allport, "Religion and Prejudice" (1959).

G. W. Allport, "Behavioural Science, Religion and Mental Health (1963)

L. B. Brown, "Classifications of Religious Orientation" (1964).

W. Cody-Wilson, "Extrinsic Religious Values and Prejudice" (1960).

J. R. Feagin, "Prejudice and Religious Types : A Focused Study of Southern Fundamentalists" (1964).

those who had made religious belief their own (intrinsic) and those whose religious belief remained an emotional prop (extrinsic).¹ Brown in extending the classification to non believers found it necessary to use seven categories to place the 319 students of the University of Adelaide whom he surveyed.²

Not much stress has been placed on motivation for belief and functions of belief in this research project. As the focus was primarily on the importance of certain involvements and the influence of the religious climate of certain social contexts, it was necessary to obtain perceived opinion of others. While it was difficult enough to expect respondents to make reasonable assessments of the level of religious concern and content of belief of others, to expect perception of others' motivations which had a significant reality content would be optimistic indeed. However, it is possible to compare perceived functions of belief for those in different schools, or those involved to a different extent in churches.

Question 14 outlines a number of reasons for religious belief and asks for an assessment of each one as "very important", "of some importance", "not important" or "not true". Obviously the inventory is not exhaustive and the purpose of individual items will be explained when results concerning them are discussed. The items were not chosen to test any one particular theory of contrasting motivation and its correlates. However, they were chosen to assist in assessing the importance of certain social contexts.

Another common classification of beliefs has been along the orthodox-heterodox continuum. Lenski used responses on questions on the existence and nature of God, immortality, the duty of worship, and beliefs about the person of Jesus to construct an index of orthodoxy.³

¹ Allport (1959), especially pp.8-10.

² Brown (1964), pp.97-98.

³ Lenski (1961), p.56.

Allport, Gillespie and Young used almost identical questions when surveying students of Harvard and Radcliffe College.¹ Glock and Stark, in establishing differences between denominations, used questions on matters such as: belief in God, the person of Jesus, miracles, life after death, the Devil, sin and requirements for and barriers to salvation.²

Yinger's criticism of using these questions as a base line to measure not only type of belief but degree of belief has already been noted.³ Certainly the orthodoxy-heterodoxy scales above are relative ones in that they measure the degree of belief of a specified nature. Of course, what is considered to be orthodox may differ from time to time and church to church. As orthodox Christian statements are usually taken (in surveys) to be approximately those of the conservative evangelical viewpoint, liberal and radical (and to a lesser extent neo-orthodox) statements of belief appear as "less religious", along with purely negative statements of doubt and scepticism. Provided the researcher is aware of this and realises the specific nature of the content of the belief on which he is ranking people, there is no methodological error involved.

The three questions on the deity of Jesus, the miracles of Jesus and heaven and hell (Q.5.H, Q.27, Q.41) in the questionnaire are by no means comprehensive or perhaps even central to the orthodoxy dimension but the responses at one end of the scales all have face validity as items of conservative Christian belief.⁴ The alternatives do not include a de-mythologising symbolic interpretation type of response as it was not thought that sufficient students would have opted for this response to make the extra response category worthwhile. Questions 27 and 41 provide for liberal, sceptic and qualified orthodox responses

¹ G. W. Allport, J. W. Gillespie and J. Young, "The Religion of the Post-War College Student" (1960), pp.543-546.

² Glock and Stark (1965), pp.90-112.

³ Above, p.68.

⁴ The statement about the person of Jesus corresponds closely to doctrinal statements of student Evangelical groups.

but Question 5 left interpretation of heaven and hell vague and caused difficulties to a few students because there was no mention of purgatory. The tables in Appendix D show the inter-relationship of the variables.¹

Two other aspects of the ideological dimension should be mentioned. One is the salience of belief.² Glock and Stark believe that "saliency of belief is more appropriately studied in terms of the kind of religiosity individuals express in other dimensions".³ One can ask direct questions on salience but these will be considered in the discussion of the consequential dimension.

Another aspect of the belief dimension is the mode by which beliefs are acquired - gradual or sudden, through a continuous learning process or sudden "insight" or reversal of previous beliefs. Glock and Stark distinguished between respondents according to their choice between the following alternatives (among others).

I am quite certain and I pretty much grew up knowing these things

and

I am quite certain although at one time I was pretty uncertain.⁴

Those who choose the former response were referred to as the "conformists" and the latter as the "converted".⁵ Although perhaps the titles are misleading, the classification is a helpful one to make

¹ In a check of about five hundred questionnaires, the responses to the three items above by those who at some point specifically claimed to be non-believers or atheists were examined. 9/13th considered that "most of what we know about Jesus is just a myth". 0/13th agreed that "there is a heaven or a hell for every person after death". Belief about the miracles was more varied - five saying that they were "Stories made up by later writers", three that they were exaggerations and three that there were natural explanations. This provides some further evidence of the validity of the items.

² I prefer to use the word "saliency" except where reporting Glock and Stark, who use "saliency".

³ Glock and Stark (1965), p.26.

⁴ Ibid, p.114.

⁵ Ibid, p.113.

in a study of the importance of social contexts on religious orientation. In retrospect I am sorry I did not use this question.

Putney and Middleton made a comparable classification on the basis of two variables: whether the students surveyed were Christian or sceptic and whether their parents were Christian or sceptic, emerging with four categories, thus:¹

	<u>Parents Christian</u>	<u>Parents Sceptic</u>
<u>Student Christian:</u>	1. Conformist Christian	2. Rebel Christian
<u>Student Sceptic:</u>	3. Rebel Sceptic	4. Conformist Sceptic

Again "rebel" and "conformist" may be misleading. Other factors in the social environment might have made students in cells 2 and 3 conformist except vis-a-vis parents (or perhaps even sceptic parents may try to bring up their children as Christians). However, the concepts of religious change between generations, and of religious change over time, are important. Differences between respondents in such matters may make important differences to other aspects of religious orientation and be associated with different contextual factors.

This study has measures of perceived parental churchgoing and some other aspects of perceived parental religious orientation. With the qualifications already made regarding perception (see Chapter II) this data can be examined with reference to the considerations above. Further there are questions which give the respondent's perception of his own changes in religious orientation since the age of thirteen (Question 52). These questions will be used quite extensively. Even if students are not accurate in the perceptions of themselves, the questions give some indication of their self-image.

Intellectual Dimension

Because pruning was necessary at some point, the intellectual dimension was not considered. This was not because it was considered

¹ S. Putney and R. Middleton, "Rebellion, Conformity and Parental Religious Ideologies" (1961), p.133 - the chart is my reconstruction of their exposition.

unimportant, but because it is slightly easier to detach from the other dimensions.

Experiential Dimension

Classifications of religious experience have proceeded along two closely allied paths. Stark has been concerned principally with classifications based on degree of intimacy with the divine.¹ Other studies have been more concerned with the occasion of or stimulus to religious experience.

Salisbury, for instance, sought to discover what situations or circumstances people most frequently associated with religious feeling. He found the predominating element in these could be seen as one of,

- (i) ritual,
- (ii) charismatic leadership,
- (iii) meditation,
- (iv) crisis
- (v) nature,
- (vi) family.

The importance of each of these varied according to denomination, in the direction predicted by traditional denominational emphases.²

Elkind and Elkind classified religious experiences into Church, solitary, anxiety and fear, worry, prayer, and moral action experiences.³

Glock and Stark used three questions in their analysis of religious experience and social context, asking respondents whether they had experienced:

a feeling that you were somehow in the presence of God

a sense of being saved in Christ

a feeling of being punished by God for something you had done.⁴

¹ Glock and Stark (1965), Chapter 3, particularly pp.59-60.

² Eg. Non-liturgical Protestants more frequently associated religious feeling with meditation. W. S. Salisbury, "Faith, Ritualism, Charismatic Leadership and Religious Behaviour" (1956), pp.242-245.

³ D. Elkind and S. Elkind, "Varieties of Religious Experience in Young Adolescents" (1962), pp.104-105. Further classifications are added pp.106-107.

⁴ Glock and Stark (1965), pp.157, 159.

These questions are also used by Mol in his survey of Religion in Australia, so there were grounds for their inclusion in this survey for the sake of comparability of findings. However, the wording of the questions, particularly of the second, would be somewhat obscure to adolescents in Melbourne and it was suspected that there would be a great reluctance to admit to feeling punished by God.¹ For these reasons the questions were modified as in Question 22.

The "religious experience index" was constructed by giving students a score of 2 for the response, "I'm sure I have" and 1 for the response "I think I have". The three items - on feeling close to God, forgiveness and guidance - cover a reasonable range of the less spectacular religious experiences.

On the extra sheet² students were asked "When (if at all) does God seem most real to you?" Because most students did not answer this question, quantitative analysis of it cannot go far but responses did yield some extremely valuable qualitative data. The responses to this Question also provided some validation for the scores on the religious experience index.³

Consequential Dimension

Finding adequate indicators of religious commitment in the consequential dimension poses intricate difficulties. This is partly because there are still obscurities in its conceptualisation. For instance, does the consequential dimension refer primarily to the

¹ A study by Dent of Canberra youth groups suggested my impressions were accurate. He had a high non-response rate to this question. O. F. Dent, "The Utility of the Church-Sect Typology" (1968), p.117.

² See Chapter I, p.20.

³ Respondents from four schools were classified according to their responses to the open-ended question into (a) Denial or Derogatory (b) Marginal (c) Enthusiastic. Those in categories (a) and (c) were compared for their mean scores on the religious experience index. Those in category (a) (N = 21) scored 0.9, those in category (c) (N = 38) scored 3.3, maximum score = 6.0.

salience of religion to the individual in his world-view and decision-making process, or does it refer to the actual outcome in behaviour and attitudes to others? The former may exist but still be short-circuited before being implemented in overt behaviour or derived attitudes.

The second problem concerns discovering the attitudes and behaviour which are supposed to be the outcome if the latter conceptualisation is preferred. Glock and Stark noted that religion "sets general standards, which the individual is to interpret for himself as he confronts the decisions of daily existence".¹ They admit that there are differences in the standards between and within religions but all religions agree that rewards (present or future) and responsibilities are part of the religious life.² Even within the Christian religion, it would be difficult to draw up a list of important rewards and responsibilities that, for instance, a fundamentalist and a proponent of the new morality would agree upon. Contradictory behaviour could be the outcome of the two positions - yet both are consequences of a religious position. However, this problem is no more serious than the "orthodoxy" problem mentioned before. It can be overcome simply by taking a particular viewpoint while acknowledging that one is measuring the consequential dimension only from this viewpoint.

Glock and Stark pointed to a more serious problem when they noted that "by definition an act can be a religious effect only if it flows from religiosity".³ They proposed that "how religious a person on these other [̄religious] dimensions provides the warrant for asserting that a given act is, in fact, a religious effect".⁴ It is doubtful that the solution is so simple. A "religious" person as measured on other dimensions may perform acts commended by his religious beliefs for quite other reasons, particularly where

¹ Ibid, p.34.

² Ibid, pp.34-35.

³ Ibid, p.35.

⁴ Ibid.

religious values and other cultural or subcultural values are in accord. For instance, obedience to the law by regular churchgoers may not be the result of their churchgoing, and the teaching of their church that they should obey the law. It is only when we have eliminated other feasible explanations of the act, or provided evidence of the act having been viewed from a religious perspective or influenced by religious considerations that we are entitled to call the act "religious".

Of course this is not an obstacle to research on the relationship between religion and ethics which may be concerned precisely with throwing light on the influence of churchgoing, prayer or certain beliefs on ethical attitudes.¹ The problem arises merely when one has to assume that certain ethical attitudes are religious effects. The relationship often may be the opposite: religion is adopted to support certain ethical views obtained elsewhere.²

Despite the attractions of making the questionnaire broader in scope by including measures of ethical attitudes in general, attention was focused on the first conceptualisation of the consequential dimension - "the salience of religion to the individual in his world-view and decision-making process". The limitation of this direct approach to the salience of religion is that indicators measure primarily the conscious and deliberative application of religious goals and religious considerations.

A number of previous studies have asked questions which fall into this category. Travers and Davis described problem situations and asked respondents to elect which of a given list of factors should be considered in making decisions. The list included statements involving religious considerations and also community, peer group,

¹ J. J. Mol, "Belief and Ethical Issues in Australia" (1968^B).

² Eg. Many proponents of Moral Re-Armament for instance are favourable towards most religions, principally because people are thought more likely to live up to the 'absolute standards' of Moral Re-Armament if they believe in a God and seek his assistance.

family and practical considerations.¹ The composite index of religiousness of Goldsen and his co-authors includes nomination of religion as giving an important sense of satisfaction in life.² Salisbury asked "What three things or activities in your life do you expect to give you the most satisfaction?" including "religious beliefs and activities" among the six response items.³ Greeley and Rossi also asked some general questions on the salience of religion. For instance in their questionnaire for adolescents they asked: "How close do you feel toward your church or religion...?" (Q.50)⁴

Lenski also asked a question which he used with a question on prayer as an index of "devotionalism":

When you have decisions to make in your everyday life, do you ask yourself what God would want you to do - often, sometimes, or never? (Q.55)⁵

While in one sense this question could be regarded as an indicator of private ritual, it could also be regarded as an indicator of conscious decision-making in terms of a religious perspective.

Lenski's question (Question 32), two general questions on religious concern and Christian beliefs as guiding behaviour and decisions at schools (Questions 5.B. and 5.I.) and three questions which required ranking religious considerations and religious goals relative to other considerations and goals (Questions 19, 29, 39), were chosen as indicators of consequential religious involvement.

¹ J. F. Travers and R. G. Davis, "A Study of Religious Motivation and Delinquency" (1961), p.207. - a comparison of the responses of delinquents and non-delinquents was made.

² R. K. Goldsen, M. Rosenberg, R. W. Williams Jr. and E. A. Suchman, What College Students Think (1960), pp.154-157.

³ W. S. Salisbury, "Religion and Secularization" (1958), p.201.

⁴ Greeley and Rossi (1966), p.332.

⁵ Lenski (1963), pp.25, 385.

Summary

This section has not sought to analyse the structure of religious attitudes and behaviour. Nor has it sought to develop new methods of classification. Glock and Stark's five dimensions have been chosen to order the religious variables used in the survey. By using this perspective one is alerted to the diversity of aspects of religion which can be measured. While these aspects may be related empirically, it is important that they be seen as conceptually distinct.

PART III - Australian Background : Some Findings about Religion in Australia

An overwhelming percentage of Australians claim some affiliation to a Christian denomination on the census form. In the 1966 census the "no religion" response was 0.81 per cent, while the Hebrew religion accounted for 0.55 per cent and other non Christian groups 0.11 per cent. A further 9.86 per cent did not give a reply.¹

Census statistics may convey the wrong impression. Inglis noted that one survey in Ringwood, a suburb of Melbourne, a much larger number admitted no affiliation to a specific local church.² In any case affiliation gives little idea of actual association with a church which in many cases is limited to the solemnising of birth, marriage and death.³

¹ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Census Bulletin 9.1 (1967), p.16. There was an increase in the "no religion" response and a decline in the proportion who did not reply between 1961 and 1966. - Compare J. J. Mol, "A Collection of Data about Religion in Australia" (1967), p.119, for a discussion of 1961 figures.

² K. S. Inglis, "Religious Behaviour" (1965), p.45. About 5 per cent of the students in this survey were prepared to give a denominational preference but did not claim any association with a local church.

³ The role of the church in Australia in regard to rites of passage is discussed by Inglis (1965), pp.59 ff.

The Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians (33.6 per cent, 9.7 per cent and 9.0 per cent of the total population respectively according to the 1966 census) are most afflicted with the problem of nominalism. A poll in 1955 showed that they had 45 per cent, 14 per cent and 12 per cent of the non-attenders of church respectively, but only 21 per cent, 10 per cent and 7 per cent of the attenders. In contrast the Catholics had 12 per cent of the non-attenders and 45 per cent of the attenders while the Baptists had 1.5 per cent of the non-attenders and 4 per cent of the attenders.¹

The strength of the Catholic Church has been further enhanced by its rapid growth in post-war years, through immigration and, to a lesser extent, through the higher birth rate among Catholics.²

Inglis claimed that churchgoing in Australia was lower than in the U.S.A. but higher than in Great Britain. A poll in 1950 and Mol's survey results in 1967 indicated that Australians are less likely to go to church weekly than those in the U.S.A.³

TABLE 3 - 1⁴

Churchgoing in Australia

<u>Poll 1950</u>		<u>Survey Results 1967.</u>	
Per cent		Per cent	
who claim to go to church ...		who claim to go to church ...	
weekly	23	always	23
usually	10	fortnightly to	
occasionally	25	less than once	
hardly ever	18	in a month	24
never	24	rarely	29
		never	24

¹ "Churchgoing in Australia", Current Affairs Bulletin (1958), p.52.

² In the 1961 census Catholics were 24.9 per cent of the population; in 1966 they were 26.3 per cent, Census Bulletin 9.1, p.16. Mol and Inglis have noted that the denominational distribution in Australia can be explained almost completely in terms of migration and differential fertility, Mol (1967), p.117, Inglis (1965), p.43. Further comments are made about Catholics in Australia in connection with Catholic schools in Chapter VI.

³ The estimate of Inglis for weekly churchgoing in the U.S.A. was 40 per cent. Ibid, p.72.

⁴ Current Affairs Bulletin (1958), p.52 and Mol - Unpublished tables from 1967 survey.

The significance of the comparison with the U.S.A. is that participating regularly in a church may not be culture-affirming in Australia to the same extent as in the U.S.A.¹

Christian belief is much more widespread than churchgoing. Dempsey and Pandey found that only 11 per cent of the men and 7 per cent of the women in a sample of University of New England students claimed to be agnostic.² Smart found that 72 per cent of the Armidale teacher trainees he surveyed thought of Jesus as God.³ Only 2 per cent gave an outright atheistic response to the question on belief in God in Mol's survey, the findings of which are shown in Table 4 -

TABLE 3 - 2⁴

Findings of Mol's Survey of Religion in Australia
on Belief in God

Per cent who check:	Per cent
I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it.	49
While I have doubts, I feel that I do believe in God.	20
I find myself believing in God some of the time but not. other times.	6
I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a higher power of some kind.	12
I don't know whether there is a God; and I don't believe there is any way to find out.	6
I don't believe in God.	2

This conservatism apparently exists with a good deal of ignorance about many aspects of Christian doctrine and practices. For instance, it was found that of a group of army recruits and apprentices only 49 per cent and 70 per cent respectively knew what Easter Day celebrated, and 9 per cent and 13 per cent knew what the word "gospel" meant.⁵ In Mol's survey respondents were asked to accept or reject

¹ Herberg (1956), p.277, and Demerath (1965), pp.59-61. Herberg pointed to the fact that religious involvement to many may be mainly a way of showing that one belongs and Demerath pointed to the compromise with secular standards involved in many church services.

² K. C. Dempsey and J. Pandey, "The Religious Practices of First Year University Students" (1967), p.3. Men N = 141, Women N = 117.

³ A. J. H. Smart, "Some Religious Beliefs and Attitudes of the Armidale Teachers' College at the University of New England" (1964), p.48.

⁴ Mol - Unpublished tables from 1967 survey.

⁵ Inglis (1965), p.50.

the statement that the book of Acts gave an account of the life of Jesus. Only 15 per cent gave the correct response, rejecting the statement.¹

Conservatism of belief does not necessarily indicate its centrality or salience. There is only fragmentary evidence as to how many people consider religion very important. Private ritual, generally expected of Christians to whom religious faith is central, is not strong when compared with the extent of religious belief. Mol found that 33 per cent prayed daily, 40 per cent occasionally and 25 per cent hardly ever or never.² Bible reading, because it is not normative for Catholics, is far less frequent. A Gallup Poll in 1960 indicated that 30 per cent had read something in the Bible in the previous week (only 19 per cent in the 21-29 age-category), but this figure may include many whose Bible reading was during a Church service.³

Table 3 - 3 indicates the numbers who were prepared to say that they had had certain experiences of a religious nature.

TABLE 3 - 3⁴
Findings of Mol's Survey of Religion in Australia
on Religious Experience

	Per cent who responded that they had had the experiences (not including such experiences as a child).	
	Yes, I'm sure I have:	Yes, I think that I have:
A feeling that you are somehow in the presence of God.	27	21
A sense of being saved in Christ.	18	15
A feeling of being afraid of God.	10	13
A feeling of being punished by God for something you have done.	11	17
A feeling of being tempted by the Devil.	19	16

¹ Mol - Unpublished tables from 1967 survey.

² Ibid.

³ The question did not stipulate private Bible reading. 39 per cent had not read anything from the Bible in the previous week.

⁴ Mol - unpublished tables from 1967 survey.

Some writers have suggested that Protestant religion, apart from some residual elements of puritanism, is not influential. They have argued that Protestantism has been overwhelmed by Australian versions of pragmatism and egalitarianism.¹ The writers have probably over-estimated the degree to which Protestant clergy and prominent laity have accepted traditional Australian cultural assumptions. I suspect comparatively few of the clergy preach liberal theology, whatever their reservations about conservative theology.

Mol's survey showed a persistent association between religious practices and beliefs and ethical attitudes.² Religion was a more powerful predictor of attitudes toward a variety of ethical issues than, was age or sex. However, the findings do not demonstrate that religion is the independent causal factor in the association.

Conclusion. The results of the survey of Form Five students should be viewed against the background of low religious involvement on the ritual dimension but of a general acceptance of Christian beliefs in the adult population. There is a substantial minority whose religious involvement is stronger, particularly Catholics.

PART IV - Survey Findings - Frequency Distributions of some Measures of Religious Involvement

The purpose of this section is to give an impression of the general distribution of responses to key questions about religious orientation and to make pertinent comparisons. Multivariate analysis is deferred to a later point.

¹ D. Horne, The Lucky Country (1964), pp.65-66.
C. M. H. Clark, "Faith" (1962), pp.80-81.

² J. J. Mol, (1968^B), pp.19-22.

The items in Table 3 - 4 (p. 90) are arranged broadly according to the dimensions conceptualised by Glock and Stark. Rather than give the proportion of total respondents endorsing items, which could be influenced so much by item performance in one large school (for instance the Catholic College with 156 students) proportions of the school groups¹ giving highest and lowest percentage endorsement are given. Also the median response is given.²

The high proportion who endorse the belief items (E - G) reflects the distributions shown for adult population earlier. Very few students were prepared to endorse the extremely sceptical responses to the miracles and doctrine questions. In only three of the eighteen groups did more than 10 per cent of the students consider that the miracles were stories made up by later writers. Perhaps the most surprising result among the responses to questions about belief is the small percentage who endorse the "liberal" response, often interpreted as the Australian cultural norm:

Jesus was an ordinary man but a very good one whose teachings we should heed.

In only five groups do as many as 20 per cent choose this alternative, and in no case is the proportion as high as 30 per cent. Like the adult population, the students are conservative in doctrine.

Churchgoing rates are broadly similar to those Hyde found among Form Five students in England,³ but lower than found in a number of surveys of youth in the U.S.A.⁴ Again in line with the findings for the adult population, the practice of reading the Bible is much less frequent than the practice of prayer and going to church. Other studies among youth have also found this.⁵

¹ Boys' and Girls' groups at the same school are considered as separate groups, giving a total of 18 groups.

² The median response was taken to be the average between the schools giving ninth and tenth most frequent endorsement of items.

³ K. E. Hyde, Religious Learning in Adolescence (1965), p.9.

⁴ Strommen (1963), p.43, gives the figures for his own survey of Lutherans and also for the Y.M.C.A. survey in 1950.

⁵ H. Loukes, New Ground in Christian Education (1965), pp.56, 73-74. Hyde (1965), pp.9, 12. Strommen (1963), p.43.

TABLE 3 - 4

Frequency Distribution of Measures of Religious Involvement
Maximum, Minimum and Median Endorsement in 18 Groups

Per cent endorsing item:

	Group giving Highest Endorsement	Median Endorsement	Group giving Lowest Endorsement
A. Go to Church weekly.	96	26	8
B. Had prayed in previous 24 hours.	81	27	11
C. Usually read the Bible every day.	15	5	-
D. Agree: "Most church services are helpful to me."	59	32	7
E. Agree: "Jesus is the Son of God who came to earth as a man. He is now Saviour and Lord."	84	52	40
F. Agree: "Jesus performed all the miracles which the Bible says He performed."	69	30	19
G. Agree: "There is a Heaven or a Hell for every person after death."	81	31	19
Consider as a very important reason for Christian belief:			
H. "... offers forgiveness and new life to a person who believes."	71	41	21
I. "...inspires a person to serve God and his world."	55	28	13
J. "... can talk to God about his problems and pray for guidance."	78	48	25
Since the age of 13 have felt sure of having following experiences:			
K. Particularly close to God at a certain time.	48	27	13
L. A sense of conviction of being forgiven by God.	47	21	7
M. A sense of being guided by God to do a particular action. Scored 4+	38	24	10
N. Religious Experience Index.	53	30	15
P. Disagree: "Religious matters do not concern me."	88	67	46
Q. Agree: "Christian beliefs should help to guide my behaviour and decisions at school."	92	59	36
R. <u>Often</u> ask themselves what God would want them to do in decisions in everyday life.	27	9	-
Ranked first:			
S. "Living up to and working our religious ideals."	16	5	-
T. "A person who has strong religious convictions."	15	7	-

Those who perceive themselves as attending church less frequently than they did at the age of thirteen outnumber those who claim to go more often than they did at the age of thirteen in 15/18 groups. The finding is again consonant with those of other youth surveys. For instance, Connell showed that there was a decrease in hours per week per hundred adolescents for each increase in age level.¹ However, this does not necessarily imply a decreased personal involvement in religion. In 11/18 groups more students agreed than disagreed that,

Religious ideas and feeling have become a more important part of my life.

A clear majority deny that religious matters do not concern them (Item P). This finding is supported by the preliminary results of a sub-sample of Wyman's survey of Melbourne adolescents. Seventy-two per cent of the girls (N = 43) and 62 per cent of the boys (N = 51) gave negative replies to the same statement.² Most respondents in this survey have at least a diffuse general concern about religious matters.

At the other extreme only a handful place religious aspirations and concerns above occupational, personal-developmental and social ones (Items S. and T.) or are prepared to say that they explicitly and frequently refer to the will of God in decision-making (Item R.). The items of the religious experience receive a more frequent endorsement than Mol's items.³

There was sufficient evidence of religious involvement among the students surveyed to provide assurance that the questionnaire was about matters of some interest and importance to them. The response to the religious concern question, the numbers who were sure that they had had at least one of the religious experiences listed and the

¹ W. F. Connell et Al, Growing up in an Australian City (1963), p.127, also Hyde (1965), p.9. Shows a similar pattern in English schools.

² Wyman - Unpublished Tables from 1967-68 survey of adolescents in Melbourne.

³ As was anticipated - Above P.80.

comments at the end of the questionnaire¹ indicated a level of religious involvement greater than the stereotype of the adolescent assumes.²

PART V - Differences between Boys and Girls
in Religious Involvement

One of the most consistent and striking differences which emerged from the survey was the tendency for a higher proportion of girls to choose the religious responses.

Only boys and girls at the same school can be compared with any confidence that other relevant factors have been held constant. When differences between boys and girls are examined in the five co-educational schools on fourteen religious variables only five of the seventy observations show more boys than girls choosing the religious response.³ Despite the relatively small numbers, differences were frequently statistically significant, with sharp differences evident at Newscape High School.

Almost every survey conducted in the U.S.A., Australia and the U.K. has shown similar findings on a wide range of religious variables.⁴

¹ In reply to Question 60.

² As a crude benchmark for the degree of religious concern it could be noted that in a survey of youth aged 16 - 25 run by the Australian Sales Research Bureau 10 per cent said they were extremely interested in politics, 55 per cent were somewhat interested and more than a third had no interest at all. The Australian, 3 August 1966.

³ See Table 3 - 5. Not all the observations are reported in the Table.

⁴ Alves (1968), p.67; Argyle (1958), pp.71-79; Cox (1967), pp.51-52; Glock, Ringer and Babbie (1967), pp.41-42; Hyde (1965), pp.7-14 : Argyle summarised the findings of many studies. Glock, Ringer and Babbie did not find many differences among those under the age of 21. The findings of Alves, Cox and Hyde specifically concern secondary school students in England.

TABLE 3 - 5

Differences between Boys and Girls in Five Secondary Schools

	Woodville H.S.		Burnham H.S.		Inberg H.S.		Newscape H.S.		Southdown H.S.	
	Boys (48)	Girls (51)	Boys (41)	Girls (26)	Boys (59)	Girls (23)	Boys (64)	Girls (51)	Boys (24)	Girls (24)
A. Go to church weekly +	17	25	15	31	14	39	20	51*	21	46
B. Go to church monthly +	27	36	41	62	40	48	51	86*	25	75*
C. Prayed in previous 24 hours.	15	29	22	46	29	44	25	71*	29	63*
D. Read Bible at least once a week.	13	29	12	27	15	22	22	35	25	33
E. Disagree: "Religious matters do not concern me."	52	73	51	73	60	54 ^r	47	75*	46	88*
F. Agree Christian belief should influence at school.	38	59*	59	50 ^r	36	46	42	82*	71	63 ^r
G. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do.	-	8	7	27*	7	8	6	22*	8	17
H. Religious Experience Index Score 4+	15	24	15	46*	34	42	19	49*	25	42
I. Accept the Miracles of Jesus without qualification.	19	43*	20	38	31	39	22	57*	29	21 ^r
J. Agree Jesus is the Son of God...Saviour...Lord.	42	43	51	58	43	58	42	83*	58	54 ^r
K. Father perceived to firm hold traditional Christian beliefs.	35	25	22	19	41	22	25	35	21	21
L. Mother " " " " " " " "	42	43	46	65	56	52	50	59	50	50
M. Father perceived as concerned about religion.	42	43	46	38	56	43	39	49	38	54
N. Mother " " " " " "	52	64	61	73	64	65	63	76	63	58
P.) Approach to ideas Practical	19	12	20	8	10	8	22	8	13	4
Q.) (See Question p.95) Intellectual	54	65	51	42	78	38	71	67	56	51
R.) Expressive	21	16	35	24	10	50	13	33	17	29
S. Ranked first to third in considerations for choice of occupation: "Opportunities for doing a helpful task in the community."	17	37*	27	50	14	26	25	55*	17	34

r = result where boys > girls in Items A - J. *x² significant P < .05
No significance test was made of Items K - 5.

There is one discrepant Australian finding in a survey of secondary schools in Queensland.¹ However, in Sydney, girls at every age-level spent more hours per week per hundred at church than did the boys.² Census returns in recent years have shown that, in the adult population, men were twice as likely as women to choose the "no religion" category.³ Mol found in his recent survey that a higher percentage of women were regular churchgoers and regular in prayer and also that girls whose parents were not churchgoers were likely to continue going to church for longer than boys whose parents were not churchgoers.⁴

The most common interpretation of the differences in religious orientation between sexes emphasises the different roles learned by boys and girls. Boys learn that to be masculine includes having a high evaluation of achievement of tasks, self-dependence, and avoidance of overt sentiment. Girls learn that sensitivity in social relationships and concern for social values are appropriate for them.

Martin used the instrumental-expressive classification in his discussion of the religious differences between men and women:⁵

At any rate it is clear that in our society, in spite of certain formal similarities between male and female education, the process of socialization moulds women for aesthetic and expressive attitudes, while men are prepared for a world which is mechanical and instrumental.⁶

McElwain and Campbell reported Australian findings which are in accord with the role-specification explanation. These investigations showed that:

¹ Scott and Orr (1967), p.143 - further discussed in Chapter VI.

² Connell et Al. (1963), p.127.

³ Mol (1967), p.125.

⁴ J. J. Mol, "Family and Religion in Australia" (1968^C), p.66.

⁵ The instrumental-expressive distinction is narrower than the complex of role expectations for boys and girls. It is not intended that the two should be equated. Taken together as an explanation they will be referred to as the "role-specification explanation".

⁶ D. A. Martin, The Sociology of English Religion (1967), p.126.

Parents are more concerned with conformity of character and superego characteristics in girls whereas in boys they expect conformity of behaviour in specific situations.¹

Although no specific measure of instrumental or expressive attitudes was included in the questionnaire, there are a number of points at which it can be shown that the results are consistent with the role-specification theory.

Children usually learn their masculine or feminine roles principally by identifying with the parent of the same sex. Perception of parents' religious orientation is therefore relevant. In all five schools boys and girls more frequently perceive their mother (than their father) as "concerned about religion". (Items M - N, Table 3 - 5). They are also more likely to perceive their mother as conservative in belief.

Elsewhere in the study² it is observed that the associations between the religious orientation of each boys and the perceived orientation of his fathers and between the religious orientation of girls and the perceived orientation of mothers are stronger than the cross-sex associations. At least some of the differences between the boys and the girls can be accounted for in terms of identification with the parent of the same sex and thus the perpetuation of the differences of the previous generation.

Another question asked students to choose from three alternatives attitudes toward ideas:

Which kind of person would you rather be? (Place a beside your first preference.)

- A. A person who isn't particularly interested in ideas and theories but prefers to concentrate on practical things.
- B. A person who likes to examine new ideas and theories and test their truth by looking at the evidence.
- C. A person who judges new ideas by his (her) feelings about them rather than by abstract reasoning.

¹ D. W. McElwain and W. J. Campbell, "The Family" (1965), p.143.

² Chapter IV, P.144.

The question is relevant to one aspect of the instrumental-expressive classification. Alternative C is a more "expressive" response, as it places emphasis on feelings. The first response ("practical") and perhaps the second ("intellectual") appeal more to pragmatism and achievement of tasks. The expectation is that the "expressive" response will be more popular with the girls and "practical" response with the boys.

The expectation is fulfilled in nine out of ten cases. In all the schools the boys are more likely than the girls to choose the "practical" response. In all schools except Woodville High School the girls are more likely than the boys to choose the "expressive" response. However, the differences between boys and girls are not very large.

There is one other possible indicator of acceptance of expressive roles in the questionnaire. Students were asked to rank six factors according to the importance they would place on them in the choice of a job. One factor was:

Opportunities for doing a helpful task in the community. As this factor is concerned with enhancing social values it was expected that it would be ranked high by girls more frequently than by boys.

The expectation is again fulfilled in each school (Item Y, Table 7) with statistically significant differences being found in two schools. The evidence is again in accord with the role-specification theory.

It is not possible to make a more conclusive test of the role specification theory. Because of the small numbers who selected the "expressive" response to the previous questions, it is not even possible to examine the differences between those who score high on

the two expressive items and those who score low.¹ It can be concluded only that the evidence inspected is compatible with the generally accepted explanation of differences between boys and girls in terms of role-specification.

PART VI - Religious Orientation and Socio-Economic Status

The student population of this survey is quite unsuitable to test hypotheses concerning the relationship between socio-economic status and religious variables.² Those of low status are clustered in a few schools. Overall associations between occupation of father (the only socio-economic status measure obtained apart from personal occupational aspirations) and an aspect of religious orientation could be due simply to differences between certain schools. Only in the Catholic Boys' College is there a sufficient range of parental occupations to test hypotheses within a school.

A further difficulty would arise in the interpretation of any finding. The low status students in the schools surveyed have at least the educational correlates of upward mobility. In some schools such as Centreburn Technical School, Inberg High School and Burnham High School, a large number of their friends have left school. The remainder is an elite in one sense.

In view of these difficulties, it was not considered worthwhile to review extensively the vast literature of the last fifteen years

¹ As there were large differences between schools on this item, it would have been necessary to examine any association within schools to avoid school factors affecting results. For instance, many girls at Inberg High School chose the expressive response and probably for quite other reasons, relatively few chose religious responses.

² This is not due to a fault in design. Hypotheses about these relationships were of marginal interest to me. Consequently other factors were considered more important in the design of the survey.

on socio-economic status and types of religious involvement.¹ A few observations will be made concerning the aspects of the current discussion on which these survey results may throw some light.

One issue in the recent discussion has been the reasons for different types of religious involvement of those of high and low status.² A large number of surveys have shown that high status respondents are more likely to attend church but are less likely to show intense religious involvement in other ways:

If a lower-class individual is committed to religion at all, his internal involvement is likely to be higher

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- ¹ N. W. H. Blaikie, "Religion, Social Status and Community Involvement: A Study in Christchurch" (1969). (Read in manuscript form.)
 R. E. Curtis, "Occupational Mobility and Church Participation" (1960).
 Demerath (1965).
 N. J. Demerath III, "In a Sow's Ear : A Reply to Goode" (1967).
 R. R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status" (1955).
 A. W. Eister, "Toward a Radical Critique of Church-Sect Typologizing" (1967).
 T. R. Ford, "Status, Residence and Fundamentalist Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians" (1960).
 Glock, Ringer and Babbie (1967).
 E. Goode, "Social Class and Church Participation" (1966).
 E. Goode, "Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension" (1967).
 F. Isambert, "Is the Religious Abstention of the Working Classes a General Phenomenon?" (1964).
 B. Lazerwitz, "Some Factors Associated with Variations in Church Attendance" (1961).
 B. Lazerwitz, "Religion and Social Structure in the United States" (1964).
 G. E. Lenski, "Societal Correlates of Religious Interest" (1953).
 Martin (1967), pp.68,111.
 H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1957).
 E. Pin, "Social Classes and Their Religious Approaches" (1964).
 L. Reissman, "Class, Leisure and Social Participation" (1954).
 E. R. Wickham, "Church and People in the Years of 'Decline and Fall' 1900 to the Present" (1964).
 J. M. Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual (1957), pp.156 ff.

² Goode (1966), p.103.

than that of his higher-status church fellows. On the other hand, there is a large segment of the lower class that has no religious commitment whatsoever.¹

This conclusion is similar to the finding of Glock, Ringer and Babbie in a recent study of Congregationalist church members. Those of low status were consistently the most involved - particularly at the level of "intellectual involvement".²

Some writers have argued that a satisfactory explanation for the higher proportion of high status members who attend church can be given in terms of their greater participation in organisations in general. Lazerwitz, for instance, found that "frequency in church attendance is sluggishly associated with social status when contrasted with the number of memberships in voluntary associations".³ Goode concluded that, when participation in non-church formal organisations was controlled the original uncontrolled relationship between class and church was "greatly attenuated" although not eliminated.⁴

Others have preferred to place the emphasis on differences in motivation for involvement. Lower status members of a church are seeking status which they have been unable to find in the community. Demerath believed that as a consequence of this they will be ambivalent about going to church - at least a mainstream church - because of its compromise with society. On the other hand, these low status church members, deprived of status elsewhere in the community, seek a more intensive religious involvement as a method of coping with their deprivation. Consequently they derive more subjective satisfaction from their belonging to a religious group and have a higher proportion of their friends in the local church.⁵

¹ Demerath (1965), p.25. From Demerath's review of previous studies.

² Indicators of "intellectual involvement" were the reading of religious journals, consulting the Bible or a religious book for advice and agreeing that the church had played a part in changing opinions. Glock, Ringer and Babbie (1967), pp.25-26, 86, 98. The writers' interpretation of their findings is not the same as Demerath's.

³ Lazerwitz (1964), p.434.

⁴ Goode (1966), pp.108-110.

⁵ Demerath (1965), pp.69 ff.

Glock, Ringer and Babbie defined status deprivation in a more comprehensive way, and at other points differed from Demerath's line of argument. However, they too explained the more intensive involvement of those of low status in terms of "alternative gratification for those deprived of social status".¹

In this survey comparisons were made between those whose fathers were in occupations of high status and those of low status. The dividing point was made between categories VIII and IX on the Jones-Zubrzycki classification of occupational status² which broadly corresponds to a dichotomy between white collar and manual workers. This dichotomy followed inspection of results in finer occupational categories which failed to yield consistent patterns or patterns which could be interpreted in terms of current theory.

It was expected that, if school differences did not obscure social status differences, those of high status would be more likely to attend church and church clubs but less likely to score high on other measures of religious orientation such as belief, religious concern and religious experience. Those attending Catholic schools were considered separately.

There were few differences between high social status and low social status boys (Table 3 - 6). The most substantial differences were on the churchgoing question and the religious experience question. Forty-five per cent of the high social status category but only 37 per cent from the lower status social status category go to church at least monthly. On the other hand, only 22 per cent of the high status social category compared with 31 per cent from the low status social status category scored 4+ on the religious experience index. This represents a substantial reversal of percentage differences in the direction anticipated by the hypothesis. However, most of the differences can be traced back to the relatively high

¹ Glock, Ringer and Babbie (1967) p.98 - and links with a more comprehensive theory of status compensation p.109.

² See Appendix E.

TABLE 3 - 6
Socio-Economic Status
(Occupation of Father) and Religious Orientation
 (Excluding students from Catholic schools)

Per cent giving response	BOYS		GIRLS	
	High Status	Low Status	High Status	Low Status
Go to church at least monthly.	45	37	60	61
Attend church clubs, etc.	36	35	53	50
Agree "Church services are helpful to me."	33	35	44	56
4+ on religious experience index.	22	31	35	40
Accept miracles without qualification.	29	28	31	53
Agree Jesus is Son of God ... Saviour, Lord.	51	51	57	68
Concerned about religion.	56	59	75	75
2+ friends go the same church.	18	17	26	23
Pray at least sometimes. ^a	61	62	84	87
N	(280)	(157)	(258)	(149)

^a Because of a mistake in programme being used this item has a slight error in that "no answer" responses, very few in number, were combined with positive responses.

proportion who score 4+ on the religious experience index at Inberg High School (34 per cent) and Centreburn Technical School (41 per cent).¹ It can not be determined if school factors apart from status differences or status differences themselves are responsible for the variation from school to school.

Girls whose fathers have occupations of low social status are more likely to give responses showing strong religious involvement (belief items, application of Christianity at school, assessment of church services as helpful, prayer). Again this can be explained in terms of differences between schools. As will be explained in Chapter VI, the students at the two Independent Protestant girls' schools in which high status girls predominated, showed less religious involvement on most measures than students of the high schools.

¹ See Table 6 - 5, Chapter VI, pp.243-244.

There are no substantial differences for either boys or girls in the proportion of close friends who go to the same church.

The data are compatible with other findings showing differences between social status categories but cannot be regarded as substantial additional confirmation.¹

One other finding based on comparison of the status categories is relevant. Speculation about differences between those of high and low status seems to have concentrated on explaining why those of high status go to church (high level of participation in all organisations), why of those of low status do not (alienation from middle class organisations) or why those of low status often score high measures of salience of religion and religious experience (status compensation). Little has been said about why those of high status might tend to score low on measures of salience of religion and religious experience.

One hypothesis is that those of high social status may often learn, as part of their role in society, values of intellectual detachment and inhibition of feelings including religious feelings.²

The findings of this survey give tentative support to such a hypothesis. Among boys and girls those of high status were more likely to endorse the intellectual response and were less likely to endorse the expressive response than those of low status.

¹ It would have been possible to conduct a much more sophisticated analysis, bringing in new variables such as membership of clubs, organisations and other teams. However, this was not considered worthwhile when the interpretation of any results must remain so open for the reasons mentioned above. Further it is not clear that organisational membership means the same to adolescents as to adults. Sporting teams are a large component of organisational membership of the students. There is also a question on occupational aspiration. However, occupational aspirations also provided little differentiation within schools - even less than father's occupation.

² The documented aversion of most elements of the English aristocracy to the religious enthusiasm of the Wesleyan revival may be merely an extreme case of a more general tendency.

TABLE 3 - 7

Approach to Ideas and Occupation of Father
Contrast between Low and High Status.

(Those who gave classifiable responses)

Approach to ideas

Per cent who are:

Occupation of Father		Practical	Intellectual	Expressive	N
Boys:	High Status	15	66	19	(267)
	Low Status	18	60	22	(147)
Girls:	High Status	9	65	26	(253)
	Low Status	12	50	38	(125)
Catholic B.C.	High Status	18	62	20	(55)
	Low Status	24	51	25	(91)

Although the differences are not large, they are consistent. The pattern is also shown in the Catholic Boys' College. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the hypothesis deserves a more formal test.

The final comment concerns the Catholic Boys' College. Ironically, where the range in occupational backgrounds permitted analysis within schools the range of scores on some key religious variables such as churchgoing was so small that no reliable internal differences could be obtained on these. Those in the low status categories are more likely to score 4+ on the religious experience index : 54 per cent (N = 90) to 44 per cent (N = 55). There is little difference on other religious variables where the distribution permits analysis, although the results on the religious experience item receives some confirmation from the higher percentage of the low status category who consider as a very important reason for Christian belief that it gives "forgiveness and new life to the person who believes".

No definitive comment can be made on the relationship between socio-economic status and religious orientation, but in broad terms the results of this survey are in accord with recent findings elsewhere.

CHAPTER. IVAGE-CATEGORY, ADOLESCENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS
AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATIONPART I - Issues and TheoryThe Issues

The respondents in this survey have at least one characteristic in common. From the youngest (14) to the oldest (18) they belong to the category of the population who are classed as "adolescents".

The question posed in this chapter is whether membership of the adolescent age-category per se has any implications for religious orientation. Do the Form Five students hold a stereotype of the views of their age-category about religion? If they do hold such a stereotype, are they likely to share the views? Are those of the same age regarded as significant others for religious matters?

The specific issue of adolescent age-category religious norms should be considered in the light of interpretations of the adolescent experience.

Review of Interpretations of the Adolescent Experience

Some writers have stressed the emergence, in technologically advanced urban societies, of what is termed "adolescent subculture" or "youth culture". Usually implied in these terms is the view that adolescents are extremely concerned to gain the approval of their peers, with the result that values and tastes perceived as distinctively adolescent have been strengthened.

The failure to enlist the talents and energies of youth in concerns of the larger community has furthered the development of a separate community of adolescents with

its own vigorous culture.... This culture has its own rites of passage, language, etiquette, dress and morality.

Parsons has given the classical statement of the "youth culture" values. They include "'having a good time' in relation to which there is a particularly strong emphasis on social activities with the opposite sex", on the male side "the prominence of athletics", "a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectations and disciplina", "certain qualities of attractiveness especially in relation to the opposite sex", summarised by the terms "swell guy" and "glamour girl".²

Coleman took as the basis of his interpretation of the informal social system in schools, "the emergence of adolescent subculture in industrial society".

To summarize: in a rapidly changing, highly rationalized society, the 'natural processes' of education in the family are no longer adequate. They have been replaced by a more formalized institution that is set apart from the rest of society and that covers an ever longer span of time. As an unintended consequence, society is confronted no longer with a set of individuals to be trained toward adulthood, but with distinct social systems, which offer a united front to the overtures made by adult society.³

Musgrove, although critical of aspects of the picture of adolescent subculture drawn by other writers, agreed that the "segregation of the young from the world of their seniors has given them a special position in society".⁴

The view that age-mates are so important and influential has been challenged at a number of points.

¹ J. D. Grambs, School, Scholars and Society (1965), p.87.

² T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States" (1942), p.607.

³ Coleman (1961), p.4.

⁴ F. Musgrove, Youth and the Social Order (1964), p.2.

Epperson questioned Coleman's evidence as to the extent of the concern of adolescents with peer approval. Coleman asked the students:

Which of these things would be hardest for you to take - your parents' disapproval, your teacher's disapproval or breaking with your friend?¹

Epperson objected that the phrasing of the question was loaded, as breaking with a friend was more drastic than disapproval in the case of parents and teachers.² Epperson reworded the question to eliminate this discrepancy (which would make you most unhappy ... if parents ... teacher ... best friend did not like what you did) and administered the question in a Comprehensive High School in a medium-sized town in U.S.A. The Table below shows a comparison of the results of Epperson and Coleman.

TABLE 4 - 1

The Importance of Parents' and Friend's Disapproval
A Comparison of the Findings of Coleman and Epperson³

Per cent Disapproval considered most serious:	<u>Coleman's Results</u>		<u>Epperson's Results</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Parents'	54	53	80	81
Teacher's	4	3	4	1
Friend's	43	43	16	18
N.	(3,621)	(3,894)	(82)	(77)

While Epperson's re-phrasing of Coleman's question is an improvement, he missed one of Coleman's main points. Coleman was not interested merely in the percentage most concerned about breaking with a friend, but also in the fact that those students named as being in the leading crowd were more likely than the student group as a whole to be most concerned about breaking with a friend. Coleman argued that those nominated as being in the leading crowd were the ones who were setting the trend and most clearly reflecting the temper of adolescent society.⁴

¹ Coleman (1961), p.5.

² D. C. Epperson, "A Re-Assessment of Indices of Parental Influence in The Adolescent Society" (1964), p.9.

³ Coleman (1961), p.5. Epperson (1964), p.9.

⁴ Coleman (1961), p.5.

A more serious attack on the importance given to adolescent subculture came from Elkin and Westley. Investigating a well-to-do suburb in Montreal (Suburban Town), they found that adults succeeded in structuring the social environment of adolescents by organising functions for them, by discussing problems with each other and their children and by encouraging appropriate youth activities.¹ The investigators further noted that "in regard to those aspects of their lives which might be regarded as youth culture, they are remarkably sophisticated, they themselves pointing out that their dating patterns and their 'kidding around' are passing temporary phenomena".²

Not much weight should be placed on the findings in one suburb which may be atypical. However, the latter point made by Elkin and Westley is akin to Turner's conclusion based on his study of high school students in Los Angeles and Beverley Hills. His interpretation is that adherence to youth subculture is a "ritualistic pattern".

Because youth society is segmental and pertains more to the recreational than to the serious aspects of life, it is relatively easy for an individual to conform ritually while resisting or limiting internalization. The view here is that the average American youth comes into contact with youth subculture first as a system of norms intolerantly imposed upon him by others and only subsequently begins to incorporate elements into his own value system. The view, further, is that most youth do not acquire an inner conviction corresponding in degree to their external conformity.³

Turner then advanced the view that youth values "which consist chiefly of mere interests will be more easily internalized than those at the sacred pole, if we assume that youth-parent opposition is a by-product of youth culture rather than its essence".⁴ The responses to Turner's questionnaire appear to support his views.⁵

¹ F. Elkin and W. A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture" (1955), p.682.

F. Elkin and W. A. Westley, "The Protective Environment and Adolescent Socialization" (1957), pp.245-246.

² Elkin and Westley (1955), p.684.

³ Turner (1964), p.145.

⁴ Ibid, p.155.

⁵ Ibid, p.158.

Musgrove questioned the assumed peer solidarity of the adolescent subculture. In a study in English grammar and secondary modern schools he found "little support in this inquiry for the often alleged 'solidarity' among adolescent males".¹

Brittain tested inclination to follow peers or parents in problem situations. Girls of Grades 9 - 11 were presented with alternative solutions on two occasions, with first one alternative preferred by parents, the other by peers and then with peer/parent preference for the alternatives reversed. The direction of shift (if any) in the alternative chosen by the respondent was then noted. Most of the shifts were clearly in the direction of conformity to parents. The exceptions were in matters of choice of course to take at school, which boy to go steady with, how to dress for a football game and for a party and which dress to buy.²

Brittain's inquiries support Turner's suggestion that there is a sphere of influence for parents and a sphere for peers, although Brittain drew the boundaries in a different place to Turner. Brittain concluded that when a choice pertained to larger society parents were perceived as more competent guides, but when choices involved the possibility of being noticeably different from peers or being separated from peers (for instance, choice of course) peers tended to be the dominating influence.³

The Opinion Polls used by Remmers and Radler give further confirmation to the "respective spheres of influence" viewpoint. They found that,

the typical teenager is responsive to the feelings and opinions of his peers on such questions as what to wear to a party, what clubs to join, how to act when out with

¹ Musgrove (1964), p.104. This evidence may indicate simply that there are important differences in this respect between the U.S.A. and England, as Musgrove himself points out.

² C. V. Brittain, "Adolescent Choices and Parent-Peer Cross Pressures" (1963), pp.385-391.

³ Ibid, p.389.

the gang and personal grooming.... On the other hand, he is sensitive to the feelings and opinions of his parents and other adults about his political feelings, about how he spends his money and about his personal problems or troubles.¹

The findings of a youth survey in Austria among working class students generally support the view that the sphere of influence of age-mates is restricted. Boy friends and girl friends were the contacts most sought but boys preferred to go to their parents when requiring a "depth relation".²

A final strand in the evidence for a guarded estimate of the importance of age-mates comes from a study of a London co-educational grammar school. Students were asked what should be done and what would be done in fourteen problem situations. Conformity to friends declined sharply with age on the "should" level but remained relatively constant on the "would" level. Morris concluded from these results that "far more than writers about 'the peer-culture' have been inclined to suppose adolescents regard their friends with some ambivalence".³ The idea of ambivalent conformity echoes Turner's view that much of youth subculture represents external conformity without inner conviction.

To summarise, there seems a strong case for scepticism about the existence of a youth culture which dominates the majority of adolescents. Evidence from a number of sources suggests that age-mates' influence is generally less important on some issues than parental influence and that conformity to youth culture may be sometimes ambivalent. On the other hand modern society has created greater opportunities for adolescents to develop relatively isolated social systems which exercise a powerful influence in a limited sphere.

¹ H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, The American Teenager (1957), p.222.

² "The adolescents feel that the parents are 'closer than all other people' to them, have 'more understanding' of them, that they have 'confidence' in the parents and can 'rely upon them' if they - the children - should 'get into trouble'." L. Rosenmayr, "Towards an Overview of Youth Sociology" (1968), pp.292-293.

³ J. F. Morris, "The Development of Adolescent Value-Judgments" Part II (1957), p.9.

Some cautions are needed in the interpretation and comparison of the results of the empirical research described above. The findings based on surveys among students, often senior students who might be a select group of adolescents, cannot be indiscriminantly applied to the age-category in general. It may be that peer orientation is strongest among the lower socio-economic groups which provide the majority of early school-leavers.¹ The qualifications to the strong adolescent subculture viewpoint do not contradict one important element in Coleman's interpretation: the development, within schools, of adolescent subcultures which often run counter to the official emphasis on academic achievement as the highest priority. Finally caution is needed in applying the findings in one country to another. For instance, American evidence may not be applicable to the Australian scene. Australian evidence will be reviewed separately.

Another issue involved in the assessment of the strength of "adolescent subculture" is the composition of its adherents. No writers would presuppose that every adolescent subscribes the values represented by "adolescent subculture".

Some writers have interpreted acceptance of the values of "adolescent subcultures" as the reaction of those who failed to obtain status otherwise - either socio-economic status or status in the official social system of the school. Recently a graphic analysis of what is referred to as a "delinquent subculture" within a secondary modern school has been given by Hargreaves. The process is summarised thus:

Although the low stream pupil is legally forced to come to school, his status as a schoolboy is resented. One solution is to re-define the pupil role in terms of adult roles, as well as behaving in ways opposed to teacher definitions. The rejection of the pupil role, and the associated status system leads to admiration and premature imitation of adult roles beyond school.... The premature and anticipatory adult socialization expresses itself in an exaggerated display of selected

¹ Such a warning is more or less important from country to country according to the age most students leave school.

aspects of behaviour associated with adult status....
To consume nicotine and alcohol, and to be seen to
consume them, compensates for their lack of
satisfaction in the pupil role.¹

Sugarman in a study of secondary modern schools in England considered that "teenage commitment" was a "symbolic expression" of alienation from school.² Teenage commitment was found to be negatively related to academic achievement and school conduct rating.³ Sugarman considered that this picture is typical of England, of the U.S.A. at the time of Hollingshead's Elmtown study, but that in the U.S.A. in the sixties, with the more institutionalised and public extra-curricular life of American schools, teenage social systems have developed in the schools themselves.⁴ Coleman's analysis of the adolescent social systems within schools would indicate that adolescent subculture is an influential factor for those who stay at schools and colleges.⁵

Clarification of Concepts

So far the terminology of the contributors to the discussion of adolescent orientations has been accepted. However, hazy conceptualisation may be partly responsible for some confusion and may also conceal assumptions.

Adolescent Subculture and Adolescent Social System. To commence, the difference between adolescent subculture and adolescent social system

¹ Hargreaves (1967), p.173.

² B. Sugarman, "Involvement in Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity in School" (1967), p.159.

³ Ibid. p.157.

⁴ Ibid. p.162.

⁵ The issue can be related to the question as to whether involvement in youth culture leads to repudiation of adult expectations as part of the norms of the youth culture or whether repudiation precedes adoption of youth culture, which becomes a means of protest. Yinger made a similar distinction between the youth "subculture" level at which there is some conflict between norms learned from socialisation to the youth culture and the norms of the adult culture and the level of "Contraculture" where adult expectations are specifically repudiated as a result of some serious psychological blockage. J. M. Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture" (1960), pp.625-635.

is not always made clear. Parsons for instance in the description above (p.105) mixes criteria of both (a) culture - endorsement of certain values (b) social system - orientation toward peers and away from adults. In fact, these may exist independently, giving four possibilities:

<u>Social System</u> <u>Dimension</u>	<u>Culture Dimension</u>	
	<u>Present</u> <u>Orientation</u> <u>Values</u>	<u>Future</u> <u>Orientation</u> <u>Values</u>
Orientation to peers	1	2
Orientation to adults	3	4

The Parsons' scheme allows for the possibility of only cells 1 and 4. But peers may reinforce "middle class" future orientation values, as Havighurst and Taba found in Prairie City.¹ Alternatively adults might reinforce present orientation - hedonist values. Cavan noted that while adolescent culture is seen as deviating, it is not made explicit what it is deviating from. "Sociologists sometimes speak of a middle class Protestant ethos as the standard. But a rather large proportion of the population is neither middle class nor Protestant and in fact may be opposed to this particular ethos."² This point apart, it cannot be assumed that the majority of even middle class Protestants will in word, much less in deed, support the traditional middle class Protestant ethic. Where adolescents hold hedonist values they may share them with adult society, rather than learning them from age-mates.

Sugarman has argued that the supposed conflict between the values of adults and youth is better seen as conflict "between teachers on one

¹ R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (1949), pp.40-41.

Parsons' paragraph is used here as a point of departure for argument. Parsons' view is far more sophisticated than revealed in the paragraph taken out of context. For instance, he later noted the ambivalence of adults to future orientation values (Parsons (1942), p.608.) and in another article he noted that besides the element of irresponsibility "youth culture is also a field for practising the assumption of higher-order responsibilities". T. Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System : Some of its Functions in American Society" (1963), p.47.

² Cited in D. Gottlieb and C. E. Ramsey, The American Adolescent (1964), p.31.

side and most pupils and their parents on the other".¹ Coleman found that parents often reinforced the non-academic concerns of their children. Perceptions by the students of what would earn the most approval from their parents suggested that "parents want their children to be successful and esteemed by their peers".² It is clear that expectations of adults are often ambivalent.

No particular set of values should be ascribed a priori to adolescents in general or any group in particular. Nor can we assume that, when adolescents do hold the values described by Parsons, they have learned these values from participation in an adolescent social system. The term "adolescent subculture", if it is to be used to describe the values of adolescents, must be an "open" one, not necessarily implying hedonism. It should be used in the sense of referring to the culture of the particular adolescent social system being considered. The content of the values should remain a question of empirical determination.

Adolescent Social Systems, Adolescent Social System and Age-Category. A second clarification is necessary, in regard to the term "adolescent social system".

A social system is here defined as patterns of action between a plurality of individuals which are given some stability through mutual expectations and shared collective goals.³

Sociologists have found it fruitful to analyse informal associations which exist within formal organisations in terms of a social system. Inmates of a prison, workers in an industrial plant and students in a school usually build up a process of interaction and develop a common set of norms which justifies giving their

¹ Sugarman (1967), p.152.

² Coleman (1961), pp.32-34.

³ The definition is derived, though not directly taken from T. Parsons and E. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action, (1962), p.191.

association the label of a social system. Sometimes the term "social sub-system" is used to indicate that the social system exists within a more comprehensive social system - the formal organisation in which the informal association has developed.

There will be many adolescent social systems, in a society, for there is the possibility of one wherever adolescents are concentrated, in schools, some productive organisations and possibly some neighbourhoods. In schools it is probably more appropriate to refer to student social systems than adolescent social systems, as the contrast is not between the adult society and adolescents but between the formal organisation of the school and the informal association of the students.

While it is clear that we can refer to a multiplicity of adolescent social systems, it is a matter of debate as to whether there is an adolescent social system which embraces the wider social context - say Melbourne. To justify the use of such a term the following criteria must be met:

- I. A self-consciousness by most adolescents of their membership in the category of "adolescents", which category must be a positive reference category to them.
- II. Interaction at least at a symbolic level. All adolescents need not know each other but a Melbourne-wide adolescent social system would be incompatible with groups clearly isolated on the basis of geography, class or interests.¹
- III. Some evidence of allocation of roles and of common norms, however superficially these might be held.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to make a judgment as to whether a Melbourne-wide adolescent social system exists. However, I am sceptical about criteria II and III being met. This does not preclude membership of the category of adolescents being very important, and it is on this question that attention will be focused.

¹ i.e. The communications network should cover all adolescents.

Age-category may be a reference category quite apart from the existence of a comprehensive adolescent social system. This implies only some consciousness of membership of the category of those of the same age, imputing norms to the category and wishing to be like¹ the category.

Age-Group and Specific Minority Adolescent Social Systems. While for the majority of adolescents it is probable that criteria II and III are not met, there is evidence that a substantial number of adolescents (who receive one way or another a lot of publicity) do interact and share goals. These adolescents are made visible to the community at large because much of the consumer market is directed at them, particularly in the entertainment industry.

These adolescents are linked symbolically by mass media, especially radio, where the disc jockey has an important communications role. There is opportunity for at least limited interaction at discotheques and mass popular music rallies organised from time to time by radio stations. Local pop groups, moving about between dance halls, also help to disseminate the norms of the sub-category.

Whether this aggregate of adolescents deserves the label "adolescent social system" is a matter that could be settled only by focused research. For the purpose of this research project we will hypothesise that there is an aggregate of adolescents whose interaction can be studied in terms of a social system and that involvement in this social system may make a difference to the degree to which age-category is an important reference category. That is, involvement in this specific, probably minority, social system strengthens adolescent age-category consciousness and conformity to what are perceived as age-category norms. If the "strong adolescent subculture" viewpoint is misleading when applied to adolescents in general, it may be accurate

¹ Or perhaps more appropriately at times - wishing not to be unlike.

when applied to those involved in this social system, which involvement we shall term "popular theme involvement".¹

A Summary of Working Concepts

Student Social System: A pattern of interaction built up among students in a school who have developed mutual expectations and shared norms, apart from the official expectations of the school. The significance of student social systems for development of religious orientation will be analysed in a later chapter.

Age-Category as a Reference Category. Orientation of personal behaviour and attitudes towards what is considered as typical behaviour and attitudes of those one's own age. This presumes some consciousness of membership of an age-category, but not the existence of a social system.

Popular Theme Involvement. Involvement in a more specific teenage social system which has its focus around pop records, and allied aspects of commercial entertainment.

Australian Evidence

Evidence of the Australian scene bearing on the issues discussed is fragmentary at present, although surveys currently being undertaken and planned should give a more comprehensive picture.

¹ Finding an adequate term is no easy task. This term was used by Wyman in his Research Proposal for a Study of "Adolescent Living Patterns" in Melbourne (1966), Appendix p.1.

Sugarman's concept of "involvement in youth culture", which he developed in his study of London schoolboys, is closely allied to what we mean by popular theme involvement. He uses the following measures as indicators of "making the teen scene": listening to pop music, wearing teenage fashions, frequenting dances and coffee bars, dating and smoking.

Sugarman (1967), pp.154-155. Sugarman argues that this involvement can be a "solitary phenomenon" but here he is contrasting involvement in youth culture with a specific teenage social system "as a group or groups of interacting teenagers who orient their behaviour by reference to the standards, assumption and symbols of youth cultures" - for instance, a group high on popular theme involvement within a particular school (p.161).

Wheeler in his research, based on essays written by 17-18 years old boys and girls, noted that these boys and girls, although "more conscious of adolescence than their parents were at the same age ... wrote of adolescents as individuals in a period of transition rather than as fellow-members of a subculture".¹ If this finding is generally true, we might expect age-category to act as only a weak reference category.

Campbell found that in Karibee (a small rural community in New South Wales) "the moral values and standards of behaviour stressed in the peer-group and clubs were clearly consistent, if not identical, with those of home and school...".² This finding, suggesting acceptance of the priorities of teachers, can be contrasted with a study of senior girls in two schools in Melbourne. In that study "academic results" ranked fifth behind "bright personality", "friendliness and thoughtfulness", "attractive appearance" and "athletic ability" as a perceived requisite for popularity among peers. Seventy per cent of the students stated that they most wished to be remembered as "a very popular girl", fourteen per cent as "a brilliant student" and thirteen per cent as an "activities leader". In spite of this, winning a scholarship was considered to be more prestigious post-school achievement than travelling overseas or taking a job at a high salary.³

Connell's study of adolescents in Sydney 1951-54 provides some valuable evidence about conflict between peer group and parents. He reported that "the outstanding feature emerging from the adolescents' responses was the high level of agreement between the views of parents

¹ D. K. Wheeler, "Adolescent Views of Adolescence in Western Australia" (1960), p.254.

² W. J. Campbell, Growing Up in Karibee (1963), p.53.

³ D. Langmore, "The Educational and Vocational Aspirations of 100 Secondary Students" (1967), p.17.

and peer groups even on the list of activities which were chosen for their controversial nature".¹ Over 65 per cent of the 14-15 year olds reported agreement between parents and peer group about the desirability or non-desirability of these activities, except on the issues of kissing and staying out late at night. On all items the peer group is seen as more permissive than parents but in only two cases is there a gap of more than 20 per cent between percentage of parents and percentage of group approving.²

When there was conflict between peer group and parents on these issues 45 per cent of the girls followed the group, 55 per cent parents; but of the boys 60 per cent followed the group and 40 per cent parents.³ Besides this difference Connell also suggests age-group as a whole may exercise influence where there is a situation of conflict. In such a situation adolescents are more likely to follow the group against their parents if the group is perceived as in accord with general age-group practice.⁴

Connell also gives some evidence to suggest that religious orientation is within the sphere of peer group influence. The adolescents surveyed were asked "to check any descriptions given to them on a list of people whom they would not want in their group". Over 30 per cent considered undesirable "someone who does not believe in God" and "someone who is very religious".⁵ It would seem that there are social penalties among adolescents in Sydney for the polar religious types.

Preliminary results of Wyman's survey in Melbourne indicate, at least at points, less orientation to age-mates and less acceptance of

¹ Connell et Al. (1957), p.63.

² Ibid. p.64.

³ Ibid. p.65.

⁴ Ibid. p.66.

⁵ Ibid. p.55.

hedonist values by the boys and girls in the survey than by those whom Schofield surveyed in England.

TABLE 4 - 2

Comparison of Interim Results of Wyman's Melbourne Survey and Schofield's Survey on Selected Items of Peer Orientation and Attitudes.¹

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>BOYS</u> (N = 68)			<u>GIRLS</u> (N = 76)		
	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree
A. 'Sexual intercourse before marriage is wrong.'						
Wyman	42	14	44	69	7	24
Schofield	35	20	45	62	14	24
B. 'Life is so short that having a good time is more important than anything else.'						
Wyman	28	9	63	24	6	70
Schofield	47	10	43	50	7	43
C. 'I would rather go to my parents for advice than to my friends.'						
Wyman	62	15	23	54	18	28
Schofield	55	16	29	53	12	35
D. 'I learn more from my friends of my own age than I can learn from my parents.'						
Wyman	43	8	49	47	9	44
Schofield	58	11	31	53	10	37

Agree and disagree included strong agreement and strong disagreement. Wyman also presented weighted results to counteract sampling bias. As no adjustments affect the pattern of results presented here, they have been left out for sake of simplicity.

Items A. and B. suggest marginally greater conservatism among adolescents in Melbourne in sexual ethics and much less readiness to agree with an "eat, drink and be merry" philosophy. Items C. and D. indicate slightly less orientation to friends than is revealed by those in the Schofield sample.

While the Australian findings are not as yet comprehensive enough to give a clear picture, the weight of evidence suggests that the

¹ Cyclostyled results Wyman (1968) as yet unpublished.

influence of age-mates is segmental and that specific repudiation of adult expectations is confined to a minority.

PART II - Expectations

Expectations as to how important will be the influence of the students' religious orientation will depend partly on the assessment of the general strength of peer influences. If Turnar is correct in his conclusion that the sphere of peer influence is limited, the majority viewpoint of the age-category will probably not exert much pull on the religious orientation of students. If the influence of peers is pervasive and strong, perception of the majority view of those of the same age will affect the religious orientation of students.

In the same way, expectations about the majority religious viewpoint will vary according to the general interpretation of adolescent values. If Parsons' description of adolescent values is correct, traditional religious beliefs may share the rejection of other conservative beliefs with which they may be associated.

The hypotheses to follow are inferences from the discussion of adolescent social systems and adolescent values, not suggestions which have been made by previous writers.

For clarity and consistency, hypotheses will be stated in a form which assumes strong and pervasive age-category influence¹ but this does not necessarily represent my convictions before examining the data. The presuppositions about the importance of the age-category and the direction of its influence as well as the link with the religious sphere will be stated as propositions on which the hypotheses depend. These propositions also do not necessarily represent my personal opinion.

¹ Although when it comes to formal testing they must be stated in the form of null hypotheses.

Hypothesis I.

Propositions. Adolescents generally perceive those of their own age as endorsing the hedonist, present-orientation attitudes described by Parsons and as rejecting what are regarded as conservative adult expectations.

Conservative Christian belief and concern about religion are regarded as part of these adult expectations.

Hypothesis. Students will perceive the majority of those of their own age as less conservative in belief and less concerned about religion than they will perceive adults to be.

Hypothesis II.

Propositions. Adolescents are strongly oriented towards the expectations of their peers. They will wish to fulfil the expectations of their close friends and peer group, and also will not wish to be considered different from most other adolescents of the same age.¹

This orientation toward those their own age will include a concern not to be different in religious matters. (The counter-hypothesis in Turner's terms could be stated for contrast: Religious matters, being near the "sacred pole" rather than being of transitory concern, will be generally outside the sphere of peer influence.) The students' age-category will thus be a reference-category for religious orientation, irrespective of the nature of the perceived religious orientation of the age-category.

Hypothesis IIA. Students in this survey will nominate the majority of those of their own age more often than parents and other adults as religious referents.

¹ Age distinctions within adolescence are often made quite strongly by students; the fiercest critic of the 14-15 year-old is often the 17-18 year-old. The hypothesis has been stated in terms of most or the majority of the age-category. A viable though not identical alternative would be to refer to the typical opinion of the age-category.

Hypothesis IIB. There will be a positive association between the perceived religious orientation of the majority of those of the same age and the students' own religious orientation.

Hypothesis III

Propositions. Rosen found that knowing an adolescent's reference group improved prediction of his religious orientation from that of his parents and peers. For instance, if peers were nominated,¹ but not parents, it was more likely that there would be a match between the religious orientation of the respondent and his peer group than if parents were nominated but not peers.² If again this is extended from immediate peers to age-category as a whole, association between personal religious orientation and perceived opinion of those of the same age should be stronger among those who nominate age-category as a religious referent, and among those for whom the approval of peers is relatively more important than the approval of adults.

Hypothesis. The association between the perceived religious orientation of the majority of those of the same age and personal religious orientation will be stronger for those who express more concern for peer approval than for those who express more concern for adult approval.

Hypothesis IV.

Propositions. Those who are involved in the more specific adolescent social system associated with pop music and teenage fashions (popular theme involvement) are involved in a social system in some ways an alternative to intensive involvement in other social systems such as school and church.

¹ In reply to the question "think for a minute of the people whose opinion of you matters a great deal to you" Rosen (1965), p.67.

² A more thorough discussion of Rosen's findings will be given when the hypothesis below is tested.

Those with high scores for popular theme involvement will be more likely to be conscious of their membership of an adolescent age-category. That is they will think of themselves in terms of belonging to a category of young people of a certain age and will be more reluctant to accept other roles given to them by adults. Correspondingly they will tend to be more concerned than others to avoid being too different from what is defined by their age-category as appropriate behaviour and attitudes.

The estimate of what the majority of those their own age think and feel will be influenced by the extent of the students' popular theme involvement. Pop culture stresses immediate gratification and innovatory behaviour. Its adherents may tend to project the norms of pop culture onto age-category in general.

Again it is assumed that these tendencies will apply specifically to religious matters.

Specific Hypotheses

IVA. High scores on popular theme involvement will be more likely than others to perceive most of those of their own age as less conservative in belief and less concerned about religion.

IVB. High scores on popular theme involvement are more likely than others to rate the majority of those of the same age as more important than parents and other adults as religious referents.

IVC. There will be a stronger association between perceived religious orientation of most of those of the same age and the students' own religious orientation among those who show evidence of popular theme involvement than among those who do not.

IVD. There will be a negative association between popular theme involvement and religious involvement, irrespective of the perceived opinion of most of those of the same age.

A Note on Interpretation

The hypotheses have been stated in the form of associations. The problem of the interpretation of associations has already been discussed. Projection is particularly likely to occur when people are asked to estimate the opinions of social categories such as class or age-category.¹

Consciousness of membership of an age-category and knowledge of the majority opinion is likely to develop in the same way as class consciousness; though experiences in primary groups are likely to be reinforced or modified by the image of adolescence given by the mass media.

Whatever the process by which they are learned, the opinions of the majority of those of the same age are not likely to be so obvious as to prohibit a considerable amount of projection taking place. This will have to be considered when the findings are being assessed.

PART III - Survey Results

Images of Adolescent Religion

Hypothesis. Students will perceive the majority of those of their own age as less conservative in belief and less concerned about religion than they will perceive adults to be.

Respondents were asked to estimate how most people of their own age would feel about the following statement:

Most traditional Christian beliefs can still be trusted.

Boys and girls often opted for the "don't know" response category. Of those who gave a more definite response the largest number believed that those of their own age would be evenly divided.

¹ See p.40.

TABLE 4 - 3

Estimates of Belief of those of the same age

Response to "most traditional Christian beliefs can still be trusted" - Per cent who thought most of those of the same age:		<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
Would agree	(+) ^a	19	20
Would be evenly divided	(E.D.)	33	32
Would disagree	(-)	25	24
Don't know	(D.K.)	23	22
	N	(624)	(487) ^b

a. The abbreviations in brackets will be used as standard abbreviations in future Tables :

- + indicating perceived high religious involvement of others,
- indicating perceived low religious involvement of others.

b. Four boys and eleven girls did not answer the question. Thus the percentages for girls do not add up to 100 per cent.

These figures do not suggest an overwhelming acceptance of the stereotype of the adolescent as a religious sceptic, rejecting the beliefs of his elders. However a benchmark for comparison is required.

As students were not asked to estimate the beliefs of adults as a category, the only possible benchmark is the students' perceptions of their parents. Even here comparison must be guarded as students were not asked the identical question about those their own age and their parents.¹

In every group more students perceive their mother as firmly holding traditional Christian beliefs than who agree that most of those their own age still trust traditional Christian beliefs. Father is also more often perceived as conservative in belief than is the majority of those of the same age. If students were dependent upon the social support of others to maintain their beliefs, they would be more likely to receive it from their parents.

¹ Question 43A. asked whether father and mother "firmly held traditional Christian beliefs". Considerable effort was made in the Questionnaire to vary the wording of perception questions to avoid a response set or specific comparison of a response with a previous one. In retrospect I believe too much was sacrificed in the way of comparability of responses.

However this result is principally due to the frequent endorsement of the response that age-category is "evenly divided". In every group more students deny that their father firmly holds traditional Christian beliefs than disagree that most of their age still trust traditional Christian beliefs. The same pattern is evident in 13/18 groups when the perceived beliefs of mother and of the majority of the age-category are compared. To balance the statement of the previous paragraph it should be added that more students could find social support for doubt, scepticism or disbelief from parents than from the perceived majority viewpoint of those of their own age.

In 61/362 cases in which both parents are perceived as firmly holding traditional Christian beliefs, the majority of the students' age-category is perceived as not accepting the beliefs. In 41/281 cases in which neither parent is perceived as firmly holding traditional Christian beliefs, most of those of the same age are perceived as holding the beliefs. Students are not much less likely to classify those of their own age as predominantly conservative when they perceive their parents as sceptical than the reverse situation - the stereotype of conservative parents and sceptical age-mates.

There is little evidence to support the hypothesis that students perceive those of their own age as rejecting the beliefs of their elders. However, reservations about the lack of strict comparability of the questions about age-category and parents and the lack of general measure of perceived adult belief should be remembered.

Students were also asked what most people of their own age would feel about the statement:

"Religious questions are not amongst the important questions about life."

Agreement ranged from 17 per cent of the Inberg High School girls to 54 per cent of the Woodville High School boys.

Table 4 - 4 indicates the overall response, in which there is a sharper difference between, boys and girls than on the perceived belief questions,¹ and a much smaller "don't know" response.

TABLE 4 - 4

Estimates of Religious Concern of those of the same age

Response to "religious questions are <u>not</u> amongst the important questions about life" - Per cent who thought most of those of the same age:		<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
Would <u>disagree</u>	(+)	20	28
Would be evenly divided	(E.D.)	30	34
Would agree	(-)	40	25
Don't know	(D.K.)	10	11
	N.	(624)	(487) ^a

a. Five boys and seven girls did not answer the question.

The questions about religious concern of parents and age-category are even less comparable than the belief questions. Consequently no stress can be placed on the results, but generally they are in accord with the conclusion based on the belief questions : there is no clear evidence of most of those of the students' age being more often perceived as sceptical than parents.

A question on the extra sheet asked students to comment on the statement, "a lot of people at this school are just too scared to admit that they have some religious feelings". In the nine schools in which sufficient students answered the questions to make analysis worthwhile, there was a majority who considered the statement was true of their experience. In most schools, even the Convent, there was an almost overwhelming endorsement of the comment as true to experience.²

¹ The greater difference between boys and girls about religious concern than religious belief fits in with the findings of Chapter III. The girls perceive their age-category as more accepting at the expressive level-concern, than do the boys. There is little difference in perceptions at the intellectual (belief) level. This assumes boys and girls had their own sex uppermost in mind when answering the question about those their own age.

² The results, with those agreeing that the comment was true of their experience, given first, were the following: Greenfall H.S. 31-8; Arbour G.C. 16-0; Plenbern G.C. 7-4; Burnham H.S. 17-3; R.C.G.S. (Convent) 11-2; Newscape H.S. 24-6; Southdown H.S. 20-4; Inberg H.S. 22-7; Edgevale B.G. 30-10.

Age-mates are perceived as penalising any overt expression of religious feelings. However, this finding is not necessarily contradictory to the previous findings. The students may feel that adults would be quite as disapproving as their peers.

To summarise, the evidence does not indicate that the students see those of their own age as much less religious than adults. There is a lack of consensus, about the majority viewpoint of those of the students' age, indicating perception probably varies according to the perceiver's position in various subgroups.

Explicit Reference to Age-Category

Hypothesis. Students in this survey will nominate the majority of those of their own age more often than parents and other adults as religious referents.

When stated in this blunt form the hypothesis appears unconvincing. It runs contrary to the expectation that attachment is more likely to persons with whom contact is frequent than to a diffuse and vague category of people. This is not to say that age-category cannot be expected to operate as reference category but its influence may be more subtle and less conscious, arising from slow integration into the social environment and the desire to avoid feelings of being different. As is to be explained later, there is particular reason to believe that asking students to rate the importance of age-category as a religious referent leads to an under-estimation of its influence.

Before examining the findings as to whom the students nominate as referents for religious matters, we should note their general orientation towards peers and adults, when asked to choose between these categories without reference to any specific issue.¹

¹ The question referred to here is: Q.26. Which is more important to you? A. To be up-to-date with the tastes and ideas of those of your own age

B. To be well thought of by adults whom you respect.

The categories usually add up to less than 100% because some students, whose responses are omitted, ticked both responses or neither of them.

TABLE 4 - 5

Peer/Adult Orientation of the Form Five Students

	<u>Girls</u>		<u>Boys</u>	
	<u>Per cent Peer-Oriented</u>	<u>Per cent Adult-Oriented</u>	<u>Per cent Peer-Oriented</u>	<u>Per cent Adult-Oriented</u>
Woodville H.S.	22	73	38	44
Burnham H.S.	27	58	44	41
Inberg H.S.	38	54	41	48
Greenfall H.S.	29	64		
Plenbern G.C.	17	69		
Arbour G.C.	37	51		
Southdown H.S.	22	61	38	54
Newscape H.S.	22	61	42	45
R.C.G.S.	21	68		
Centreburn T.S.			26	44
Catholic B.C.			37	57
Edgevale B.G.			50	40
Eastwood B.C.			31	47

According to the responses to this question, more students in this survey are adult-oriented than are peer-oriented. For the girls the consistency of the results and the size of the percentage differences would justify a generalisation of the conclusion to Form Five girls in similar schools to those surveyed.¹

The percentage distributions could be altered by making the wording of one of the alternatives more or less attractive. However, this should not alter the relative response of boys and girls. The boys are clearly more peer-oriented than the girls. In two schools more boys are concerned with approval of peers than that of adults whom they respect.²

The question designed to test the relative importance of various persons, groups and categories as religious referents asked:

"How much would you like the following people to be in agreement with the most important of your views about religion?"

¹ χ^2 was not calculated because the residual categories "both" and "neither" could not be meaningfully combined with the others and were not large enough to be considered separately.

² One high school in an area of low socio-economic status and one independent school.

There were four alternative responses:

- "I wouldn't care at all."
- "I would like to feel they agreed."
- "I would very much like them to agree."
- "I would reconsider my views if they disagreed."¹

Choice of either of the last two responses was considered as an indicator that the person, group or category chosen was a religious referent. Students responded to each person, group and category separately. Parents and age-category are not exclusive responses.

TABLE 4 - 6

A Comparison of the Nomination of Parents
and Age-Category as Religious Referents

Per cent nominating each as religious referents

	<u>Girls</u>		<u>Boys</u>	
	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Majority of Age-category</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Majority of Age-category</u>
Woodville H.S.	35	27	21	15
Burnham H.S.	46	31	37	17
Inberg H.S.	43	13 ^a	39	14 ^a
Greenfall H.S.	50	23 ^a		
Plenbern G.C.	41	12 ^a		
Arbour G.C.	37	20 ^a		
Newscape H.S.	61	15 ^a	30	20
Southdown H.S.	50	4 ^a	30	19
R.C.G.S.	68	17 ^a		
Centreburn T.S.			46	19 ^a
Catholic B.C.			63	23 ^a
Edgevale B.G.			27	14
Eastwood B.C.			46	18 ^a

^a Significant difference between percentages at the .05 level or beyond.

The data enable us to reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the frequency of choice of parents and age-category as religious referents. In 11/18 groups there is a statistically significant difference. It is in the direction of parents being chosen more often than age-category. The pattern of parents being chosen more often is consistent in all schools.

If those who responded, "I would like to feel they agree", are included as religious referents the greater likelihood of parents

¹ The question was worded to avoid any direct mention of "influence". It was suspected that many students would feel that to admit influence would be to admit dependence.

being chosen as religious referents is maintained in all groups except Newscape High School boys.

Parents are more often nominated as religious referents than the majority of the age-category but this should not lead to a generalisation about any preference for adults as religious referents. In all except the Catholic schools more students say they wouldn't care at all whether "most teachers at your school" agreed with their religious views than say they wouldn't care at all whether the "majority of the people your own age" agreed.

As a nominated religious referent, age-category falls between parents and teachers in importance. There are 112 boys and 92 girls who do feel it is important to them that the majority of those of their own age agrees with the most important of their views about religion. This suggests that age-category influence on religious orientation, while marginal, may not be negligible. Further, as explained before, calling for nomination of religious referents may lead to under-estimation of the importance of reference categories. This assessment can be partially checked by examining the association between personal religious orientation and the perceived religious orientation of most of those the same age.

Congruence between Perceived Age-Category and Personal Orientation

Hypothesis. There will be a positive association between perceived religious orientation of the majority of those of the same age and the students' own religious orientation.

Tables 4 - 7 to 4 - 9 show that there is quite a strong association for boys and girls. For instance 56 per cent of the boys who feel that the majority of people their own age still holds traditional Christian beliefs accept the miracles of Jesus without qualification. Only 21 per cent who feel the majority of their own age-category rejects traditional beliefs accept the miracles without

qualification. Of the students who perceive the majority as conservative in belief none of the boys and 3 per cent of the girls interpret the stories of Jesus as myth. However, of the students who perceive the majority of their age-category as sceptical 21 per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls believe that the stories of Jesus are myth.

The gamma co-efficients indicate that prediction of which of two pairs will score nearer to the religious end of the continuum is improved by at least 20 per cent by knowing which of the pair perceives age-category as more favourable to religious belief or religious concern. The finding is true of boys and girls on all three questions about religious involvement. In some cases the prediction is improved by over 40 per cent.

It is possible that these associations could be explained by some third factor. A number of checks will be made to see if the association persists when other factors are controlled.¹

One possibility is that perception of the belief of the age-category is an extrapolation of perception of the belief of friends. Students may assume that other people their own age tend to be like their peer groups, so that the association between personal belief and age-category belief is merely a reflection of the association between personal belief and belief of friends.

¹ The subgroup analysis is presented in considerable detail here to show the method of analysis and the evidence upon which conclusions are based. In future section subgroup analysis will be summarised more briefly and not all the tables on which such analysis is based will be included in the text. Such abbreviation is necessary to maintain the flow of the argument.

TABLE 4 - 7

Association between the Perceived Belief of the Majority
of Age-Category and Personal Belief about
the Miracles Jesus is said to have Performed (Miracles Question)

<u>Boys</u> <u>Personal Belief</u> Per cent giving each of the responses below:	<u>Perceived Age-Category Belief</u>				
	Traditional (+)	Evenly Divided (E.D.)	Not Traditional (-)	Don't Know (D.K.)	No Answer (N.A.)
Unqualified belief	56	45	21	(29)	(25)
Belief with some doubts	17	19	14	(14)	-
Miracles have natural explanations	10	5	14	(12)	(25)
Exaggertaions	10	16	21	(9)	(25)
Stories made up	-	4	10	(4)	(-)
No opinion	5	8	19	(24)	(-)
N	(118)	(204)	(155)	(143)	(4)
				Gamma Co-efficient	.40

<u>Girls</u> <u>Personal Belief</u> Per cent giving each of the responses below: ^a	<u>Perceived Age-Category Belief</u>				
	(+)	(E.D.)	(-)	(D.K.)	(N.A.)
Unqualified belief	50	42	27	(36)	(27)
Belief with some doubts	23	22	12	(17)	(9)
Miracles have natural explanations	13	13	25	(13)	(-)
Exaggerations	3	7	20	(10)	(-)
Stories made up	3	1	5	(2)	(-)
No opinion	3	13	8	(16)	(27)
N	(97)	(158)	(115)	(106)	(11)
				Gamma Co-efficient	.31
				Net Partial Gamma Co-efficient ^b	.34

^a The response categories indicated here, as in most tables, are indicated in abbreviated form only. The reader is referred to Appendix A to obtain the complete wording of questions.

^b The net partial gamma co-efficient, is based on comparing pairs alike on some third variable (see p.30) In this case the third variable is sex.

TABLE 4 - 8

Association between the Perceived Belief
of the Majority of Age-Category and Personal Belief
about Jesus (Doctrine Question)

Boys

<u>Personal Belief</u>	<u>Perceived Age-Category Belief</u>				
	Traditional (+)	Evenly Divided (E.D.)	Not Traditional (-)	Don't know (D.K.)	No Answer (N.A.)
Per cent believing Jesus was:					
Son of God, Lord and Saviour	81	67	33	(48)	(75)
Sent by God	6	5	6	(8)	(-)
Good man, Teacher	11	11	19	(17)	(-)
Not important today	1	3	10	(2)	(-)
Myth	-	8	21	(14)	(-)
N	(118)	(204)	(155)	(143)	(4)
				Gamma Co-efficient	.56

Girls

<u>Personal Belief</u>	<u>Perceived Age-Category Belief</u>				
	(+)	(E.D.)	(-)	(D.K.)	(N.A.)
Per cent believing Jesus was:					
Son of God, Lord and Saviour	74	67	45	(58)	(45)
Sent by God	10	11	16	(14)	(-)
Good man, Teacher	9	15	15	(12)	(9)
Not important today	-	1	3	(4)	(-)
Myth	3	4	13	(5)	(18)
N	(97)	(158)	(115)	(106)	(11)
				Gamma Co-efficient	.35

Net Partial Gamma Co-efficient .48

TABLE 4 - 9

Association between the Perceived Religious Concern
of the Majority of Age-Category and Personal
Religious Orientation (Religious Concern Question)

Boys

<u>Personal Religious Concern</u> Per cent responses to, "Religious matters do not concern me"	<u>Perceived Age-Category Religious Concern</u>				
	Majority Age-Group Concerned (+)	Evenly Divided (E.D.)	Majority Age-Group not Concerned (-)	Don't Know (D.K.)	No Answer (N.A.)
Definitely disagree	42	38	26	(36)	(40)
Tend to disagree	27	29	24	(30)	(40)
Can't decide	6	11	10	(8)	(-)
Tend to agree	15	15	18	(11)	(-)
Definitely agree	10	5	17	(10)	(-)
(Don't know)	(-)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(20)
N	(124)	(185)	(249)	(61)	(5)
	Gamma Co-efficient				.21

Girls

<u>Personal Religious Concern</u> Per cent responses to, "Religious matters do not concern me"	<u>Perceived Age-Category Religious Concern</u>				
	(+)	(E.D.)	(-)	(D.K.)	(N.A.)
Definitely disagree	65	45	37	(32)	(47)
Tend to disagree	18	32	23	(32)	(29)
Can't decide	7	9	11	(17)	(-)
Tend to agree	6	10	14	(6)	(-)
Definitely agree	3	4	11	(6)	(-)
(Don't know)	(-)	(-)	(3)	(8)	(-)
N	(136)	(167)	(124)	(53)	(7)
	Gamma Co-efficient				.31
	Net Partial Gamma Co-efficient				.25

Table 4 - 10 shows that perception of the beliefs of age-category and perception of beliefs of friends (Question 53) are positively associated. Most of those of the same age are three times as likely to be regarded as traditional if most of the five closest friends are regarded as traditional rather than not traditional.

TABLE 4 - 10

Association between the Perceived Belief of Friends and
Perceived Belief of the Majority of Age-Category

Per cent who perceived Majority of Age-Category as:	<u>Perceived Belief of Friends</u>		
	Most Traditional	Mixed or Moderate	Most not Traditional
Traditional (+)	35	19	10
Evenly divided (E.D.)	35	36	28
Not traditional (-)	14	19	35
Don't Know (D.K.)	(14)	(25)	(26)
N	(347)	(374)	(327)

However, even when perception of the belief of the students' five closest friends is held constant, there is still an association between perception of age-category belief and personal belief (Table 4 - 11). All three belief items show that the association is maintained within each category of the perceived religious belief of friends. The only modification introduced is that there is no consistent difference in personal belief between those who perceive the majority age-category as trusting traditional Christian beliefs and those who believe age-category is equally divided, if the students have at least some support for traditional beliefs among their friends. In other words the students are likely to hold conservative beliefs themselves provided they receive substantial support from age-category and friends. Provided friends give some support for belief it does not matter so much whether more than half or about half of the age-category is perceived as traditional in belief.

Rosenberg discovered a similar phenomenon in his study on self-esteem in dissonant religious contexts.

TABLE 4 - 11

Personal Belief and Perception of Belief of the Majority of
Age-Category for each Category of Perceived Belief of Friends

	<u>Most Friends Perceived as Holding Traditional Beliefs</u>			<u>Friends Perceived as Mixed or Moderate in Beliefs</u>			<u>Most Friends Perceived as not Holding Traditional Beliefs</u>		
	Age-Category perceived as			Age-Category perceived as			Age-Category perceived as		
	+	E.D.	-	+	E.D.	-	+	E.D.	-
Per cent believing Jesus performed all the miracles which the Bible says he performed	64	64	49	39	41	24	51	29	13
Per cent believing Jesus is the Son of God who came to earth as a man and is now Saviour and Lord	85	86	70	69	65	36	66	50	26
Per cent agreeing "There is a heaven or a hell for every person after death"	78	65	57	46	41	29	34	23	14
N	(116)	(113)	(47)	(70)	(135)	(72)	(35)	(98)	(121)

It is important to note that there is no clear difference in emotional distress between those raised in neighbourhoods inhabited almost exclusively by co-religionists and those reared in areas in which only about half the members are co-religionists. This result would suggest that whether everyone in the neighbourhood is of one's group is less important than whether there are enough of them to give one social support, a feeling of belonging, a sense of acceptance.¹

Introduction of perceived belief of friends permits specification of when the original association is maintained but it does not "explain away" the original association.

Another possible intervening variable is school. Perhaps the perception of beliefs of age-category is limited by the experience students have at each school of others their own age. If the majority in a given Form Five hold traditional beliefs, this may influence the perception of most members of the form, including the perception of the minority who do not hold traditional beliefs. Thus we would expect the association of personal belief and the perceived age-category belief to disappear within each school, but, because of differences between schools, to appear when all students are considered together.

To test the association within each school involves analysis of groups which are in some cases very small. A few errors in completion of the questionnaire by respondents or in coding could produce large changes in the strength of association, consequently the consistency of the findings rather than the strength of relationship in any one school must be the focus of attention. From Table 4 - 12 the following salient points emerge:

1. By testing the association between personal religious orientation and perceived religious orientation of age-category within each school, the strength of the association is reduced among boys for two of the three questions, among girls for all three questions.

This is shown by comparing the net partial gamma and the zero order

¹ Rosenberg (1965), p.68.

TABLE 4 - 12

Association between the perceived Religious Orientation
of the Majority of those of the same age and Personal
Religious Orientation within each school

<u>Group</u>	<u>Doctrine Question (About the Person of Jesus)</u>	<u>Miracles Question</u>	<u>Religious Concern Question</u>
	Gamma	Gamma	Gamma
<u>BOYS</u>			
Woodville H.S.	+.78*	+.31	+.38
Burnham H.S.	+.36	+.31	+.29
Inberg H.S.	+.48	+.65	+.08
Newscape H.S.	+.51	+.52	+.35
Southdown H.S.	+.71 ^a	+.33 ^a	-.11
Centreburn T.S.	+.39 ^a	+.93 ^a	+.80
Catholic B.C.	+.43	+.18	+.23
Edgevale B.G.	+.44*	+.65*	+.13
Eastwood B.C.	+.46*	+.08	+.17
Total: Zero Order Gamma:	+.56	+.40	+.21
Total: Net Partial Gamma:	+.47	+.24	+.21
<u>GIRLS</u>			
Woodville H.S.	-.03	+.25	+.37
Burnham H.S.	-.21	+.54	+.81 ^a
Inberg H.S.	+.53 ^a	+.13	+1.00 ^a
Greenfall H.S.	+.16	-.07	+.07
Plenbern G.C.	+.03	-.03	+.40
Arbour G.C.	+.94*	+.74	+.04
Newscape H.S.	-.17	+.12	+.41
Southdown H.S.	-.27 ^a	+.33 ^a	+.30
R.C.G.S.	-.57	+.60	+.59
Total: Zero Order Gamma	+.35	+.31	+.31
Total: Net Partial Gamma	+.15	+.15	+.25

Note: Attention should not be focused on the varying strength of gamma for each school but on the consistency or otherwise of the direction of the associations.

All gamma co-efficients were calculated from 2 x 2 tables, so the statistic is equivalent to Yule's Q.

* An χ^2 test on the 2 x 2 contingency table showed that the frequency distribution was statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond.

^a $N < 20$ where N = completed responses.

- gamma.¹ By comparing pairs only from the same school we find that the associations between religious orientation of most of those of the same age and personal religious orientation are reduced. At least to some extent the associations observed before are accounted for by differences between schools.
2. In spite of this reduction in association, the net gamma co-efficient still remains positive for all questions, and in 46/54 observations the association is positive within school groups.
 3. Among the girls' groups there is a more frequent reduction in the association than in boys' groups. In 7/27 cases the association is negative. There is a wide variation in the strength of association from group to group. Any overall generalisation about the girls would be unsound as it could be altered substantially by weighting the schools differently.
 4. Among the boys' groups there is more consistency of association from school to school, especially on the doctrine question. In view of this consistency it was considered legitimate to regard the boys as a homogeneous group for the purpose of calculating a test of significance of the difference in personal belief between those who perceived most of the age-category as sceptics and those who perceived most as believers. The null hypothesis that there was no difference could be rejected. There was less than one in a thousand chances that such an association would occur by chance.² In the light of this evidence and the consistent

¹ As explained in Chapter I the net partial gamma shows the degree of association between two variables when only those matched on a third variable are compared. The zero order gamma ignores the score on the third variable.

² Categories were collapsed to make a four cell table (non-responses and "don't know" excluded) $\chi^2 = 56.9$ (1 d.f.).

Principally due to the small numbers in many of the groups it was rarely possible to find statistically significant correlations within school groups. However, the associations for the doctrine question were statistically significant at three schools.

strength of the association within each school it is reasonable to generalise the findings to boys in Form Five in similar Melbourne schools.

Overall we may conclude that, for boys, school is not a third factor which seriously reduces the association between personal religious orientation and the perceived religious orientation of most of those of the same age. However, for girls the association is suspect, as there are large fluctuations from school to school.

A third factor which could "explain away" the association between personal religious orientation and perceived religious orientation of those of the same age is the religious orientation of parents. For instance, those who perceive their parents as rejecting traditional Christian beliefs may have had their perceptions of others coloured by this. If parental religious orientation is also positively associated with personal religious orientation, a spurious association could be found between personal religious orientation and perceived orientation of those of the same age.

There is no direct measure of the religious orientation of the parents. However, students were asked to estimate whether their parents were concerned about religion and held traditional Christian beliefs. (Question 43)

Table 4 - 13 shows that there is an association between perceived belief of father¹ and perceived belief of most of those of the same age as the students. Of those who consider that their father firmly holds traditional Christian beliefs 114/403 (28 per cent) consider that most of their age-category also hold those beliefs. Only 81/508 (16 per cent) of those who deny that their father firmly holds traditional Christian beliefs impute these beliefs to most of their age-category.

¹ Perceived belief of father rather than perceived of mother was chosen as the variable as it ensured a more even distribution between the categories.

TABLE 4 - 13

Perception of Father's Religious Orientation,^a
Perceived Age-Category Religious Orientation
and Personal Religious Orientation

<u>Personal Belief</u>	<u>Perceived Religious belief of Father and Age-Category</u>					
	<u>Father Traditional</u>			<u>Father not Traditional</u>		
	<u>Age-Category^b</u>			<u>Age-Category</u>		
Per cent giving most conservative response:	+	E.D.	-	+	E.D.	-
<u>BOYS:</u>						
Miracles Question	60	62	50	51	22	10
Doctrine Question	82	74	63	84	57	21
N	(60)	(89)	(38)	(37)	(77)	(91)
<u>GIRLS:</u>						
Miracles Question	65	61	31	36	31	20
Doctrine Question	80	80	59	70	61	33
N	(54)	(56)	(29)	(44)	(72)	(55)

Gamma Co-efficients^c showing association between personal religious orientation and perceived religious orientation of most of those of the same age.

	<u>Gamma</u>	
	BOYS	GIRLS
<u>Miracles Question:</u>		
group whose fathers hold traditional beliefs	= .08	.37
group whose fathers do not hold traditional beliefs	= .60	.24
<u>Doctrine Question:</u>		
group whose fathers hold traditional beliefs	= .20	.28
group whose fathers do not hold traditional beliefs	= .73	.47

^a Perceived beliefs of father rather than mother were used to dichotomise respondents because this ensured a fairly even split between traditional and non-traditional.

^b "Don't know" and "No answer" responses have been eliminated from the analysis.

^c From collapsed tables - dichotomy more conservative response - less conservative responses.

However, this association does not eliminate the original association which is consistently positive in each subgroup. In all subgroups except one, prediction of the ranking of respondents on personal religious involvement is improved by 20 per cent or more if prediction is made according to how the respondents perceive most of those of their own age.

Introduction of further factors has provided specification of condition in which the association between perceived age-category and personal religious orientation is a strong one, rather than eliminating the association. Thus the association is more consistent and usually stronger among boys, particularly boys whose father or friends do not hold traditional beliefs.

So far we have been concerned to show an association exists and also that it is not an artifact of other associations. To provide a benchmark by which we can estimate the relative strength of the association we will now compare it in a crude way with the strength of the association between personal religious orientation and parents' religious orientation.

Seven out of eight comparisons in Table 4 - 14 show that there is a stronger association of personal orientation with either parents' orientation than with perceived orientation of those of the same age. The differences are more marked for the girls. It is reasonable to conclude that if we wish to improve prediction of personal orientation it is more helpful to know the perceived orientation of mother or father rather than perceived orientation of the age-category.

TABLE 4 - 14

Relative Strength of Association Parental - Personal
Religious Orientation and Age-Category - Personal

Religious Orientation

Gamma Co-efficient Showing Association
Personal Religious Orientation with
Perceived Orientation of:

	<u>Majority of</u> <u>Age-Category</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Combined</u> <u>Parents^a</u>
<u>BOYS</u>				
Miracles Question:	.40	.56	.46	.64
Doctrine Question: ^b	.56	.50	.46	.59
Religious Concern Question:	.21	.53	.38	-
Heaven and Hell Question:	.37	.50	.48	-
<u>GIRLS</u>				
Miracles Question:	.31	.46	.45	.53
Doctrine Question:	.35	.46	.54	.62
Religious Concern Question:	.31	.41	.44	-
Heaven and Hell Question:	.26	.32	.54	-

^a Students whose parents differed in orientation were excluded from the analysis in this column.

^b re Question concerning beliefs about Jesus.

Net gamma co-efficients with perceived belief of the majority of the age-category and perceived belief of parents in turn held constant were also calculated. The results, although not completely consistent, suggested that more students followed their parents rather than the majority of those of the same age.

Congruence with Nominated Referents

Hypothesis. The association between the perceived religious orientation of the majority of those of the same age and personal religious orientation will be stronger for those who express more concern for peer approval than for those who express more concern for adult approval.

Rosen, in an examination of social influences on religious attitudes, found statistically significant correlations between the

attitudes of Jewish adolescents and those of their family and close friends. He also discovered that students were even more likely to be similar in attitude to parents if parents were nominated as people whose opinion of them the adolescents considered very important. The same was true of friends. Finally, where parental and peer attitudes were in conflict, in 15/19 cases the adolescents had the same attitude as whichever was his reference group (i.e. whose opinions of him he considered important).¹

The broad lines of Rosen's analysis will be followed here. The degree of association between the perceived orientation of those of the same age and personal orientation is examined separately for peer oriented and adult-oriented students. The results are reported in Table 4 - 15.

TABLE 4 - 15

A Comparison of the Strength of the Associations
between the Perceived Religious Orientation of Age-Category
and Personal Religious Orientation for Peer-Oriented
and Adult-Oriented Students

(Gamma Co-efficients)

	Peer- Oriented	Adult- Oriented
Association between the perceived belief of most of those of the same age and		
(a) Personal belief in the miracles	.47	.28
(b) Personal belief about Jesus	.60	.40
Association between the perceived religious concern of most of those the same age and		
(a) Personal religious concern	.32	.19
(b) Frequency of prayer	.47	.19

The co-efficients point consistently in the direction of a stronger association for the peer-oriented. In more concrete terms, 48 per cent of the adult-oriented who perceive the majority of their age-category as rejecting traditional Christian beliefs still endorse

¹ Rosen (1965), pp.93-97.

the most conservative statement about the person of Jesus but only 27 per cent of the peer-oriented are prepared to go against the majority of age-category in this way. Again, of the peer-oriented 51/57 (89 per cent) of the boys and 25/31 (81 per cent) of the girls, who perceive most of their age-category as rejecting traditional beliefs have some reservations about the miracles, but of the adult-oriented a lesser percentage, 47/73 boys (64 per cent) and 33/51 girls (65 per cent) have reservations about the miracles. Although we are not able to predict personal religious orientation from the religious orientation of reference group as clearly as Rosen could, the tendency is clear. Of the students who are peer-oriented, 75 per cent (N = 108) agree with the views that they perceive most of those their own age to hold about Jesus. Of the adult-oriented, 66 per cent (N = 167) are in agreement. The difference is in the expected direction.¹

On the miracles and heaven and hell question, there is a statistically significant difference between the peer-oriented and adult-oriented in the proportion of students who perceive age-category to be like themselves (Table 4 - 16). However, as this relationship is not evident in each school, it would be unwise to project the finding beyond the students surveyed.

A further perspective can be gained by looking at the cross-pressured students. An examination of those who perceive the parent of their own sex and the majority of their age-category to hold different positions in regard to traditional belief shows that the peer-oriented boys and girls will be more often like age-category than parent and the adult-oriented are more often like the parent than age-category. Knowing whether the student is adult or peer oriented improves prediction of whom the students will be like for this cross-pressured group by 41 per cent for the boys and 55 per cent for the girls. (Table 4 - 17).

¹ The numbers are small because those who perceived their age-category as equally divided or responded and "don't know" have been excluded in this analysis.

TABLE 4 - 16

Peer/Adult Orientation and Similarity to the
Perceived Religious Orientation of those of the same age

		Those who are:	
		<u>Like most of</u> <u>age-category</u>	<u>Unlike most of</u> <u>age-category</u>
16A.	<u>Miracles Question</u>		
	Peer oriented	110	37
	Adult oriented	156	100
		$X^2 = 7.42$	P < .01
		Gamma =	.31
16B.	<u>Doctrine Question</u>		
	Peer oriented	108	167
	Adult oriented	36	85
		$X^2 = 2.89$	N.S.
		Gamma =	.20
16C.	<u>Heaven and Hell Question</u>		
	Peer oriented	73	130
	Adult oriented	25	73
		$X^2 = 4.996$	P < .05
		Gamma =	.24
16D.	<u>Religious Concern Question</u>		
	Peer oriented	108	74
	Adult oriented	175	142
		$X^2 = .646$	N.S.
		Gamma =	.08

Again the results are not as spectacular as those achieved by Rosen but the pattern is clear enough.

It is possible that the difference we have been observing between peer-oriented and adult-oriented respondents is due to some third factor. For instance, we know that boys were more inclined to be peer-oriented than girls and also that stronger associations have been evident for boys and girls. Could then the stronger associations

shown by the peer-oriented be due to the fact that they are mainly boys? By examining the associations separately for boys and girls we can test this suggestion. In five of the six cases the association is stronger for the peer-oriented. The only reversal is on the question of religious concern for girls.¹

TABLE 4 - 17

Religious Orientation of Students (Miracles Question)
where the Majority of Age-Category and the Parent of the same Sex
are Perceived to Hold Contradictory Positions

(Cross-Pressured Group)

BOYS (Cases)

	<u>Religious Orientation is:</u>		
	<u>Like most of</u> <u>age-category</u>	<u>Like</u> <u>Father</u>	
Peer-oriented	15	8	Gamma = .41 $\chi^2 = 1.91$ N.S.
Adult-oriented	17	22	
	—	—	
	32	30	

GIRLS (Cases)

	<u>Religious Orientation is:</u>		
	<u>Like most of</u> <u>age-category</u>	<u>Like</u> <u>Mother</u>	
Peer-oriented	17	7	Gamma = .55 $\chi^2 = 5.61$
Adult-oriented	19	27	
	—	—	
	36	34	P < .02

So far, the reference group question used has been the general adult versus peer orientation question. To what extent can the results above be validated by consideration of the question of how important it is to students that various people agree with the most important of their views about religion?

At first sight the results appear to contradict the previous findings. Among the boys there is a weaker association between personal religious orientation and the perceived religious orientation

¹ The association between prayer and perceived religious concern of most of those of the same age was not examined separately for boys and girls. On the belief questions there were large differences in strength of association in the expected direction, e.g. 0.52 - 0.33, 0.69 - 0.47, 0.57 - 0.21.

of most of those of the same age for those who nominate age-category as a religious referent than for those who do not.¹ However, the result was not a surprise. Marginal comments and open-ended responses showed that questions even indirectly implying influence aroused hostile feelings among a number of students. These assertive respondents, when forced to choose between adults and peers would have little hesitation in opting for peers, but when given a chance to say "I wouldn't care at all", to all of the proposed religious referents did so, probably with much feeling.² We may take this claim to stand outside group and category influences with a grain of salt, although the claim is interesting in itself. The result, however, is that many of the most peer-oriented probably responded that they wouldn't care at all if most of those of their own age agreed with their religious views.

By comparing those who nominate age-category as a more important religious referent than parents with those who consider age-category as a less important religious referent than parents, those assertive of their independence can be disregarded. The social acceptability of saying one cares or does not care about what others think can be by-passed as the relative importance of two possible religious referents is being assessed. Table 4 - 18 reports the findings.

The pattern of responses does fit in with the pattern shown when the peer/adult orientation question was used to indicate reference group. The reference group approach permits improvement of prediction as to when personal religious orientation and perceived religious orientation of those of the same age will be similar. Among those who nominate those of the same age as referents there is a stronger association between perceived religious orientation of the majority of the age-category and personal religious orientation.

¹ The opposite was true for the girls.

² 97/99 boys who wouldn't care at all what the majority of their age-category and parents thought said the same about teachers.

TABLE 4 - 18

Similarity between the perceived religious orientation
of most of those of the same age and personal religious orientation,
according to the relative importance of age-category
and parents as nominated religious referents

Nominated as the most important religious referent:	Per cent whose religious orientation is:			N
	like most of those of the same age	a little different from most of those of the same age	unlike most of those of the same age	
<u>GIRLS:</u>				
Age-Category	50	37.5	12.5	(32)
Parents	39	47	14	(195)
<u>BOYS</u>				
Age-Category	63	27	10	(52)
Parents	40	43	17	(228)

(Don't know responses to either question were excluded. The "a little different" category was applied to those who held clear beliefs either way but considered age-category to be equally divided and those who classified age-category as holding or not holding traditional beliefs but themselves had some doubts about the miracles while generally accepting them.)

These results indicate that knowledge of a person's reference groups can assist prediction of their religious orientation. Further, it strengthens the case that there are at least some students who have been influenced by the perceived norms of those of their own age. These students are the ones who are similar to those of their own age, in face of other pressures from parents, and who also would prefer to be in agreement with those of their own age than with their parents. In their case, if the agreement is not the result of influence it is likely to be the result of affect-laden projection¹ - "wishful thinking", so that perceived opinion of the majority of the age-category is likely to act as a farce to maintain personal orientation in the future.

¹ See Chapter II, p.41.

The Religious Correlates of Popular Theme Involvement

Indicators of Popular Theme Involvement

Although no previous study has used Wyman's concept of "popular theme involvement" it has been noted that concept is allied to that developed by Sugarman.¹

Two questions were included in the questionnaire of this survey to provide indicators of "popular theme involvement". Unfortunately one, asking how much music was listened to on the radio, records and television, became scrambled in the final questionnaire. The word "popular" before music was omitted and there was evidence in the group interviews that some students read the question as referring to time listening to music on radio and records plus time watching (anything) on television. In spite of errors in wording the item had expected correlations with other questions, probably because few of this age-category listen to music other than pop music.

The other question referred to the reading of Go-Set, a teenage magazine which relates the latest gossip about pop stars and reviews records. It is not the only such magazine but has the largest current sales of the alternatives in Melbourne. Among both boys and girls reading Go-Set occasionally or regularly is strongly associated with having spent three or more hours "at organised social activities (parties, dances, etc.)" in the previous week. There are positive associations in 15/18 schools.² Also in fifteen of the eighteen groups reading of Go-Set is positively associated with peer-orientation.

For most of the analysis to follow the Go-Set question is taken alone as an indication of popular theme involvement in view of the ambiguity of the popular music question. However, a check on the results was made by developing a composite index consisting of

¹ See above p.116.

² There are two negatives associations and one no-association.

responses to questions about Go-Set reading, listening to music, attendance at parties and ranking of leisure interests as a matter about which students were concerned.¹ This will be referred to as the Popular Theme Involvement index.

Expectations and Strategy

It was hypothesised that popular theme involvement would be negatively related to involvement in adult-run organisations and to conservative beliefs, including religious ones. Popular theme involvement as operationalised here does not contain any delinquent² aspects i.e. behaviour which would be likely to be punished by school authorities and some parents such as drinking, truancy, sexual experimentation. The negative association may, therefore, be less evident than if other indicators of popular theme involvement had been adopted.

Survey Results

As there are a large number of variables to be manipulated³ it is proposed to summarise all the results concerning popular theme involvement and then discuss them together rather than dealing with each hypothesis individually.

1. There is a slight but not consistent tendency for regular Go-Set readers to be more likely than others to perceive most people of their own age as sceptical about traditional Christian beliefs.

¹ Go-Set reading was scored: 3 regularly, 2 occasionally, 1 once or twice, 0 never; those who ranked leisure interests first were given 1 point, party attendance was scored >6 - 2 points, 1-6 1 point. Listening to music was scored >8 hours 1 point. A bonus point was given to anyone who mentioned being in a pop star fan club, or like activity.

² N.B. Hargreaves' use of the term. Above p.110.

³ Popular theme involvement (P.T.I.) perceived age-category religious orientation, peer versus adult orientation and nomination of age-category as a religious referent.

Such association as it does exist almost completely disappears when peer-oriented and adult-oriented students are considered separately.¹

When the composite popular theme involvement index was used in four schools the association was no more substantial. The evidence does not suggest popular theme involvement leads to an acceptance of a more negative assessment of adolescent religious involvement.

2. In twelve of the eighteen groups a negative association is evident between Go-Set reading and personal belief (miracles question). In no case is this negative association a strong one, and in no group is the result statistically significant. However, in the three groups tested on the popular theme involvement index, scores on the index are consistently and moderately associated with low scores on religious variables. For instance, half the boys at Eastwood College who score high on the popular theme involvement index agree that religious matters do not concern them (or can't decide) but only one-third of the low in the popular theme involvement give this response.² Generally then, popular theme involvement has a slight negative association with religious involvement.
3. When peer-oriented and adult-oriented students are considered separately some negative association between frequency of reading Go-Set and religious variables is evident for the boys and a very slight association for the girls. However, this is overshadowed

¹ Go-Set Reading - Age-Category perceived belief (Peer Oriented) = -.07 (Adult Oriented) = -.02. An X^2 significance test showed neither relationship to be significant. It should be noted that a higher proportion of girls than boys read Go-Set regularly or occasionally (30 per cent of girls, 24 per cent of boys). A Melbourne disc jockey in a letter to me indicated that 75 per cent of letter writers to radio stations were girls. However, associations reported here were checked to see if there were marked differences between boys and girls.

² 28/56 versus 21/63. This illustration is given to indicate what is meant by "moderately". Most of the associations were of comparable strength.

by a stronger association between peer-orientation and low scores on religious variables even when frequency of Go-Set reading is held constant. Most of the associations mentioned in the previous paragraph can be explained by this association.

4. It has been noted previously that many more students nominate parents as religious referents than nominate age-category as a religious referent. When Go-Set readers and others are considered separately, the proportion of those who nominate age-category as a religious referent over those who nominate parents as religious referents is higher for Go-Set readers. However, this is principally due to the relatively low endorsement of parents and relatively high endorsement of age-category by peer-oriented boys who are Go-Set readers. Of this subgroup of 85 boys 33 per cent nominate parents and 24 per cent nominate age-category. In no other subgroups do less than 40 per cent nominate parents.
5. When three indicators of religious involvement are examined, Go-Set readers show a stronger association between the perceived religious orientation of most of those the same age and personal religious orientation. Go-Set readers are, on these questions, more like what they perceive the majority of their own age to be than are non Go-Set readers.

TABLE 4 - 19

Gamma Co-efficients showing Association between
Perceived Religious Orientation of most of those of the
same age Personal Religious Orientation
(Go-Set Readers and Non-Readers Considered Separately)

MIRACLES QUESTION	Go-Set Readers	.38
	Non-Readers	.34
DOCTRINE QUESTION	Go-Set Readers	.58
	Non-Readers	.46
REFERRING TO THE WILL OF GOD	Go-Set Readers	.33
	Non-Readers	.28
RELIGIOUS CONCERN	Go-Set Readers	.24
	Non-Readers	.28

The differences in the strength of gamma are not great and on religious concern the tendency is reversed. It does not seem that Go-Set readers are much more likely to conform to the opinion of the majority of those their own age.

Discussion

Overall the results have not confirmed our hypotheses. While there is a negative association between popular theme involvement and measures of religious involvement this is not due to the fact that those showing high popular theme involvement perceived age-category as less religious and then conform to the negative image given to them. It is mainly due to the negative association between peer orientation and the religious variables. More generally, preference for the respect of peers as against adults seems to be associated with low religious involvement. When this preference for peers is held constant popular theme involvement makes little difference to religious involvement. Popular theme involvement as conceptualised here is only a marginal social-context factor in explaining religious orientation. However, the persistent tendency for peer-oriented students to be less religious, even when perception of age-category and frequency of Go-Set reading are held constant, indicates some general disposition for those who look to peers rather than adults to be less conservative in other ways, irrespective of what views these people impute to their peers.¹ As this factor cannot be explained in terms of age-category conformity, it must be concluded that it represents a generalised disposition of some students to choose radical-innovatory responses. There is a syndrome of responses which includes questioning or rejection of religious beliefs and a turning away from adults as the ones whose approval is

¹ This tendency was confirmed by examination of earlier tables which showed that, irrespective the perceived opinion of most of those the same age, the peer oriented consistently showed weaker religious involvement.

most important. It must be emphasised that the marginal nature of the associations suggests that among the students surveyed, only a few follow this pattern.

S u m m a r y

Most of the findings of the survey have confirmed that there is an association between perceived religious involvement of those of the same age and the students' own religious involvement. For the boys this finding is consistent and quite strong; for the girls it is more suspect because of variations from school to school.

Further subgroup analysis indicates that the association is strongest among peer-oriented boys, especially those who read Go-Set regularly or occasionally.

Whatever the process by which the congruence of perceived orientation and of the majority of the age-category and personal orientation is established, students are generally not aware of using age-category norms as a reference point. The congruence may partly arise from a dislike of being different, as students acknowledged an inhibition of the expression of religious feelings. The subtle process of conformity or projection of personal orientation onto age-mates eludes many students who deny any wish to be like those of their own age.

Such a pattern fits the picture of youth being constrained by rather than eagerly accepting the expectation of age-mates. However, two qualifications must be made. First there were a small number of students who claimed that they were more concerned about agreement with those of their own age than their parents.¹ Second, writers who have maintained that there is a more eager and conscious conformity to peers have been referring usually to conformity to peers in specific social systems. They have based their conclusions on the

¹ 52 boys, 32 girls. See Table 4 - 18.

strength of influence of student subcultures in a school or the bonds of the peer group rather than the importance of age-category as a reference category. A final weighing up of the assertions about the adolescent experience must be deferred until the survey findings about friends have been reported.

CHAPTER VPERCEIVED MINORITY STATUS,
EXCLUSIVENESS AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATIONA New Perspective on the Church-Sect TypologyPART I - Introduction

While an association has been observed between the religious orientation of students and their perception of the religious orientation of the majority of those their own age, there are many students who are conservative in religious belief but perceive themselves to be in a minority within their age-category.

This raises a number of issues related to the impact of the social context on the individual:

Are those who perceive themselves in the minority in any way different in type of religious involvement from those who perceive themselves in the majority?

How do these differences in perception arise?

Is the perception of being in the minority associated with any other differences in the way in which the religious world¹ is perceived?

The most specific research carried out in the area of the consequences of minority religious status has been by Rosenberg. He studied some effects of being in a minority in a neighbourhood on Catholic, Protestant and Jewish students. Minority status was associated with low self-esteem.²

¹ See p.62 for an explanation of the use of the term "religious world".

² Rosenberg (1965), pp.77-78.

This chapter will present the view that one of the most written-about fields in the sociology of religion, church-sect theory, is relevant at this point. In the process of examining the characteristics of those who perceive themselves in a minority (minority believers), other distinctions become important. One classification is between those who draw a sharp line between serious Christians and others. Another classification is between those who deny legitimacy to other religious beliefs and those who do not make such exclusive claims. These classifications can be related to church-sect differences.¹

PART II - Minority Believers

Cases can be made for contradictory expectations regarding the religious orientation of minority believers. It could be argued that minority believers may be less confident as a result of low prestige associated with minority status. This may be reflected in a tendency to diverge toward non-religious majority norms in other aspects of religious involvement. Such a tendency would be in accord with the view that a minority position is in continual danger of being undermined by the definition of reality given by the larger group.²

On the other hand, those who hold conservative beliefs in spite of perceiving themselves in a minority may be more enthusiastic; their willingness to hold a minority position may be a testimony to this. Further, their classification of most of their own age-category as non-believers may indicate that they apply stricter standards: the

¹ The point is not new. Yinger (1957) for instance discusses minority-group status in connection with types of sects, pp.174-179.

² Berger (1967), pp.9-10.
Martin (1967), p.128.

reference points by which they judge the religious involvement of others are more demanding. Finally it is possible to postulate a reaction by those who feel themselves in a minority position which makes them cling with more determination to their distinctive position.

For the purpose of investigating the alternative hypotheses, "believers" were defined as those who agreed that "Jesus performed all the miracles which the Bible said he performed". Only those who agreed with this statement are considered in the following analysis.¹

Minority believers are believers who considered that most people their own age would disagree with the statement: "most traditional Christian beliefs can still be trusted". Majority believers are those who thought most of their own age would agree with the statement. A middle category is formed by those who considered their age-category would be evenly divided about the question.

On items that receive fairly general endorsement (B, C, F, G and I - Table 5 - 1) there is not much difference between minority and majority believers. Majority believers are slightly more likely to go to church, while there is almost no difference on the other three aspects of religious orientation.

However, where items receive low endorsement, minority believers are more likely to endorse the most religious response than are majority believers. Large differences (31% - 3% for boys, 31% - 20% for girls) are evident in the proportion of minority and majority believers who read the Bible frequently. Among the boys, but not the girls, minority believers are much more likely to be sure that they had had all the religious experiences listed (Item A). Item H shows a similar pattern.

¹ The miracles question rather than the doctrine question was used to define believers, as the conservative alternative of the latter question received such a high response that it did not provide a tough enough test for "believers".

TABLE 5 - 1

Minority and Majority Believers Contrasted
in Regard to Other Aspects of Religious Orientation

Per cent who give response:	<u>Boys</u>			<u>Girls</u>			
	<u>Min- ority</u>	<u>E.D.</u>	<u>Maj- ority</u>	<u>Min- ority</u>	<u>E.D.</u>	<u>Maj- ority</u>	
A Score 6 for religious experience	28	14	12	15	19	18	
B Score 4+ for religious experience	66	52	52	54	51	57	
C Go to church weekly +	50	68	68	50	56	64	
D Participate in a voluntary religious group at school	34	30	24	35	18	33	
E Read the Bible at least a few times a week	31	16	3	31	20	20	
F Concerned about religion	81	80	82	81	87	84	
G Agree application Christian beliefs to school	91	86	89	77	93	84	
H Often asked themselves what God wanted them to do	25	19	11	35	19	26	
I Religious feeling and ideas since age of 13							
more important	50	55	47	65	59	67	
less important	16	20	23	12	13	5	
J Prayer and devotions since age of 13							
more frequent	38	36	32	50	50	43	
less frequent	19	15	15	8	15	10	
K Churchgoing since age of 13							
more often	25	13	11	42	29	33	
less often	38	21	24	23	19	7	
	N.	(32)	(91)	(66)	(26)	(68)	(58)

Significance tests are not calculated on this Table and others like it as we are working with subgroups about whose school and socio-economic status composition little is known. Projection of the result to a hypothetical population in such circumstances would mean very little.

The contrasting results for generally endorsed and poorly endorsed items suggests that minority believers may include two contrasting types - waverers who are reluctant to be different from what they perceive as the majority norm (for instance, in regard to

churchgoing¹), and enthusiasts who opt for the most religious response whenever possible. This view receives support from the finding in regard to changes in churchgoing (Item K) where minority believers include a higher proportion who go to church more often than at the age of 13 and also a higher proportion who go less often. Majority believers are more likely to indicate that there has been no change.

TABLE 5 - 2
Minority and Majority Believers Contrasted
on Other Social-Context Variables

Per cent who give response:	Boys			Girls		
	<u>Min- ority</u>	<u>E.D.</u>	<u>Maj- ority</u>	<u>Min- ority</u>	<u>E.D.</u>	<u>Maj- ority</u>
A Parents' churchgoing - at <u>least</u> one parent weekly and the other sometimes	56	46	47	38	29	38
Of five best friends:						
B All go to church at least once a month	22	34	42	15	34	50
C 3+ go to church at least once a month	62	69	62	50	63	76
D Denomination:						
Catholic:	25	45	53	4	18	26
Anglican:	16	18	8	19	29	19
Baptists/Sects:	31	8	3	8	19	22
E Perceive many differences between serious Christians and others (High 'cultural distance'):	44	22	11	19	13	17
Medium and High 'cultural distance':	72	67	26	54	43	38
F Father perceived as holding traditional Christian beliefs	59	60	55	35	51	60
G Mother perceived as holding traditional Christian beliefs	81	76	79	77	71	79
H Disagree or Can't Decide 'It doesn't matter what religious views you have as long as you are sincere'	53	43	30	35	25	17
N.	(32)	(91)	(66)	26)	(68)	(58)

¹ The majority norm for all students, not for believers, is, of course, not regular attendance at church.

Table 5 - 2 is concerned with other aspects of the social context which may assist in the interpretation of differences between minority and majority believers.

The association shown in the previous chapter between perception of the religious involvement age-category and the religious involvement of friends is evident (Items B and C). In an item not reported in Table 5 - 2 only 6/50 of minority believers perceive all their friends as firmly holding traditional Christian beliefs, while 45/125 majority believers do so.

Catholics are over-represented among the majority believers. This could be a partial explanation of the last observation, as the students in Catholic schools have more friends who go to church regularly and who are perceived as holding firmly traditional Christian beliefs. This raises the question as to why Catholics are so over-represented among majority believers. The discussion of this question is deferred to a later point.

There is not much difference between majority and minority believers in the proportion of parents who go to church regularly. Nor is there much difference in regard to perceived belief of mother and father.¹ Apparently differences in religious home background are not an important explanation of why some believers conceptualise an alien religious world while others see the majority as being in agreement with them.

The greatest differences between majority and minority believers among the boys occurs on two items which at first sight may appear to be classified incorrectly as "social context" variables. These are items E and H.

Item E (Question 16) asked the students to assess how much difference there was between those who took Christianity seriously and those who did not, on a series of doctrinal, social and ethical issues

¹ Items A, F and G. The exception is perception of father's belief by girls.

(belief in miracles, dealing with poverty, alcohol at parties, relations with the opposite sex and Sunday sport). Those who thought there were considerable differences on a number of items would obtain high scores on the "perceived socio-cultural distance" (abbreviated "cultural distance") index. Those who thought there were few or no differences would obtain low scores on the "cultural distance" index.

Those believers who perceive themselves to be in a minority position are much more likely to perceive many differences between serious Christians and others. This finding is very clear for the boys no matter what cutting point is used and is true of the girls when the cutting point is near the mean score.

There are a number of possible interpretations of this finding. Perhaps those who perceive themselves as a minority develop a ghetto complex in which they emphasise their distinctiveness. Perhaps those who consider Christian faith involves a fairly strict and distinctive stand on social ethics and belief are applying tougher criteria by which they judge if others have accepted traditional Christian beliefs - and so judge that few reach the required standard. Perhaps both responses are a reflection of what is taught in certain families or churches - that the "world" which means most of society, is quite alien and unacceptable to the serious Christian.

Interpretation can be assisted further by noting the response to the item, "It doesn't matter what religious views you have as long as you are sincere". (Item H). Even among the believers this item, which depreciates the importance of content of belief, is quite strongly endorsed: disagreement is sparse even when the "can't decide" category of respondents is included on the side of disagreement. However, disagreement that the content of belief doesn't matter is far more widespread among minority believers than among majority believers. This is true for boys and girls. Minority believers are more likely to deny the legitimacy of alternative belief systems.

They are more likely to assert not only the distinctiveness of their position but also its exclusiveness. In other words, those who refuse to accept the popular statement playing down differences in belief are the ones whose perception of the religious world is that of a faithful minority among a generally non-accepting age-category.

To complete the circle, there is a strong association for the boys but not for the girls, between a high "cultural distance" score and disagreement with the statement that "it doesn't matter what religious beliefs you have as long as you are sincere".

TABLE 5 - 3

Association between "Cultural Distance" Score and Response to the Statement: "It doesn't matter what religious beliefs you have as long as you are sincere" (amongst Believers)

<u>Boys</u>	Cultural Distance Score	Response to Statement (= N's)	
		<u>Disagree/Can't Decide</u>	<u>Agree</u>
	High	37	38
	Low	28	110
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	N	65	148
		Gamma = .59	$\chi^2 = 18.0$ $P < .001$

<u>Girls</u>		<u>Disagree/Can't Decide</u>	<u>Agree</u>
		High	16
Low	57	88	
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	N	75	114
		Gamma = -.03	N.S.

For boys the perceived distinctiveness of the serious Christian and exclusive claims regarding belief are strongly associated.

The inter-association of items which are indicators of perception of being in a minority, clear demarcation from others and exclusive religious claims is not unexpected. Very similar characteristics to these are attributed to sectarians in the church-sect dichotomy which has been developed by writers such as Troeltsch, Niebuhr and Johnson. Church-sect theory will be reviewed here with

the purpose of developing further hypotheses regarding the association of certain perceptions of the religious world and aspects of religious orientation. The further aim of this section will be to suggest that the application of the social-context approach may advance church-sect theory from its present impasse.

PART III - The Church-Sect Typology

Troeltsch formalised the analysis of church and sect as sociological types.¹ He defined them principally in terms of their relation to society. The church was "overwhelmingly conservative", and tended to accept "the social order" so becoming "an integral part" of it. The sects, aiming at inward perfection and "direct personal fellowship" of members of the group, ranged in their attitudes to the social order from indifference to hostility.²

Troeltsch drew up a list of characteristics of church and sect. It is not relevant to explore all these distinctions but rather to stress that one important strand was the exclusivist-inclusivist distinction. "The sect, therefore, does not educate nations in the mass, but it gathers a select group of the elect and places it in sharp opposition to the world."³ Membership is not coterminous with society. The sect is "a voluntary community whose members join it of their own free will".⁴ The church endeavours to include all; the sect, as a matter of policy, excludes many.

¹ The terms are of course much older if polemical and theological writings are considered.

² E. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (2 Volumes) (1931), Volume I, p.331.

³ Ibid, p.339.

⁴ Ibid.

Later writers have each developed their own emphases in the church-sect typology, although the origin of most emphases can be found in Troeltsch's work. The church-sect dichotomy has been turned into a continuum with the addition of ecclesia, cult, established sect and denomination.¹ Many types of sects have been distinguished.² Theories of transition between the sect and the denomination have been developed, with varying stress on the importance of evangelistic efforts, the problem of coping with the second generation and the processes of accommodation arising from worldly success as elements undermining the position of the sect.³

A number of writers have linked the origins and growth of sects to socio-economic dislocation. Troeltsch had noted that the sects were connected with "the lower classes or at least those elements in society which are opposed to the State and society...."⁴ Niebuhr asserted that in "Protestant history the sect has ever been the child of an outcast minority, taking its rise in the religious revolts of the poor, of those who were without effective representation in church or state".⁵ More recently Demerath has demonstrated in five

¹ For instance see Yinger (1957), pp.147-155.

² E.g. Yinger (1957), pp.152-155.

E. T. Clark, The Small Sects in America (1937), pp.22-24.

B. R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society (1966), pp.195-198.

³ E.g. B. Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?" (1961), pp.309-316.

Wilson (1966), p.206.

T. F. O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (1966), p.99. O'Dea has given a clear statement of the most popular interpretation: "For example, sectaries lead a frugal life, work hard, save and often invest, in keeping with their ideas of inner-worldly asceticism. The consequence is that they become more affluent. They consequently become more adjusted to the norms and relationships of middle class life. They become re-integrated into the middle class world of which they have become a part. As a result, the sect loses its militant opposition character and becomes routinized. It becomes a denomination, and religious beliefs are correspondingly changed in either emphasis or content."

⁴ Troeltsch (1931), Volume I, p.331.

⁵ Niebuhr (1957), p.19.

Protestant denominations in U.S.A. a strong association between socio-economic status and a person's classification on church type - sect type dimension. Those of high socio-economic status were much more likely than would be expected by chance to be classified as pure church type.¹

One further development which should be noted is the application of the church-sect typology to classify individuals rather than groups. Dynes argued that "common denominational influences often obscure meaningful differences".² He calculated scores on sectarianism for individuals and then related to the scores for communal participation, sources of friendship and socio-economic status. Demerath has supported the application of the typology to individual orientations.³

Throughout the elaboration the church-sect typology, the exclusivist-inclusivist component, has received attention. Niebuhr, for instance argued that:

.... members are born into the church while they must join the sect. Churches are inclusive institutions frequently are national in scope, and emphasize the universalism of the gospel; while the sects are exclusive in character, appeal to the individualistic element in Christianity, and emphasize its ethical demands.⁴

Scanzoni considered definition of the legitimate church as an important element in defining the sect.⁵ In the development of his six-step classification along the church-sect continuum, Yinger uses as one of his two criteria for discriminating between types "the degree

¹ Demerath (1965), p.92. There is considerable doubt as to whether Demerath is measuring what is normally regarded as sectarianism at all. His measures correspond more to religious individualism. The point will be discussed again in Chapter VIII. For further discussion of the association between sects and the underprivileged see Yinger (1957), p.173.

² R. R. Dynes, "The Consequences of Sectarianism for Social Participation" (1957), p.331.

³ Demerath (1965), pp.43-44.

⁴ Niebuhr (1957), p.17.

⁵ J. Scanzoni, "A Note on Method for the Church-Sect Typology" (1965), p.194.

of inclusiveness of the members of a society".¹ Gustafson recently claimed that the universalistic-particularist concept of membership was one of the two central dimensions in Troeltsch's typology.²

Gustafson's attempt to define the central dimensions of the church-sect typology arose out of the confusion in recent research and discussion on the topic. There has been uneasiness that the typology has become overloaded with connotations, each writer adding or emphasising certain characteristics of sects. As a result findings have been lacking in precision, apparently discrepant and non-cumulative.

Goode's conclusion is that definitions of "sect" or "sectness" which consist merely in a list of characteristics are useless. There is "always a 'lack of fit' between the construct and what is observed in actual fact, because of changing accidental circumstances. If a construct is reproduced in reality, it does not prove that the elements necessarily 'belong' together...."³ Eister also attacked the arbitrary conglomeration of characteristics which is frequently used as the definition of sectarianism.⁴

In this situation of ambiguity and confusion three paths are open. One is to retreat not only from the church-sect terminology but also the theoretical and substantive issues for which the church-sect typology has been an instrument of investigation.

The second possibility is to do empirical studies with as few presuppositions about dimensions as possible, but still endeavouring to work towards a multi-dimensional concept of sectarianism in the process of the research. Factor analysis could be used to find out

¹ Yinger (1957), p.147.

² P. Gustafson, "UO - US - PS - PD : A Restatement of Troeltsch's Church-Sect Typology" (1967), pp.64-67.

³ Goode (1967), p.70.

⁴ Eister (1967), pp.86-88.

which items varied together. The items could be drawn from a pool which sought to represent attitudinal and organisational aspects of sectarianism which have been stressed from time to time.¹ Scanzoni, without using factor analysis, was able to build up a four dimensional concept in which there was a high level of consistency between the responses on all four dimensions. Those who were sectarian on one dimension were also sectarian on the others. However, this consistency in religious matters may be due principally to the nature of his subjects - clergy.²

Of course, any set of items purporting to measure sectarianism that varied together with one population may not do so for another. There is a further limitation. Factor analysis may assist by describing the internal relations of variables in a given population. However, it is not so helpful in assessing the relationship between specified variables under different conditions (i.e. controlling for different factors).

The final possibility is to break down the concept of sectarianism and look at only one aspect. The correlates of this one aspect can be observed, if possible in different social contexts. Any attempt to build up a multi-dimensional concept of sectarianism would be deferred. This approach should lead to clarification, provided the researcher makes it clear that he is abstracting only one aspect of sectarianism for consideration.

Such a procedure fits in with the approach of this study. Attention has been drawn to the church-sect typology because one aspect of it is concerned with social construction of the religious world - the drawing of boundaries (of a religious kind) between people, including self. Of course, previous writers have not viewed

¹ An analysis similar in principle to this has been recently conducted on youth groups in Canberra by Dent, in an unpublished M.A. thesis, "The Utility of the Church-Sect Typology" (1968)

² Scanzoni (1965), p.199. One would expect clergy to be more systematic in their views.

the question primarily in terms of an individual's perception of his religious environment. However, it has been argued that the exclusive-inclusive distinction has been stressed by many sociologists who have used the church-sect typology. This distinction can be viewed in terms of perception of others.

To summarise, we wish to focus attention on the extent to which people make clear distinction between those who meet certain religious criteria and those who do not. For instance, Christians may draw a sharp distinction between those who are "true Christians" - a limited group - and those who are not. Those who are not true Christians may be described as "lost", "unsaved", "outside the faith", "merely nominal Christians" and so on. The essential feature is that validity is not granted to their religious position.

As this concept does not exhaust the meaning of sectarianism, the term sectarianism should be avoided. Instead the term particularism will be used to refer to the denial of religious legitimacy to others, and so by implication, to the adoption of an exclusivist position.

This use of the term is almost identical to Glock and Stark's use of it in their study of the religious origins of some anti-semitism. They used as indicators of particularism the stringency of the requirements for salvation and the disqualifications from salvation.¹ The choice of indicators ties the question of religious legitimacy to the question of salvation² - a fair enough assumption for fundamentalists although the two may not match for other groups. Thus religious legitimacy could be denied to others by defining their beliefs as irrational if rationality is considered an indispensable feature of valid religious beliefs.

¹ C. Y. Glock and R. Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (1966), p.22.

² "Eligibility for salvation" Ibid, p.26.

PART IV - The Concept of Particularism - Some Further Refinements

Before discussing the results of this survey a few further clarifications of the concept of particularism should be made.

1. Frequently sociologists who have used the church-sect typology have been concerned to describe the sectarian reaction to the social status system and the framework of the economic system of the communities in which the sects exist. Thus Yinger categorised sects into aggression, acceptance and withdrawal oriented groups, on the basis of their attitudes to the "social order".¹ Without doubt this area of investigation is an important one, but sometimes conclusions are presented in a way which plays down the barrier which the sectarian erects between the true religious group and others. As the concern of this chapter is precisely about this aspect of sectarianism, the subject deserves attention.

Moberg classes Moral Re-Armament as an acceptance type of sect because it does not challenge the capitalistic framework of society.² Similarly Johnson argues that the Holiness groups from the South of U.S.A. "basically accept society as constituted"³ as they neither adopt the orientation of social action (reform) nor withdrawal. These points may be valid but care must be taken to place these comments in the context of a focus on certain aspects of society - social and economic. In other words, and in matters which the sects consider are of central importance, there may be a rejection of the institutions and values of society. The sectarians may show rejection by non-participation in society's normal provisions for sociability and recreation, for instance, in Moral Re-Armament's almost complete disapproval of dating and the rejection by some religious groups of the mass media.⁴

¹ Yinger (1957), pp.174-176.

² D. O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (1962), p.81.

³ Johnson (1961), p.312.

⁴ For instance, the Exclusive Brethren. Moral Re-Armament's particularism is of course ethical rather than religious in content.

The religious particularist draws a distinction between those who are right about what he considers to be the central religious values and those who are wrong. This is true even if from society's viewpoint he may accept, perhaps through indifference, what society regards as the basic social values. Further there is a strong likelihood the particularist will be more concerned about religious than social values. As far as he is concerned he is making a basic attack on society as constituted because he perceives society in religious terms and perceives religious differences as the fundamental ones.

2. The second comment concerns "filling in" the other end of the particularist continuum as well as providing a further refinement of the particularist end.

When sects are referred to in the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they can be rightly perceived as minority protest groups in a community which professed Christianity (this would apply to almost any European community) and in which Christianity was the established religion. While religious divisions within states were often deep, the dominance of one particular branch of Christianity was feasible. It was reasonable (though not necessarily accurate) to hold that the church could so influence the community that the beliefs and goals of the church would be generally accepted in the community.

The pluralist and at least partially secularised societies of Australia, the U.S.A. and much of Europe make this seem remote. A person who wished to maintain that there was religious consensus in such societies today would need to play down the specific content of belief and practice of various groups and emphasise some lowest common denominator such as the attitude of faith or sincerity in belief. Only in this way could some universalistic concept of the religious group be maintained.

Groups which might have sought at other times to dominate society have had to recognize their minority position. In this situation they can adopt the stance of the sect or they can play down the importance of religious differences and take their place as one among many valid competing interpretations. This is the position of the "denomination" which Martin showed is not merely a half-way point between sect and church. While the sect and the church consider those outside are damned, the denominations is a sui generis type in admitting its position to be one of many valid competitors.¹

The change is well illustrated by the problem of placing the Catholic Church on the church-sect continuum according to its stand regarding exclusivism. The Catholic Church was once a model for the church-type because of its claims to inclusiveness and universality. However as circumstances have changed Catholics have sometimes been forced to distinguish themselves sharply from the community in which they are placed. Johnson believed that because the Catholic Church had developed "distinctively religious structures paralleling those of secular society", it should be classified "as somewhat more sectarian than most of the major Protestant bodies".² Other writers have noted that the Catholics and Lutherans have been aided in the struggle to maintain their Parochial schools by their "ideologies of non-compromise with their environment".³

Wilson has noted a similar phenomenon in Europe. "Religious institutions which once boasted the name and reality of churches are, with secularization faced with being reduced to the status of sects.... They are now groups who "believe and practice things which are alien to the majority".⁴

¹ D. A. Martin, "The Denomination" (1962), pp.4-5.

² B. Johnson, "On Church and Sect" (1963), p.546.

³ P. H. Rossi and A. S. Rossi, "Some Effects of Parochial School Education in America" (1962), p.56.

⁴ Wilson (1966), p.223.

The alternative, in societies with religious pluralism, to denying religious legitimacy to others and making exclusive claims is not to endeavour to obtain community-wide adherence to one's own position - to dominate the community as the universal church did. Rather it is to deny that the difference between various religious institutions or various religious positions are of any major importance. The legitimacy of other positions is granted. We shall term this view "relativism" and will refer to a person's position on particularism/relativism scale to describe his adherence in varying strength to particularism or relativism.

The classical statement of the position was given by President Eisenhower, "Our government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith --and I don't care what it is."¹ Van Den Heuvel, in expressing a fundamental tenet of the ecumenical movement again catches the emphasis: "we all know that what unites us is of decisive importance".²

3. Those who deny religious legitimacy to others may do so on quite widely varying criteria. Some may draw the lines between their own religious group and all others. Others may include more religious groups but still exclude those considered beyond the pale. However it is more likely that the distinguishing mark of those whose religious position is considered legitimate and will not be so visible as belonging to a certain group or groups. Those accepted are more likely to constitute a category than a group. The category might be constituted on the basis on correct belief or correct behaviour or a mixture.

4. The distinction between particularism and relativism can be applied more widely than merely to religious organisations and the religious orientations of individuals. Political commitment could be particularist or relativist. So could commitment to schools of

¹ Cited by Herberg (1956), p.97, emphasis added by Herberg.

² A. H. Van Den Heuvel, The Humiliation of the Church (1967), pp.95-96.

sociological thought or the views of adolescents about use of leisure. In each case there is the possibility of denying or granting validity to alternative positions, although the definition of "validity" would need exploration in each case.

Eister and Demerath agreed that one weakness of the church-sect typology was its isolation from the general body of sociological theory.¹ Demerath has already suggested the wider applicability of the the concepts of church type and sect-type commitment.² The concepts of particularism and relativism offer possibilities of link with sociological theory, especially at the level of organisation theory. Gouldner distinguished several factors in organisational commitment, one of which was exclusiveness of membership.³ She found multi-organisational membership related negatively to commitment to acceptance of values in the organisation being studied which she interpreted as multiple membership having consequences for the type of involvement in any one organisation. Exclusive membership, of course, is not the same as a particularist orientation but the possibilities of a parallel effect are worthy of investigation as is the inter-relationship between the two aspects of commitment themselves.⁴

PART V - Particularism as an Explanatory Factor

The above example suggests a number of hypotheses regarding the particularist orientation. Particularism may lead to (or result

¹ Eister (1967), pp.89-90.
Demerath (1967), pp.82-84.

² Demerath (1965), pp.189-197.

³ Gouldner (1960), p.482.

⁴ Other links with theory will be made in the discussion of the results and in the concluding chapter.

from) a more thorough-going acceptance of norms of the category or group people defined as legitimate. On the other hand relativism may be associated with a weak or weakening attachment to these norms. This is quite a crucial question to ask in societies with religious pluralism. A relativist position is often advocated as one aspect of tolerance; but does a relativist position lead to a weakening of enthusiasm and belief or can it only occur when such a weakening had already taken place? Does the acceptance of the validity of others' views inexorably lead to a modification of one's own?

A second line of hypotheses concerns the social correlates of particularism. Is particularism associated with ghetto-like involvements centred around the local church and absence of non-religious involvement?

Both lines of hypotheses have their parallel in expectations about the correlates of sectarianism, but we cannot assume any associations exist on the basis of the parallel.

The strategy to be followed will be to explain and justify the choice of an indicator for particularism in this survey, then to examine the hypotheses above and finally to return to a more complex measure of perception of religious environment to include perceived socio-cultural distance between serious Christians and others and perceived minority status as well as particularist orientation, so as to ascertain their combined effect.

Indices of Particularism

In the pilot tests a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to operationalise aspects of the sectarian as against church-type outlook. At that stage the specific concept of particularism was only latent. Finally the attempt was abandoned. Without at that stage realising all its potential connotations, the statement:

It doesn't matter what religious views you have as long as you are sincere

was included in the final Questionnaire along with other statements to obtain students' response on a Likert-type scale (definitely agree - definitely disagree). The link of this question with the theory discussed above was made explicit only at the stage of analysis of results. In spite of the risk of using one item in isolation for an untried concept, it was decided to proceed with the analysis as the item discriminated between respondents in the expected direction on a number of other items and had face validity. These points will be developed.

The particularist is most unlikely to agree with the statement if his particularism is at least partly based on criteria of belief.¹ He will assert that the content of religious views does matter. On the other hand the statement represents almost a cliché for relativists. Some might prefer to add different comments at the end such as "as long as you have faith in something" or "as long as you lead a good life". However it would be expected that they would still endorse the statement as it stands.

PARTICULARISTS then are operationally defined as those who responded negatively to the view that religious views don't matter as long as you are sincere. RELATIVISTS are operationally defined as those who accept the statement.

Two points of procedure should be noted here:

1. It is claimed that a particularist orientation is going to be associated with other variables independently of other indicators of extent of religious involvement. If particularism is no more than just another measure of general religious involvement then it is not possible to argue that it represents a distinct type of religious involvement closely tied to how the religious world is perceived.

¹ Particularists who have criteria such as membership of a particular religious group would also disagree as a rule, because they would tend to assert that their group had distinctive beliefs.

For this purpose, churchgoing, as a general measure of religious involvement, will be held constant when examining the correlates of particularism.¹ On occasions the control of the general level of religious involvement will be made even more precise.

2. This survey is concerned almost entirely with Christian religion. However, there may be students in the sample who are particularist Jews or particularist atheists. Their responses obviously will not fit the pattern of expected particularist Christian responses. As there would not be sufficient of these people to examine separately they are excluded from analysis as far as possible by considering only those who go to church at least once a month. A brief survey of the eighteen respondents who definitely disagreed that "it doesn't matter what religious view you have..." but went to church less than once a month shows them to be extremely heterogeneous, having in common only a propensity to make marginal comments and express strong views whatever their content.

The disadvantage of having only one indicator of particularism was partially overcome by checking this item against responses to another item which asked respondents to assess certain alleged benefits of religion (or specifically Christian belief) as reasons for belief. Among the alleged benefits was the suggestion that "religious belief - it doesn't matter exactly what belief - helps to build up character which is good for our society as a whole".

As this suggestion was among a list of suggestions all of which received favourable responses from those who showed any interest in religion, there is a possibility that the enthusiastic person, keen to show his approval of religion, would fall into a response set which would lead to favourable endorsement of this item as well as all the others. However, the particularist logically ought to object

¹ Allen and Spilka (1967), p.194, have made this point. They emphasised that "subjects classified dichotomously" according to type of religious commitment must be "with certain practical limits 'equally religious'" if the correlates of type of commitment are to be considered.

to the quite explicit relativism ("it doesn't matter exactly what belief") and may also show little enthusiasm for the aim of reinforcing social values. A negative association should result between particularism and endorsement of this relativist reason for belief.

Tables 5 - 4 and 5 - 5 indicate the expected results. There is a negative association between particularism and approval of this reason for belief, which persists within each level of churchgoing. Churchgoing is also negatively associated with the relativist reason for belief, but not so strongly as is particularism.

TABLE 5 - 4

Score on P/R Scale, Churchgoing and Endorsement
of Relativist Reason for Belief

Per cent who estimate "religious belief - it doesn't matter exactly what belief - help to build up character which is good for society as a whole" as a reason for belief as:	<u>Weekly (+)</u> <u>Churchgoers</u>				<u>Moderate</u> <u>Churchgoers</u>			
	EP	MP	MR	ER	EP	MP	MR	ER
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
Very important	11	23	25	39	7	24	27	39
Of some importance	34	37	45	38	57	34	52	40
Not important	15	11	16	8	7	21	11	9
Not true	38	27	12	11	21	14	9	8
N	47	62	116	160	14	29	64	109

MODERATE CHURCHGOERS are those who go to church less than weekly but at least once a month.

EP = Extreme Particularists - those who definitely disagree with the statement: "It doesn't matter what religious beliefs you have as long as you are sincere".

MP = Moderate Particularists - those who tend to disagree with the statement.

MR = Moderate Relativists - those who tend to agree with the statement.

ER = Extreme Relativists - those who definitely agree with the statement.

In most Tables four classifications are made on the P/R. scale because the relationships are usually linear and this seemed to be worth noting despite the small numbers.

TABLE 5 - 5

Gamma Co-efficients Showing Strength of Association of
Churchgoing and Relativist Reason for Belief and
Particularism and Relativist Reason for Belief

Partial Gammas:

Churchgoing - Relativist reason for belief		
	(Particularists)	- .18
	(Relativists)	- .06

Net partial gamma:

Churchgoing - Relativist reason for belief		
	(Comparing only pairs similar on the particularist-relativist dimension)	- .08

Partial Gammas:

Particularism - Relativist reason for belief		
	(Weekly churchgoers)	- .37
	(Moderate churchgoers)	- .23

Net partial gamma:

Particularism - Relativist reason for belief		
	(Comparing only pairs similar in frequency of churchgoing)	- .34

It could be argued that the test has not been tough enough to show that the relativist reason for belief and the indicator of relativism vary together apart from the general level of religious involvement. Churchgoing may be a poor measure of religious involvement as even weekly churchgoers may be obliged to attend church and feel little regard for it. Two further measures were added to discriminate among weekly churchgoers - their response to the items:

"Religious matters do not concern me" and
 "Most church services are helpful to me"

Five grades of religious involvement among weekly churchgoers were established and the responses of ideal particularists and ideal relativists to the relativist reason for belief were observed within each grade.

TABLE 5 - 6

Comparative Endorsement of Relativist Reason for Belief by
Extreme Particularists and Extreme Relativists for Five Grades
of Religious Involvement (Weekly Churchgoers)

Grade of Religious Involvement	EP			ER		
	Relativist Reason for Belief			Relativist Reason for Belief		
	Very Important	Not True		Very Important	Not True	
A (Very high)	3	-	4	15	-	4
B	0	-	5	12	-	5
C	1	-	2	16	-	4
D	0	-	5	13	-	5
E (Low)	1	-	2	7	-	0

The numbers are small but the pattern is clear. In every grade of religious involvement the extreme particularists are more likely to consider the reason for belief as "not true" than as "very important" while the extreme relativists are much more likely to choose the response "very important" than the "not true" response. The particularism/relativism scale then is measuring something similar to the relativist reason for belief question and something different from simply accepting the responses most favourable to religion.

A further check on the discriminatory power of the particularism/relativism scale can be found by checking the denominations of particularists and relativists among weekly churchgoers. It would be expected that particularists would be more likely than relativists to come from the sect end of the church-sect continuum of religious groups. It is assumed here that Baptists and other small religious groups (except Congregationalist) are towards the sect end.¹

¹ Dent (1968), pp.190-193 found Baptist Youth Groups in Canberra generally scored higher on measures of sectness. Baptists in Victoria have adopted a less favourable attitude to ecumenical ventures than Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists. The "sects" are extremely varied and it is not implied by classing them together that there are not very great differences between them. They included such groups as Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists, Gospel Hall and Melbourne Revival Centre.

TABLE 5 - 7

Denominations of Particularists and Relativists

(Weekly Churchgoers)

Denomination Per cent of each category who are:	E.P.	M.P. & C.D. ^a	M.R.	E.R.
Baptists or Sect Members:	30	13	7	6
Catholics:	32	48	43	44
Anglicans	17	8	10	19
Presbyterians or Methodists:	11	25	28	24
Others ^b , none:	11	8	11	7
N	(47)	(80)	(116)	(161)

^a C.D. = Can't decide category combines with the contiguous category in this analysis.

^b Others included three members of the Catholic boys' school who appeared to misinterpret the question on denomination, listing themselves as Presbyterians or Methodists.

The distribution is as expected. While 30 per cent of the ideal particularists are members of a Baptist church or a sect, only six per cent of the ideal relativists are. Among the moderate churchgoers the Baptists and sects contribute 6/43 particularists but only 9/173 relativists. While the results provide some supports for the indicator of particularism, it is also clear that most particularists among the Form Five students do not belong to a denomination at the sect-end of the continuum.

Some General Characteristics of the Particularists

Of the 404 weekly churchgoers among the students only 47 definitely disagreed that "it doesn't matter what religious views you have as long as you are sincere". Among the remaining students who went to church less than weekly 42 definitely disagreed with the statement. These 89 students, 52 boys and 37 girls, constitute the category of "extreme particularists".

The sex distribution is in itself a little surprising. If particularism can be considered in any way as being at the "favourable to religion" end of the particularism/relativism continuum then this sex distribution is a reversal of the normal tendency for the girls to show greater religious involvement. Especially among regular churchgoers the boys are disproportionately represented among the particularists.

TABLE 5 - 8

Sex of Particularists and Relativists

(Weekly Churchgoers)

	E.P.	M.P. & C.D.	M.R.	E.R.	TOTAL
Boys	30	48	58	82	(218)
Girls	17	32	58	79	(186)
N	(47)	(80)	(116)	(161)	(404)

C.D. = Can't decide.

A partial explanation is that a higher proportion of the boys are Baptists who are more favourable to particularism, but even when the Baptist Church school is withdrawn there is still a higher proportion of boys than girls among the particularists.

Another possible explanation is that boys place more emphasis than girls on the ideas and beliefs component of religion. The girls may be more attracted by the quality of "sincerity". As already discussed in Chapter III, boys adopt a more favourable attitude toward an intellectual approach than do girls. There is also a slight association between adopting an intellectual approach to questions and particularism.¹

Occupation of father does not show any consistent association with particularism. Sectarianism among Protestants in the U.S.A. is most distinctively a working and lower class phenomenon.² Whether or not this is true in Australia, it is not surprising that the

¹ See Appendix F.

² Demerath (1965) reports others' findings pp.17-25, his own findings p.88.

association does not show up in a select group such as Form Five students. By the very fact that he is still at school at this level any student from a poor socio-economic background is likely to be upwardly mobile.¹

Among the weekly churchgoers the students whose fathers have high occupational status are a little more likely to be relativists than those whose fathers have low occupational status, but the difference is slight. Among the moderate churchgoers the opposite is true.

Only by drawing on a wider population can questions about status and particularism be answered. Meanwhile it can be taken that particularists and relativists in this survey are similar in social status when measured by occupation of father.²

Responses to the open-ended question were examined to provide supplementary evidence of the nature of the particularist-relativist distinction. Generally, where there were any relevant comments, they supported the classification made on the basis of the one indicator.

The clearest statement of the particularist position is given by a girl with both Pentecostal and Baptist affiliations.

I think Christian people have to be different. God told us not to be conformed to this world. We can still dress in modern clothes, etc., but not in the kind of clothes that show we do not belong to Christ. Most people have no Christian ideals to live up to. (0508 F)

This was in response to the statement presented to students who wished to do an extra sheet of the questionnaire, "To be a Christian seems to give a feeling of being different and not 'with-it'". The other Protestants who answered this question were also prepared to concede (or gleefully insist) that Christians did feel different, but with reservations about not being "with-it". A boy from a

¹ See Chapter III, p.97.

² According to the occupational classification of Zubrzycki and Lancaster Jones, Appendix E.

Presbyterian Church agreed that being a Christian "does give you the feeling of being different, though how can you say if you're 'with-it' or not? I don't want to be one of the mob". (2068). Another boy, an Anglican, considered that if "you become a Christian it does not automatically mean that all fun ends. Instead your life becomes brighter and happier". (2212) The two Catholic particularists who made detailed comments on this question were both concerned to play down the minority concept, one reversing the charge by suggesting "to refuse or shut out religion is very silly" (4544), the other by claiming that the contrast between being a Christian and being "with-it" was "ridiculous". (4549)

Only a few of the Protestant particularists do not express enthusiasm about religion.¹ The Catholics appear phlegmatic in contrast; they have less of the vocabulary of personal attachment to religion. The difference may go no deeper than expression.²

One final characteristic which distinguished the particularists was the frequent mention of a group of Christian church friends as being important in their religious development.³ "Christian friends are always the closest to me because we have a much better understanding of each other", claimed the daughter of a missionary (0371), while a boy whose religious commitment appeared more tentative said that God felt real to him "only when I am at Church surrounded by people who have strong but not pious religious beliefs". (0555)

¹ E.g. 6897 "I believe that Christianity is the only thing in this world at present worth having and the only true thing" would be a strong statement; others showed disposition by positive-type responses to a question about when God seemed real or to the question about religious influences.

² There were a few cases where the open-ended responses cast doubt on the classification by the criterion question and two cases where boarders going to church by compulsion were definitely misplaced. However, no attempt was made to alter the classification as (I) not all students answered open-ended questions (II) to use open-ended comments for classification in any case would have been extremely difficult as often they were not comparable.

³ 11/47 particularists as against 0/37 relativists whose questionnaires were examined.

Some of the extreme relativists are also obviously religious enthusiasts but the group is less homogeneous. Generally they are less expressive in their religious sentiments, but there also is evidence of ambivalence and doubt. Only a few state explicitly the relativist position. A Catholic girl comes near to it when she asserts that, "I need a religion and the one I belong to suits me the best...." (4534). Another girl added as a gloss to the particularism/relativism criterion question, "No religion is the right one. Everybody thinks differently". (2123)

PART VI - Correlates of Particularism - Survey Results

General Hypothesis

The particularism/relativism classification is an important strand in the composite church-sect typology. Some of the hypotheses in the sections to follow will derive from the view that particularists are likely to share the characteristics traditionally ascribed to the sectarians.

However, it is possible to go beyond merely linking particularism to church-sect hypotheses and to state the general hypothesis in terms that would be applicable to other than religious matters. Further specific hypotheses will be derived from the following general hypothesis:

It is more likely that the norms of a group or category will be endorsed by a person who is particularist in his orientation than a person who is relativist.

When this general hypothesis is applied to the concept of a category of people classed as Christians, then it would be expected that particularists will show stronger endorsement of Christian beliefs, goals and practices than will relativist Christians who are broadly similar in other ways. However, attention will be directed

first to the differences between particularists and relativists in aspects of their social relations.

Particularism and Exclusive Friendships

It has been noted that a high proportion of in-group friendships has long been considered a characteristic of sects, and sectarians. Dynes found that in "the life of the Sectarian, the religious group appears to be his most meaningful association and source of friendship".¹ Those with high scores for sectarianism were likely to have more of their five closest friends belonging to the same church.²

Demerath used the proportion of the respondent's five closest friends in the same congregation as a measure of sect-type orientation.³ In so far as the particularists share the characteristics of the sectarians we might expect they will have a higher proportion of friends in the same congregation.

Students in this survey were asked, concerning their five closest friends, "how many attend church or church activities with you at least once a month?"

Only a weak association between particularism and the proportion of close friends in the local congregation was discovered when weekly churchgoers were considered. Nine per cent of the ideal particularists as opposed to 7 per cent of the ideal relativists have all of their five best friends who go to the same church. As many as 30 per cent of the ideal particularists have not even one of their five best friends who attends church with them at least once a month while the figure for the relativists is 33 per cent. There is no recurring pattern.

¹ Dynes (1957), p.334.

² Ibid, p.333.

³ Demerath (1965), pp.67 ff.

TABLE 5 - 9

Particularism and the Number of Closest Friends at the Same Church
(Weekly Churchgoers)

Number of closest friends who go to the same church	Friends at the Same Church (Per cent column total)			
	E.P.	M.P. & C.D.	M.R.	E.R.
5	9	6	5	7
3 - 4	15	28	27	20
1 - 2	43	45	38	39
0	30	18	29	33
No answer	(4)	(4)	(1)	(1)
Mean number of friends	1.64	1.95	1.73	1.61
N	(47)	(80)	(116)	(160)

Gamma Co-efficient: = .06

Those who go to church less than weekly but at least once a month are, as expected, less likely to nominate those who go to the same church as among their five closest friends but some association is evident this time between friends in church and particularism. Seven per cent of the particularists in contrast to 2 per cent of the extreme relativists said all their closest friends went to the same church; 21 per cent of the extreme particularists and 47 per cent of the extreme relativists said none of their five closest friends went to the same church. Knowing the order of a pair on the particularism/relativism scale improved prediction of which of the pair would have more friends at the same church by 15 per cent compared with an improvement of only 6 per cent for weekly churchgoers. The pattern observed here is true for boys and girls.

When the overall perspective is considered the association is marginal; certainly not as high as an indiscriminate application of church-sect theory to particularism would indicate. There are a number of possible explanations for this lack of a consistently strong association.

First the test is conducted with an adolescent school population. Educational institutions generally permit, even often demand, more informal interaction among equals than productive organisations such as factories and offices. The chances that best friends will be school friends are consequently very high. In 17 of the 18 groups at least four of the five best friends of students went to the same school as the nominator in over 30 per cent of cases and at least 50 per cent found the majority of their friends in the same school. It is likely then that even particularists allow the opportunities provided by school for formation of friendship to influence their selection of friends.

Nevertheless students would be able to choose friends who belonged to the same congregation if there was a reasonable number of church friends who went to the same school, and were of similar age or put differently, if the school contained groups of, say, 8+ from a fairly small number of congregations. This is rarely the case as is shown by the range of schools considered below.

TABLE 5 - 10

Congregations Represented in Various Schools

	Number who nominate a specific church which they know best	Number of local Churches represented	Size of contingents from three best represented local Churches
Woodville H.S.	54	34	6 - 4 - 4
Inberg H.S.	48	24	7 - 5 - 4
Burnham H.S.	46	16	10 - 7 - 6
Greenfall H.S.	91	59	10 - 4 - 4
R.C.G.S.	40	15	10(B) - 7 - 4
Edgevale B.G.	60	23	15(B) - 7 - 5
Plenbern G.C.	63	25	15(+B) - 11 - 5

B = Boarders at this church are included.

+B = Boarders must be added to complete the contingent.

The dispersed nature of the areas on which schools draw is responsible for some of the spread of Form Five students over such a

large number of local congregations. The variation in the extent of geographical dispersion of students partially explains the difference between Woodville High School in semi bush setting and Burnham High School with a more concentrated population. The large number of denominations in each area is another factor, particularly affecting the non-denominational high schools. Finally the car has probably played a part in enabling families to choose socially, temperamentally and doctrinally congenial churches in neighbouring suburbs.

When it is remembered that the nominators of a particular congregation are not necessarily regular attenders it is clear that there could be little overlap between church friends and school friends. Ideal particularists, who tend to belong to small churches drawing on wide areas are even less likely to find among fellow students some who are members of the same church.¹

A second explanation of the slightness of the relationships between particularism and having friends going to the same church is the increasing importance of voluntary non-denominational religious groups in fulfilling the need for close inter-personal relations once fulfilled by local congregations. Brown, in a study of university religious groups, argued that those groups were more likely to influence belief than local congregations were, because the former were voluntarily chosen.² It may be that those in the larger denominations find kindred spirits in such voluntary religious groups as the Student Christian Movement, Crusader Inter School Christian Fellowship, Young Catholic Society and Legion of Mary which have groups in the schools surveyed or even in non-school based meetings and conventions rather than the local church. For instance, one

¹ Only two ideal particularists belong to the same church - a Presbyterian church.

² Brown (1962), p.202.
Fichter found the same situation in his study of the parish: extra parochial activities were absorbing much of the energy of religious enthusiasts. Fichter (1953), p.213.

particularist, a boy from a Baptist Church claimed that the "reason for having few friends at church is that my ideas of music, poetry, etc., are much older. My religious ideals tend to be stricter, especially over things like dancing, the movies, etc."

Half the weekly churchgoing particularists who could go to voluntary religious groups did so (52/104) while the figure of the relativists is 69/160.¹ There is then only a marginal difference in the support of voluntary religious groups by particularists and relativists.²

Because of the different type of population, this study and that of Dynes are not strictly comparable. However, it should be noted that Dynes' sectarians may have more friends in the same congregation simply because they go to church more often.³ Dynes does not control for churchgoing, so it could well be that there is no difference among regular church attenders between the sectarian and non-sectarian.⁴ It is suggested therefore that we have as yet no conclusive evidence that any aspect of sectarianism is related to having a high proportion of friends from the same congregation other than an association which could be explained through increased opportunities to make friends at the same church when one goes to church more regularly.

A final consideration, raised by Goode, is that the proportion of friends in the local congregation is a measure primarily of concentration of friendships in a given locality which is typical of

¹ Gamma Co-efficient .14. Some schools did not have groups. The "can't decide" response group to the particularism question were placed in the particularist groups in the dichotomy.

² There is evidence that school friends share the norm of attendance or non-attendance at school religious groups. Chapter VII, p.322.

³ Dynes (1957), p.333.

⁴ Glock and Stark also report differences between "liberal" and "conservative" respondents in regard to friends in the same congregation and these are very large but again churchgoing is not controlled. Glock and Stark (1965), pp.163-164.

the working class. "The association between friendship concentration in the local congregation and low status factors thus may be a function of less extensive friendship patterns of the working classes".¹ If this is true then this student population, where the particularists do not come in disproportionate numbers from lower occupational status groups, could not be expected to show the alleged characteristic of sectarians. The wording of the question in this survey also would tend to hide local friendships as a positive response requires a person to be with his friend at church not merely to be his friend through common locality. The Questions of Dynes, Demerath and Glock and Stark do not stipulate that the friend "attend church or church activities with you at least once a month" so some of the pairs of friends in their population may be marginal members of the same congregation who know each other through the proximity of neighbourhood.

It is still possible that the friendship groups of the particularists may be more exclusive along religious lines than are those of relativists. For instance, the friends of particularists may be more likely to hold the same beliefs, or to have had the same religious experiences than the relativists. However, such a tendency cannot be observed when the churchgoing of friends (irrespective of whether or not it is the same church) is observed. Boys who are particularists are less likely to have as five best friends the regular church attenders (monthly at least) than are relativists. In no category among the boys or girls is there a strong association between having churchgoing friends and particularism.²

Particularism and Religious/Secular Participation

In the research referred to before, Dynes discovered, in keeping with the traditional picture of the sectarian's withdrawal

¹ Goode (1967), p.75.

² Appendix G.

from society, that those at the sectarian end of the continuum participated in less organisations other than church organisations than did the church-type; while the reverse was true for church organisations.¹

The criterion question for particularism in this survey measures exclusiveness at the level of belief not at the level of participation. There is no logically necessary connection between particularism in belief and exclusive commitment to a specific organised church. However, one would expect these characteristics to go together to some extent so that the particularists are expected to have a higher ratio of membership of church organisations to secular organisations, even when church-going is held constant.²

TABLE 5 - 11
Participation in Church and Other Clubs According to
Churchgoing and Particularism

	<u>Weekly Churchgoers</u>				<u>Moderate Churchgoers</u>			
	EP	MP	MR	ER	EP	MP	MR	ER
A. Per cent Participating at all								
in church clubs, etc.	66	66	59	58	64	48	59	55
in other clubs, etc.	43	32	44	41	29	48	50	43
Ratio church clubs, etc. :								
Other clubs, etc.	2.3	2.4	1.3	1.6	3.0	0.9	1.2	1.4
N	(47)	(62)	(116)	(160)	(14)	(29)	(64)	(109)

School clubs were not included in other clubs for the purpose of this analysis as participation in these would be so much influenced by provisions of the school that any other associations would require school to be held constant. Further, school activities partly depend on orientation to adult authority which would again obscure any association between particularism and participation.

¹ Dynes (1957), p.333.

² All religious organisations other than school-based groups were placed under the heading of "church organisations" and were removed to this classification if placed under "other" by students. However, few students mentioned religious organisations other than those attached to the local church.

Table 5 - 11 shows that particularists are more likely to participate in church clubs than relativists and that they do have a higher ratio of participation in church clubs/other clubs¹ among the Form Five students. However, particularists do not show consistent pattern of lower rates of participation than relativists in other clubs.

An examination of the boys and girls results among weekly churchgoers permits further specification. The difference between the particularists and relativists is more marked for boys than it is for girls when proportions of those who participate at all in church and other clubs are considered.

TABLE 5 - 12

Boys and Girls Participation in Church
and Other Clubs Among Weekly Churchgoers
According to Position on P/R Scale

		Per cent participating in	
		<u>Church clubs</u>	<u>Other clubs</u>
BOYS:	Particularists	69	35
	Relativists	58	42
GIRLS:	Particularists	65	39
	Relativists	59	41

The relatively small differences between percentages suggest we have detected no more than marginal influence on style of organisational participation. Particularism is quite compatible with participation in local sporting teams and other secular recreational associations but the particularists combine these involvements with greater participation in religious clubs.

Particularism and Belief

We could expect an association between conservative Christian beliefs and particularism on two grounds. Historically there has

¹ Except school clubs - see footnote to Table 5 - 11.

been a tendency for groups which protest against accommodation to society to stress the Biblical nature of their faith. So closely have sectarianism and fundamentalism been identified that nearly all Dynes' items in the index designed to measure the former in fact refer to the latter.¹ Quite apart from this, conservative Christian beliefs are still incorporated in the creeds of nearly all the churches represented among these students and certainly are the ones popularly attributed to the Christian community. Therefore, particularists, according to our general hypothesis, would be more likely to hold these beliefs. Of course, in some local churches such beliefs may not be those of the clergy or majority of church members. It is not possible to identify these and consider them separately.

The questionnaire does not contain measures of extreme fundamentalist belief but there are three questions on belief in which there are conservative and sceptic poles, two of which offer liberal or radical alternatives too. The three questions concern belief in heaven and hell, the claim that Jesus performed miracles and claims as to his divinity and personal relevance.

TABLE 5 - 13
Response to Christian Belief Items According to
Churchgoing and Position on P/R Scale

Per cent who endorse response:	<u>Weekly Churchgoers</u>				<u>Moderate Churchgoers</u>			
	EP	MP	MR	ER	EP	MP	MR	ER
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
1. Jesus is the Son of God who came to earth as a man. He is now Saviour and Lord	91	90	82	76	71	69	61	53
2. Jesus performed all the miracles which the Bible says he performed	87	68	59	59	50	34	28	28
3. "There is a heaven or a hell for every person after death"								
- Definitely agree	77	63	53	53	43	21	5	22
- Tend to disagree, definitely disagree	9	13	12	14	21	28	30	28

¹ For instance his items include belief in heaven and hell, approval of Biblical literalism and approval of gospel songs. Dynes (1957), p.331. Wilson was a little more cautious when he equates fundamentalism with "conversionist sectarianism" as opposed to sectarianism which adopts withdrawal or millenarianism as its mode of orientation to society. Wilson (1966), p.324.

On the first item in Table 5 - 13 weekly churchgoers generally are conservative, over 75 per cent in each category choosing the "orthodox Christian" response. However, the particularism/relativism scale still provides clear differentiation within each category of churchgoing. In fact, position on the particularism/relativism scale is almost as good a predictor of belief on this item as whether the respondent goes to church weekly or less than weekly but at least once a month.¹

Knowing how pairs of students rank on the particularism/relativism scale, if they are regular churchgoers, improves our prediction (above chance) in their rank in conservatism of belief about the person of Jesus by 25 per cent. If they are moderate churchgoers the improvement is 14 per cent.²

Particularism is again positively associated with conservative attitudes towards the miracles the Bible says that Jesus performed. The extreme particularists among the weekly and moderate churchgoers are much more likely to unreservedly accept the miracles than any other group in the same churchgoing category.³ The gamma co-efficient shows that knowledge of the ranking of pairs on the particularism/relativism scale improves prediction of rank in conservatism of belief in regard to the miracles by 19 per cent for weekly churchgoers and 10 per cent for moderate churchgoers. Once again a moderate and consistent association is evident.

¹ This can be seen by comparing differences in percentages between columns a & d, e & h with differences in percentages between columns a & e, d & h.

² The differences are maintained in the expected direction when boys and girls are considered separately for weekly and moderate churchgoers. Percentages giving the most conservative response, particularists-relativists for each category are:

		P	R
<u>Boys:</u>	Weekly churchgoers	91	- 80
	Moderate "	59	- 46
<u>Girls:</u>	Weekly churchgoers	86	- 77
	Moderate "	74	- 70

³ Note the contrast between column a and b, c, d; column e and f, g, h.

The extreme particularists are much more likely than others in the same churchgoing category to definitely agree that there is a heaven or a hell for every person after death. However, the association is not so consistent across the table as the previous associations; the subgroup analysis shows the association is reversed for girls. Belief in heaven and hell is most intrinsically related to the question of whether or not religious validity is given to others. Belief in hell at least would indicate denial of religious validity to some. However, the complicating factor is denominational differences.

The association is probably partially weakened by the fact that Catholics are likely to definitely agree with this item whether they are relativists or particularists whereas Protestants appear much more sceptical (and Catholics are over-represented among relativists).¹

The Gamma Co-efficient for association among weekly churchgoers is 0.15 and for moderate churchgoers only 0.07.

Generally the hypothesis that particularists (at given level of churchgoing) are more conservative in belief than relativists is confirmed. Some psychologists may interject here that both conservatism in religious belief and particularism are evidence of some personality factor such as "authoritarianism". Such alternative hypothesis cannot be considered in this survey as we have no measure of possible intervening personality variables. Meanwhile we can merely assert that the association does exist and that the explanation in terms of perceived social context and perceptions of the religious world provides a theoretically feasible explanation.

¹ This can be illustrated by the much greater percentage between Catholic girls and all girls surveyed on the question about heaven and hell than on the question about the person of Jesus.

	Per cent giving most conservative response:	
	Catholic Girls	All Girls
Heaven and Hell question	64	26
Doctrine question	78	62

Particularism and Religious Experience

Glock and Stark have made a convincing case for interpreting religious experience in terms of social context. They found that religious experiences were more often affirmed by those in fundamentalist denominations and those in nuclear primary groups within the more liberal denominations.¹ As particularists frequently come from religious groups usually classified as sects we would expect particularists to affirm religious experience more than relativists. This also fits in with the traditional picture of the sectarian as one who places stress on the emotional-experiential aspects of religion.

However, it should be noted that the religious experiences listed in the questionnaire are not of a dramatic nature and not tied to the emphases of any particular Christian denomination. They are considered appropriate aspirations in nearly all Christian churches.² Therefore, our hypothesis is that particularists, whatever their denomination, will be more likely to say they have had these experiences.

An analysis of weekly churchgoers confirms this hypothesis.

TABLE 5 - 14
Religious Experience and Particularism
(Weekly Churchgoers only)

Religious Experience Scale - Per cent extreme particularists, etc., who score:	E.P. (N=47)	M.P. and can't decide (N=80)	M.R. (N=112)	E.R. (N=160)
6 (High)	34	21	9	10
4 - 5	36	33	34	38
2 - 3	17	26	39	31
0 - 1	11	15	16	18
Gamma Co-efficient	.18. ^a			

^a calculated from 5 x 7 table.

The extreme particularists are three times more likely than relativists to say they are sure they have had all the religious experiences listed.

¹ Glock and Stark (1965) pp.161-163.

² The items are discussed on p.80.

The difference between particularists and relativists continues among moderate churchgoers. Seventy-one per cent of the extreme particularists among this category score 4+ on the religious experience index, compared with 31 per cent of the relativists. Nine per cent of the particularists and 20 per cent of the relativists scored 0 on the index. Knowing the ranking of pairs of moderate churchgoers on the particularism/relativism scale improves prediction of which of the pair scores higher on religious experience by 13 per cent.

Weekly churchgoers were checked to see if the high religious experience scores for the ideal particularists were simply due to the high proportions of sect members and Baptists in this category. This proved to be an important factor, as nine of the fourteen sect members and Baptists who were particularists claimed that they were sure that they had had all the religious experiences. Although extracting this group diminished the association between particularism and religious experience it by no means eliminated the association.

It has been noted in Chapter III that girls and students whose father's occupation is low on the status ranking of occupations are more likely to obtain high scores on the religious experience index than boys and those whose father's occupation is high on the status ranking. Cell size permits holding both these variables constant only in the analysis boys who are weekly churchgoers. This provides a test to see if the particularism-religious experience association is maintained when sex and occupation of father are controlled, by dichotomising according to occupation of father, into manual/non-manual groups. The results show that at each level of particularism those boys whose fathers have manual occupations are more likely to affirm religious experience but that the association between particularism and religious experience is still maintained although slightly diminished.

TABLE 5 - 15

Particularism, Occupation of Father
and Religious Experience

Per cent Scoring 4+ on Religious Experience	Non-manual occupations	Manual occupations
Particularists	55 (N = 49)	65 (N = 26)
Relativists	38 (N = 87)	58 (N = 50)

We can conclude that the hypothesis of an association between particularism and religious experience is confirmed and that in so far as numbers permit further subgroup analysis, the association maintains moderate strength when churchgoing, occupational status of father and sex are held constant.

Particularism and Salience of Religious Considerations in Behaviour

One of the aims of religious groups is to influence the goals people set themselves, and thus their behaviour. Broadly, religious groups wish to increase the salience of religious considerations in the decision-making process so that behaviour will be closer to the broad principles or specific injunctions and prohibitions given in their religious teaching.

On the basis of the general hypothesis that exclusive, particularist commitment is associated with more frequent acceptance of what are generally regarded as Christian norms, it is expected that particularists will more often give prominence to religious considerations in decision-making than will relativists. This hypothesis fits in with the asceticism usually attributed to the sects. For instance, Troeltsch noted that 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...."¹

¹ Troeltsch (1931), Volume I, pp.331-332.

As noted in Chapter III there are no questions which directly test actual behaviour to see if it is in conformity with Christian principles but there are a number of questions which give the respondent's assessment of the relative importance of religious goals, of the importance placed on religious considerations in decision-making and the frequency of referring to religious considerations.

Students were asked how often, when they had decisions to make in everyday life, they asked themselves what God wanted them to do. Table 5 - 16 shows the results of comparing particularists and relativists in their response to this question (Item A).

TABLE 5 - 16

Particularism, Churchgoing and Indicators of
Religious Involvement in the Consequential Dimension

Per cent each category who give response	Weekly churchgoers				Moderate churchgoers			
	EP	MP	MR	ER	EP	MP	MR	ER
A. Frequency of referring to the will of God:								
Often	38	21	16	14	14	14	9	4
Sometimes	51	65	58	58	71	52	48	43
Never	11	15	25	28	14	28	42	49
B. Rank of goals of "working out and living up to religious ideals"								
First-Third	60	32	39	37	14	31	17	14
Fourth-Fifth	34	63	57	56	79	62	78	76
C. "Christian beliefs should guide behaviour and decisions at school"								
Definitely agree	79	63	57	49	50	48	25	31
Definitely agree + Tend to agree	96	95	88	84	86	69	66	62
N	(47)	(62)	(116)	(160)	(14)	(29)	(64)	(109)

This is the most consistently strong association reported so far. A glance at the extreme figures for the weekly churchgoers shows that 18/48 extreme particularists as against 23/160 extreme

relativists often ask themselves what God would want them to do. The co-efficients of association are 0.23 for weekly churchgoers and 0.28 for moderate churchgoers. Separate analysis of boys and girls shows that the association is strongest among boys who are weekly churchgoers, and among girls who are moderate churchgoers.¹ However the association is maintained in all the subgroups.

Respondents were asked to assess their concern about certain matters among which was included "working out and living up to religious ideals". (Item B, Table 5 - 16).

While the relationship is not consistent across the table, it is in the expected direction for weekly churchgoers. The association is again strongest among the boys. Only a very weak association shows among the moderate churchgoers.

Another question which tested salience given to religious goals asked respondents to list the importance of several factors in choosing an occupation. (Question 29) Among weekly churchgoers 47 per cent of the extreme particularists but only 11 per cent of the extreme relativists placed "opportunities to serve God" as the first consideration. The association between particularism and high ranking of this factor confirms the conclusions drawn from previous questions.

All weekly and moderate churchgoers are likely to agree that Christian beliefs should guide their behaviour and decisions at school. The particularists, however, are more likely to definitely agree with the statement. (See Table 5 - 16). It is not clear whether this represents more whole-hearted agreement with the statement or that particularists are prone to make strong and assertive claims in the field of religious aspirations. This finding can be observed in all subgroups according to sex and level of churchgoing.

¹ Boys: 22 per cent of particularists but only 11 per cent of the relativists choose the "often" response.

Girls: 25 percent of particularists but only 9 per cent of the relativists choose the response.

A range of questions have pointed in the one direction. However, it is not claimed that the questionnaire contains a representative range of items on religious goals. "Social values" such as humanitarianism, concern for equality and human rights and so on which are stressed by some churches, were not measured. However, the items are strongly indicative of response to the "personal aspirations" aspect of the consequential dimension of religious orientation.

We can conclude that while some relativists who are regular churchgoers give high priority to religious considerations in decision making, occupational choice, personal ambitions and school behaviour, particularists are more likely to do so.

Some Other Differences Between Particularists and Relativists

Table 5 - 17 summarises some other differences between particularists and relativists. The former are more likely to have prayed within the previous twenty-four hours and much more likely to read the Bible at least once a week. Forty-nine per cent of extreme particularists who go to church each week, but only 12 per cent of their extreme relativist counterparts, read the Bible so often. It is likely that the stress placed on the Bible by Baptists and Sects and the minor role of the personal Bible reading for Catholics who are under-represented among the particularists are contributory factors to this association.

Particularists are also much more likely to agree that, since the age of thirteen, religious ideas have become more important to them. In response to the statement, "I am less in agreement with the beliefs of the church now", extreme particularists were more likely to say the opposite was true. Position on the particularism/relativism scale is a more accurate predictor of direction of change in beliefs since the age of 13 than is the respondent's churchgoing.

TABLE 5 - 17

Some Other Differences Between Particularists and Relativists

Per cent giving response:	<u>Weekly Churchgoers</u>				<u>Moderate Churchgoers</u>			
	EP	MP	MR	ER	EP	MP	MR	ER
<u>Bible Reading and Prayer</u>								
Read Bible at least once a week	49	18	10	12	14	10	2	5
Never read the Bible	13	40	36	44	7	14	29	43
Had prayed within the previous 24 hours	70	61	53	53	36	41	26	34
<u>Clergy and Church Leaders</u>								
"Church leaders should give more guidance to young people about relations with the opposite sex"								
Definitely agree or tend to disagree	70	68	72	63	57	76	63	61
Would reconsider religious views if pastor, minister or priest known best disagreed or would very much like them to agree	62	74	54	61	57	55	34	40
<u>Reasons for Belief Considered Very Important</u>								
Christian belief helps a person to have a balanced approach towards life	40	58	42	39	14	31	17	30
Christian belief gives a person the answer to many questions about the meaning to life	64	56	51	43	50	45	28	28
Christianity offers forgiveness and new life to a person who believes	72	71	56	57	43	52	42	41
Christian belief inspires a person to serve God and His world	68	56	41	45	29	45	20	32
Activities in the church give opportunities to meet other people	28	34	33	37	29	41	38	36
N	(47)	(62)	(116)	(160)	(14)	(29)	(64)	(109)

Apparently those who are conscious of moving in a more religious direction are more likely to have a particularist orientation in religious beliefs. If the various aspects of perceived religious change are taken together,¹ the boys and girls likely to have changed most in the positive direction are the particularists. For boys who go to church weekly, the gamma co-efficient between score on the religious change index and position on the particularism/relativism scale is 0.49. For weekly churchgoing girls, the association is 0.21. At least for some, relativisation of belief is part of or leads to the process of the weakening of belief and of the sense of importance of religion.

Not all comparisons show differences. Particularists are no more likely than relativists to agree that "church leaders should give more guidance to young people about relations with the opposite sex". There is only a very weak association between particularism and being very concerned that the clergyman whom the student knows best agrees with the most important of his religious views. If these results are indicative of the extent to which clergy are religious referents, it would seem that the more complete acceptance of Christian norms by the particularists is mediated in some other way than through acceptance of the views of clergy or church leaders. However, on this occasion the disproportionate number of Catholics among the relativists would have weakened any association. Where there are less Catholics to influence the result, among moderate churchgoers, some association can be perceived.

Finally, relativists and particularists are likely to differ in the stress they place on various reasons for belief. Particularists are more likely to consider very important "Christian belief gives a person the answer to many questions about the meaning of life". Extreme particularists are not as enthusiastic as others about the importance of Christian belief helping a person "to have a balanced

¹ The religious change composite index is obtained by scoring 2 for a positive change, 1 for no change and 0 for a negative change.

approach to life". More relativists than particularists consider as very important "activities in the church give opportunities to meet other people".

Summary Discussion

Among the students surveyed there is little evidence that the particularists, as operationally defined here, use local congregations as a ghetto, so retreating from school friendships and other forms of secular participation. The association between having a high proportion of best friends in the local congregation and particularism was small and inconsistent.

Of course, the particularists may still find the friendship of a few like-minded people is important. A number of particularists mentioned Christian friends as being important to them. It could be also that the ones who use the local church as a retreat are not those particularist in belief but particularistic in behaviour patterns. For instance, at Burnham High School a number of girls made a distinction between the "right type" and "wrong type" (who was usually considered to leave school at the age of 15 or 16).¹ Spending and dating patterns are the visible signs by which the distinction is made.

This was tied in with relationship to church in the way expressed by one girl in response to a question during an interview, "Do you think that school has affected your religious beliefs?":

In the younger Forms in a factory area there were a lot of girls who had lost parents and lost family life and it sort of showed me there were a lot better things and I went to church because I was so mixed up and disturbed and really I found a peace there and I could be happy....
The comparison between the girls of this school and the girls of the church was terrific and I decided that's what I'd rather be.²

¹ One girl remarked: "I cannot really see in school attenders to answer this questionnaire, most of them discuss freely their religious problems, etc. While the 15 year olds which have left school are the ones who need advice and to think about their beliefs". (0359)

² Burnham High School Interview. Emphasis mine.

The girls who made this distinction would not necessarily feel strongly about the content of religious belief. Indeed they may wish to play down content of belief to assert the solidarity of all those who are "morally respectable". However, the local congregation seemed to be a refuge for these people. Future research could profitably focus on this category and its type of involvement in the churches.

A higher proportion of particularists than of relativists are conservative in belief, are prepared to affirm religious experience and are influenced by religious considerations, at least at the level of personal aspirations. This is true when churchgoing is held constant. Most of the differences are not outstanding and being a particularist is by no means a sine qua non for showing strong religious involvement. Stress on different reasons for belief adds evidence that the particularism/relativism classification represents a real distinction in type of religious involvement, not merely a distinction between the more and the less religious. This conclusion is reinforced by the disproportionate number of particularists in religious groups near the sect end of the church-sect continuum.

The direction of causation in the association between particularism and other aspects of religious orientation cannot be settled in this survey. Perhaps those who are more conservative in belief and whose sense of religious experience is stronger have more at stake in their beliefs and so become particularist in orientation. All that can be said authoritatively is that the results are compatible with the hypothesis that particularist orientation creates a view of the religious world which assists the process of acceptance and maintenance of certain Christian norms. At least the consistency of results vindicates the general hypothesis that particularism is associated with acceptance of Christian norms.

PART VII - Particularism, Perceived Socio-Cultural Distance
and Perceived Minority Status

At the beginning of this Chapter it was observed that the measures of particularism, perceived socio-cultural distance between those who take Christianity seriously and those who do not, and perception of believers being in the minority among those one's own age were all inter-related among believers. Together they give up the picture of a sharply differentiated religious world in which most others of the same age were perceived alien, quite different and wrong about religion. A study of the combined effects of these variables may assist in confirming or modifying the picture drawn by examining the correlates of particularism alone.

Before adopting this procedure it should be noted that any two of these variables have an accelerating cumulative effect on the prediction of the other. Perceived minority status is more strongly related to a high "cultural distance" score among particularists than relativists. The association between particularism and perceived minority status of believers is stronger among those whose scores on the "cultural distance" index is high. The association between particularism and a high score on the cultural index scale is almost non-existent among majority believers but marked among those who perceive their age-category to be equally divided or who perceive believers to be in a minority.¹ These relationships hold for boys and girls but the associations are nearly always stronger for the boys.

Two polar categories of believers can be compared. The particularist, minority believers who score high on the "cultural distance" index are compared with the relativist, majority believers who score low on the "cultural distance" index. The former category consists of only nineteen students - 13 boys and 6 girls - apparently

¹ See Appendix Table G for relevant tables.

this extreme "isolationist" outlook is rare indeed. Over three times the number live in a fairly undifferentiated religious world in which most people are believers like themselves, there is little difference between those who take Christianity seriously and those who do not and differences in religious belief are not considered important any way. There are 39 boys and 29 girls who belong to this category. It should be remembered, in the analysis to follow, that respondents in both categories were those who accepted the miracles without qualification.

Table 5 - 18 presents the differences between the two categories. They strongly reinforce the differences already discovered between particularists and relativists. The differences evident are often very marked.

Fifty-three per cent of those whose religious world is sharply divided (Type A) are members of a Baptist church or a small religious group classified as a sect, but only 4 per cent of the "non-differentiating" category (Type B). The percentages are almost reversed for Catholics. In view of the earlier discussion of the position of the Catholics on the church-sect continuum, this second finding is a little surprising. Apparently being encapsulated in a large and fast growing church leads to different perceptions of others than belonging to a much smaller minority group.¹ This is despite the fact that Catholics and Baptists at least officially share in common drawing fairly strong doctrinal distinctions between themselves and others. Another factor is the choice of the items in the socio-cultural distance index. Sunday sport and alcohol are issues which have been stressed far less by Catholics than Protestants.

¹ Webb argued that "most Australians are aware, though perhaps imprecisely, that the Australian religious balance is changing in favour of Roman Catholicism...." He believed this would be reflected in a more confident, less minority-conscious Catholic outlook (1960), p.104.

TABLE 5 - 18

Differences Between Polar Types - High "Cultural Index"
Particularist Minority Believers Contrasted with
Low "Cultural Index" Relativist Majority Believers

	<u>Type A</u> (High "Cultural Index" Particularist Minority Believers)	<u>Type B</u> (Low "Cultural Index" Relativist Majority Believers)
Per cent who give response:	N = 19 (13 boys, 6 girls)	N = 68 (39 boys, 29 girls)
A. Baptists or sect members	53	4 ^b
B. Catholics	16	46 ^a
C. Read the Bible at least a few times a week	53	3 ^b
D. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do	37	10 ^b
E. First or second rank to religious conviction as an aim	58	13 ^a
F. <u>Definitely</u> agree Christian beliefs should influence at school	84	56 ^a
G. Religious Experience 4+	68	59
H. Religious feelings and ideas more important	68	56
I. Participate in a voluntary religious group	47	25
J. Weekly churchgoers	74	65
K. 3+ of five best friends go to the same church	26	25
L. Churchgoing of parents - both weekly	74	35 ^a
M. Perceived belief of friends - favourable to religion	63	62
N. Relativist reason for belief very important	26	35

^a Significant difference (χ^2) $P < .05$.

^b χ^2 not applicable as expected frequencies in cells < 5 .

More generally, however, the differences between Catholics and Baptists on these measures may point to two avenues for maintaining cohesion in minority religious organisations. One is to erect powerful socialising institutions (the Catholic schools) in which the religious definition of reality can be presented with enough reinforcement from family and friends to almost obliterate minority feelings. The other is to recognise one's minority position but to make a virtue of it by defining the majority as different, distant and wrong. Provided this definition of others is maintained there is a barrier against erosion of distinctive norms.

Other differences may be partly a reflection on the different denominational composition. For instance, 53 per cent of Type A read the Bible at least a few times a week but only 3 per cent of Type B do so. Thirty-seven per cent of Type A often ask themselves what God would want them to do but only 10 per cent of Type B do so. These are typical differences, although exaggerated ones, between Catholic and Protestant believers.

Not all the differences between Types A and B can be attributed principally to Protestant-Catholic differences. For instance, a higher proportion of Type A are likely to definitely agree that Christian beliefs should influence behaviour and decisions at school and they are also much more likely to participate in voluntary religious groups.

There is only a marginal difference in level of churchgoing of Types A and B, 74 per cent of Type A come from homes where both parents go to church weekly, compared with 35 per cent of Type B. In contrast to this there is no difference between the types in the percentage who have three or more of their five best friends who go to the same church. If Type A have a ghetto from which they survey the religious world as different from their fellow believers, this ghetto is not the local congregation although it may be the home.¹

¹ Among weekly churchgoers there is also an association between particularism and parents' churchgoing.

The differences between Type A and Type B reinforce the findings of the differences between particularists and relativists.¹ While this is not surprising in one sense as particularism is part of the operational definition of Type A and relativism of Type B, this is not mere duplication of the previous analysis. Not only have the indicators been made more complex but on this occasion belief (on the miracles question) rather than churchgoing has been held constant.²

PART VIII - Conclusion -

The Social Construction of the Religious World

To some the course followed by this long Chapter may not seem to have been a fruitful one. A feasible interpretation of the findings is that certain religious variables somewhat akin to religious dogmatism and a narrow concept of the righteous have been shown to be related to other religious variables - particularly the ones traditionally associated with sectarianism and fundamentalism. This is not an unanticipated finding. While the confirmation of expectations is of some value in the sociology of religion it would not warrant a long chapter in a dissertation about the social context of religion.

The three key variables in this Chapter - the particularism/relativism, the "cultural distance" index and the perception of the religious beliefs of the majority of those who are the respondent's age - from one perspective are aspects of religious orientation. Views about all these matters are no doubt expressed in the pulpit and students may have accepted views about the majority

¹ Note for instance the parallel results on Item N.

² A further check was made by making the assumptions of interval scales and normal distribution and calculating product moment correlations for boys and girls from Protestant Schools on some relevant variables. The results, while not spectacular, were in the expected direction, especially for the boys. See Appendix H.

and how different and wrong they are as one part of a series of beliefs and perceptions.

However, at least these variables are indicators of beliefs about a special class of things - beliefs about other people, how they differ from each other and from self, how seriously they differ from each other and whether some can be categorised as definitely and dangerously wrong. They are beliefs about the religious world. What significance is attached to this may vary according to theoretical orientation.

On one hand these beliefs may co-exist with the other religious beliefs with little interaction. Indeed it could be argued that concepts of the religious world are for the most part implicit. The questionnaire forced respondents to choose responses from which the writer has pieced together the religious world which the respondents may have never consciously considered or taken into account.

On the other hand implicit beliefs may be important. Many prejudices which influence people - particularly prejudices about categories of other people - have never been explicitly formulated. They are just taken for granted. As mentioned in Chapter III, Berger has pointed out how important is what is taken for granted in the mental picture people have of the world.

To assume that the social construction of the religious world has no consequences for changes in religious orientation would be even less justified than to assume it did have consequences. Perceptions of the religious world may explain reactions to attempts to influence, the relative impact of "secularisation" on various groups and the continuing strength of religious behaviour. Even if particularism perceived cultural distance and perceived minority status are not the "causes" of the religious differences observed in this survey they may be responsible for future differences.

If the differences in the constructions of the religious world are taken seriously as potential catalysts of barriers to change, then the present analysis may have significance for a number of contemporary issues. However, comments on the significance for the debate on secularisation is reserved for the concluding chapter.

Two points should be noted concerning the possible implications of these findings for the Australian religious scene. However, they are speculative and rest on the assumption that parallel results could be found among other groups of respondents. In any case the points are worth making simply in regard to the students surveyed. Two of the three variables considered have no explicit pro-religious element in them. There is no reason, theoretically, why those who are less religious should not be equally eager to deny validity to the religious beliefs of others (including the beliefs of those who are more religious than themselves). Likewise the situation is not inconceivable where those who would not consider themselves to take Christianity seriously would perceive themselves and others of their viewpoint as very different from those who did take Christianity seriously. Instead we have an asymmetrical situation where a section of the most religious perceive differences between themselves and others as great and important, while another section of the most religious and practically all the less religious minimise the extent and importance of religious differences. Such a situation is fraught with possibilities for misunderstanding. Those who do see the differences as large or important may wonder why the particularists make such a great deal of apparently minor matters. The particularists may tend to see minimisation of apparently great and vital differences as unholy compromise.

The finding also suggests that those whose religious involvement is low define religion as unimportant rather than as not true or dangerous. Religious pluralism is not accepted by most

primarily because of a recognition and tolerance of differences but because they feel that the differences are trivial - not simply denominational differences but also the differences between the serious Christian and the nominal Christian. No doubt this portrait may describe other countries than Australia as well.

The greater likelihood that particularists (or Type A) will maintain religious beliefs and practices can be linked with reference group theory at one point. Hartley advanced the hypothesis that "the tendency to perceive a new group as a unique entity differentiated by certain qualities from the general population, is likely to be associated with the tendency to accept that group as a reference group".¹ By inference, it could be expected that those who defined Christians in an exclusive way and a way which marked them off from the rest of the community might more readily accept Christian norms. This issue will be raised again in the final Chapter when the theme of secularisation is considered.

Finally, while very few particularists use the local church as a ghetto, there is a social basis for the way they perceive the religious world. Their construction of reality is a social one, not merely idiosyncratic. Particularism is, as we have shown, much more evident among Baptists and sect members and those who come from homes where both parents are weekly churchgoers. They often have the support of a few close friends too.

The Chapter should end on a note of warning. The differences found in the analysis were not generally as large as those found in other chapters. Further it must be remembered that the particularists (or Type A) are a very small proportion of the Form Five students. Caution is, therefore, needed in determining the confidence and importance which can be attached to the findings of this Chapter.

¹ Hartley (1956), III, pp.22-23.

CHAPTER VITHE SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATIONI n t r o d u c t i o n

The focus of this chapter will be an examination of differences between the thirteen schools surveyed. A definitive statement about types of schools is not possible. As explained in the first chapter, it was not possible to design a survey which was adequate for investigating this question as well as examining factors operating within and across schools. However, it will be possible to see if the patterns found in the few schools of each type are in accord with conclusions from other studies.

After setting the questions of this chapter in a theoretical framework, the stated religious aims of the schools will be examined. Students' perception of the relative importance of the religious aims will be assessed. Differences in the religious orientation of students among schools will be reported, with a tentative exploration of explanations of the differences which exist. Finally there will be an analysis of the sociological factors relevant to the influence of formal religious education programmes.

Theoretical Framework

Studies which have sought to assess the influence of school on religious orientation have usually classified schools into church schools and non-church schools.¹ There may be characteristics of schools which cut across this classification (or a classification

¹ Greeley and Rossi (1966)
Mal (1968^A)
Scott and Orr (1966-67)

according to denominational divisions) but which are important in the consideration of the effects of school on religious orientation.

Schools may set out specifically to influence the religious behaviour and attitudes of their students. However, an official statement of the religious aims of a school may tell us very little about the extent, nature and success of the attempts to influence the student, or whether it achieves something that a school without specifically religious aims does not achieve.

Some of the characteristics of the school which may determine implementation of religious aims are: the extent to which religion is the dominant consideration in the decision-making about aspects of school life, the relationship between the religious aims of the school and the values of the majority of the society, and the extent to which the informal social relationships of the school reinforce the official religious aims. The second characteristic mentioned here will be explored first - the extent to which the school is oriented towards values held or apparently held by the majority of the community.

Brim, describing the American scene wrote that "most private schools are to be understood as systems which are chartered by, and derive their power from, dissident subgroups of the society, who hold their own conception of the valuable adult".¹ MacArthur wrote of the private-public school dichotomy as a "crucial 'natural experiment in the effects of sub-culture upon personality".²

On the other hand schools, whatever their stated aims, may in fact be primarily concerned with reinforcing majority community values. A recent report on Catholic schools in the U.S.A. reflected this attitude:

Inevitably Catholic Education has become American. It is now a vital part of the great effort to bring the citizens of this country to a deepened awareness of their opportunities and responsibilities.³

¹ O. G. Brim, Sociology and the Field of Education (1958), p.18.

² C. McArthur, "Personalities of Public and Private School Boys" (1954), p.292.

³ Neuwien (1966), p.24.

When a systematic exploration of the effects of church schools within and across denominational divisions is undertaken, the extent to which the school community is controlled by or supported by a dissident subgroup of society may prove to be an important variable, akin to the church-sect dimension in the analysis of religious organisations.

A school which seeks to implant values (religious or otherwise) which are not shared by the majority of the community may find its aims undermined by students' wider social contacts.¹ Unless there is a match between the minority values of school teachers and officials and the parents, the home may provide a centre of resistance. On the other hand, the dissident subgroup of society supporting the school may help the school to generate a loyalty and cohesiveness distinctive of minority groups. This is particularly so if parents support the aims of the school. Parents, teachers and students may be able to build on the awareness of their common values which are not shared by the outside world.

Returning to the first factor, a statement of religious aims, or an affiliation with a religious body, does not reveal the extent to which the school considers religious aims as central or the extent to which it incorporates these aims into its decision-making on matters of organisation, curricula, staffing and classroom teaching. Like most organisations, schools have a multiplicity of goals. The vital factor is the extent to which school policy is actually determined by religious goals rather than other goals when there is conflict.²

Two studies of religious teaching in church schools have made similar comments illustrating this point. Referring to the practice in most Protestant schools of giving less time to formal religious

¹ In some schools there is an attempt to control these.

² J. J. Mol, "Religion and Education in Social Perspective" (1964), p.29, referred to the "actual and institutionally sanctioned place of predominance for religion".

teaching than in Catholic schools, Altus claimed that the "psychological effect of the bare one period per week militates against religion being regarded as a subject of major importance...."¹ French also thought that the "suggestion of small timetable time is, that the subject is of small importance because the timetable allotment is to the child an expression of what the teacher regards as important".² Principals, of course, may not intend such conclusions to be drawn but to students it seems a decision has been made that academic subjects cannot be sacrificed for religious education.

Of course, the amount of time given to formal religious teaching cannot be regarded as the sole indicator of the extent to which religion is made the central and dominant aspect of school life. What would be regarded as indicators would vary according to the specific religious aims of the school. For instance, a school which perceived religious aims primarily in terms of encouraging loyalty to the organised church would need to adopt different policies than a school primarily concerned about individual religious conversion. It would be necessary to judge by different criteria as to whether each school had given religious aims priority in decision-making.

Claims are often made by heads of schools that they hope for the embodiment of religious principles and values in the community life of the school.³ Again, Healey, Principal of Scotch College, Melbourne (not a school surveyed) claimed that "it is the school chapel that can, and I think should be, the greatest bond in our community".⁴ These are vague claims, the fulfilment of which is

¹ R. H. Altus, "Certain Phases of Religious Education in Secondary Boys' and Girls' Schools in South Australia" (1955), pp.24-25.

² E. L. French, "Religious Education in Boys' Secondary Schools in Victoria" (1945), p.22.

³ Altus (1955), p.115.

⁴ C. O. Healey, "The School as a Community" (1967), p.85.

difficult not only for the sociologist to measure but for the heads of schools themselves to assess.

Another more concrete way in which religion can be made central is by making certain religious behaviour a condition of obtaining some of the rewards dispensed by the school. For instance, Fichter reported that in the parochial school he studied in the U.S.A. a boy was eliminated from consideration for a scholarship because he was not an altar boy.¹ Other examples would be prizes for religious knowledge or religious behaviour and the making of certain appointments such as prefect dependent on religious behaviour.

In the research being undertaken, it was not possible to develop a set of reliable indicators of the centrality of religion in the schools. Such would have required a separate questionnaire for heads of schools, staff and chaplains. Nevertheless some comments are made on the basis of documentary evidence, informal discussions and observation. It was also possible to obtain from the students their perceptions of the relative importance of the religious aims of the school. These perceptions may not correspond to actual school aims but even misjudged aims of the school may help in the understanding of the religious orientation of the students.

The third reason why a statement of the religious aims of a school may have little bearing on actual influence on students' religious orientation is that official policy only partially controls the social interaction and social climate in the school. Official policy may control the content of the curriculum, the presence or absence of religious assemblies and related matters but it can only attempt to influence what students learn from the informal interaction which takes place in the school.

There are two reasons for this. One is that there are often unintended consequences of official policy and the procedures by

¹ J. H. Fichter, *Parochial School : A Sociological Study* (1964), p.363.

which it is implemented. Students may draw unanticipated conclusions from (say) a decision to make or not to make religion an examinable subject. Unintended consequences may also result from the less structured interaction between teachers, students and administrators, the organisation of the school and classroom procedures.

Second, the student social system may not support the aims of the school. As fellow students control most of the available social rewards of popularity and prestige they can seriously undermine official policy.¹

It follows that a school which avows certain religious aims might find that aspects of the school experience work against these aims, while a school which purports to be secular may in fact be teaching attitudes towards religion. Further it means any differences between the effects of schools on religious orientation of the students cannot be attributed automatically to the formal programme of religious education, an important point noted by Greeley and Rossi.²

There are theoretical reasons why schools are likely to have only limited effectiveness through the formal aspects of religious education.

Schools are not voluntary organizations. A gap exists between the activities which would fulfil the actor's internalized need-dispositions and the activities in which he must participate. Parents, truant officers, police departments and others coerce children to attend schools. Schools make participation in desired activities contingent upon adequate performance in others. Hence we would expect to find in general a higher degree of alienation in schools than in typical normative organizations.³

As religious aims nearly always involve obtaining more than outward behavioural conformity, the fact that the school's basis of

¹ K. Mannheim and W. A. C. Stewart, An Introduction to the Sociology of Education (1962), p.138, discuss the unintended consequences of classroom procedures, etc., in terms of manifest and latent content, no doubt, drawing upon Merton (1957), pp.60 ff. in his discussion of manifest and latent functions.

² See Chapter I, p.9.

³ Etzioni (1961), p.47. Of course, the problem of motivation is not unique to religious education but is a vital factor in performance in academic subjects too. Compare: D. A. Goslin, The School in Contemporary Society (1965), p.72.

power is ultimately coercive rather than normative seriously weakens its position.¹

The problem is not insurmountable. A school can supplement its coercive power with normative power by developing among its students a sense of sharing in the goals of the school and by the way it dispenses the rewards of prestige and approval it may have at its disposal. Also the school may attempt to capture the expressive leadership of the students - leadership in activities which give to students the satisfaction of feeling they are being liked and needed, of belonging, of showing prowess and of forming satisfying personal relationships.² Expressive leadership of students might be gained through the voluntary activities of the school (sport, clubs, etc.) and in the personal relationships between staff and students.³

Finally, the school may try to gain the support for its religious goals from the student social system while leaving leadership with the students. This may be in one way a less difficult task than obtaining student support for academic achievement. Academic achievement has become involved with grading and competition

¹ The power of the school must be regarded as ultimately coercive as long as membership of the school community is obligatory (legally, through parental direction or through strong social expectations), no matter how "liberal" or "progressive" the actual methods of discipline employed in the school.

An additional problem for some schools seeking to influence the norms of students is the possible class barrier between staff and students which many American and British studies have referred to, when teachers from middle class backgrounds teach in schools in low status areas.

He's not really a working man - he doesn't come home with his hand dirty like your father probably does, commented one 17 year old ex Grammar school student of his teacher. P. Willmott, Adolescent Boys of East London (1966), p.83.

² Etzioni (1961), pp.109-110, discusses the issue of expressive leadership.

³ There are difficulties in the latter for the ordinary classroom teacher. Havighurst and Taba found in Prairie City that the "members of the school staff who received most mentions" as friendly, admired, helpful and responsible were those who had "administrative responsibility and whose contact with students tend to be on a personal rather than a classroom basis. Classroom teachers who received the most mentions are those who are responsible for extracurricular activities which increase their personal contacts with students". R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (1949), p.79.

between students within schools.¹ The work group which limits competition and imposes social penalties on the rate-buster is a well-known phenomenon. In a similar way the student social system may often attempt to limit academic competition by establishing norms which limit the extent to which students should strive for academic goals.² Religious behaviour is not usually graded. However, students may already have preconceptions about religion and group resistance may arise from this. Further students may feel that attempts to influence religious orientation threatens group solidarity.

Any comprehensive attempt to discover the processes of religious socialisation in schools would need to obtain evidence on these various avenues of informal influence. Once again the task is beyond the scope of this thesis but some attention will be focused on the operations of the student social system and peer groups in the school, in this Chapter and in Chapter VIII.

The Status of Religion in the Schools

Institutionalisation of Religion in the Church Schools

Before examining the students' perception of the relative importance of the religious aims of the schools surveyed, it is proposed to give some impressions of their aims and procedures as revealed in documents and school practices. While the observations are not amenable to exact measurement or comparison, they do provide evidence of at least some official concern about religion and give some insight as to the variety of ways this concern may be displayed. Certainly the sketches below are not meant to give a representative picture of what is done in each school nor to provide a precise measure of the importance of religious aims from school to school.

¹ J. S. Coleman, Adolescents and the Schools (1965), pp.77-79.

² Ibid, p.76.

Like most independent schools in Victoria, the six church schools in this survey have denominational affiliations and would claim to give religion a special place in the life of the school.¹ In a sense religion is "established" in these schools.

Some Common Elements. Almost invariably in the Protestant schools there are daily assemblies which include a short worship service. In the Catholic schools, prayers are usually said before each lesson. The presence of members of religious orders or chaplains in the school is another feature of the church schools, although in recent years chaplains have been appointed to some state secondary schools as well.

Plenbern Girls' College. The prefects' induction takes the form of a religious ceremony. The Headmistress is involved in the religious education programme by taking Scripture at Form Six level. A church fellowship group exists as an intrinsic part of the boarding school. Boys from a neighbouring church school also attend. Weekly chapel services are conducted in addition to the daily assembly.

Arbour Girls' College. The Headmistress is a member of the regional committee of the Student Christian Movement. With intention she chose books about Christian medical missionary work in Vellore, India, to present as gifts to departing American Field Service scholars. Religion is examined and the marks are entered in report books, although Form Five's examination is by assignments. The 1965 school magazine contained an article on "Science and Religion" written by a staff member.

Edgevale Boys' Grammar. Boarders are required to attend one service each Sunday at a neighbouring church. The service is

¹ "The Independent Schools of Australia" Current Affairs Bulletin (1957), Volume 21, and "The Catholic School in Australia" Current Affairs Bulletin (1958) Volume 22.

See Appendix H for a brief historical background of church and state secondary schools.

conducted by the Chaplain who is the Curate of the church.¹ A voluntary communion service is conducted before school on Wednesday mornings. The Deputy Headmaster, who is active in promoting Student Christian Movement Conferences, on several occasions told the boys how important he thought it was for them to be able to understand and defend Christian belief with some intellectual sophistication.

Eastwood Boys' College. The Headmaster in his address at the 1965 Speech Night noted in regard to the aims of the school:

Firstly, this is a school with a Christian foundation.... It follows therefore that we should present the boys the basic tenets of our faith and that we should aim to show them all the work they do, all the sport they play, all the social activities they engage in, are given most relevance to life within a Christian framework.

Form Three Camps are run along some of the principles of "Outward Bound". The experiences of students at these camps are used by the Chaplain to increase the students' self-perception as a step towards Christian commitment, although this is in the experimental stage at present.²

Roman Catholic Girls' School (R.C.G.S.) A booklet setting out the rationale of the schools of the Order claimed that in the schools "all study and all activity converge towards this supernatural and primary end", that each student "trains herself to be, in a spirit of charity and of conquest, a witness to Him by a genuine and dynamic Christian life".³

While this might not be translated in terms of school policy and organisation in Australia today as in Europe of previous days the religious aim is still regarded as crucial. The teaching of Doctrine each day and the emphasis on religious practice for the boarders are two examples of this.

¹ A few boarders go to other churches.

² The group of Form Five students surveyed had no experience of this.

³ R.C.G.S. Booklet, p.3.

Catholic Boys' College. The 1965 Annual Report noted that the "main justification for the existence of Catholic schools is the spiritual education and training they impart".¹ Chaplains are responsible for maintaining personal contact with students and all boys in senior classes in 1966 attended a Spiritual Retreat. Prizes are given for Christian Doctrine (a subject which is taught every day) and the person who gains first place in this subject has his name placed before the dux in the listings in the school magazine.²

Of course, the actions and words above could represent no more than formal gestures and lip service to religious aims. It would have required a separate study to do justice to an objective assessment of the actual extent to which the religious aims of the school were important in teaching, organisation and decision-making in the schools. However, the evidence above does establish that in principle the religious aims of these church schools are considered important and that there are at least some people in the schools who have taken responsibility for forwarding these religious aims.

The church schools would claim too that education in general values and personal ethics was bound up with the question of religious education. They would define their responsibility in this realm in fairly wide terms.³ The comment below, made with specific reference to smoking and drinking, was made by the Headmaster of Edgevale Boys' Grammar but could be paralleled in other schools:

I want to explode the myth that it is wrong to try to influence the young. Let it be known that in this

¹ School Magazine 1965, p.3.

² School Magazine 1966, pp.9 ff.

³ In public statements and in private comments to me, a number of senior members of staff have pointed out that they feel that the major distinction between Independent and State schools is the freedom in the former to be concerned about the values of the student not just his achievement.

school the boys will be influenced in every possible way we think fit, and also restrained where necessary and you parents must do the same too.¹

At Plenbern Girls' College a circular first issued in 1964 suggesting appropriate arrangements for parties and dances for teenagers was re-issued to parents in the year of the survey.² At Eastwood Boys' College students were sponsoring an Aboriginal Scholarship scheme in regard to which the Headmaster commented: "Service is, of course, the core of the Christian ethic."³

Religion and State Secondary Schools

On the question of religion the state secondary schools purport to be "secular". The meaning given to secular is usually that the school or its teachers acting in their role as teachers should avoid attempts to influence on matters of religion.⁴

In a number of ways, however, assistance is provided to those who wish to conduct religious education in schools. Religious education is taught once a week in schools where sufficient instructors are available. Although it is possible for parents to withdraw students from these classes usually only a small minority are withdrawn. At Inberg High School and Greenfall High School there is an annual church service in school time (once again with permission to opt out). At Centreburn Technical School there is a short religious assembly once a week. At Newscape High School and

¹ Headmaster's Report, School Magazine 1966, p.10.

² The document was the product of a number of heads of schools.

³ Headmaster's Address in Newsheet, December 1965.

⁴ The Education Gazette contains each year comments such as: "The Education Department has consistently required that teachers should avoid comments upon controversial political issues or upon religious matters in the course of their teaching. In such matters, where the convictions of various sections of the community are involved, parents have a right to expect that teachers will conscientiously refrain from any deliberate acts or words that may be construed as attempts to impose upon children, or to use the children for propagation of their own beliefs or opinions." - Education Department Gazette, 1967.

Centreburn Technical School Chaplains have been appointed. Although financed independently the chaplains are treated as ordinary members of staff in regard to matters such as extra duties and authority to discipline.

The operations of voluntary religious groups also represent some modification of a hard-line secular policy. Matriculation students of many schools are given time off (usually an afternoon) from school to attend regional conferences of the Student Christian Movement.¹ Teachers are permitted to assist, by organising and advising the religious groups in the schools affiliated with the Scripture Union or Student Christian Movement.

A recent controversy illustrates the flexible policy of the Education Department as well as the sensitivity of many people about religious influence in the schools. Some books with "a strong religious theme", published by Moody Press Publications were distributed "at Government expense to all Victorian high schools".² The Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association and some Headmasters made sharply adverse comments, although their objection was more to the style and content of the books than to their religious nature. The Director-General of Education claimed:

We would not distribute material that we feel is one-sided on controversial issues.³

Departmental policy could be described as control of religious influences rather than total prohibition. However, sections of the community are alert to any actions they consider as a departure from neutrality.

¹ These conferences usually involve about six independent and high schools.

² The Age, 6 June 1968. p.7.

³ Ibid.

This is a description of the formal position of the state schools. It does not tell us how much religious influence might take place through the perceptions by students of the religious views of teachers. In the interviews in all schools, students claimed that they knew the views of at least a few of their teachers. Usually these had not been gleaned from deliberate attempt to influence. An incidental sentence, such as: "You can see I don't know much about the Bible," spoken by a teacher during a poetry lesson is sufficient for students to make (sometimes incorrect) inferences. Other students claimed to know the views of their teachers from the treatment of subject matter or by acquaintance with out-of-school activities of teachers. There is considerable potential for influence, perhaps all the more powerful because indirect.¹

Although the claims to authority in ethical matters may be more comprehensive in church schools, there are many informal attempts to encourage student thinking on values and ethics in the state secondary schools. For instance, at one school surveyed in a pilot study, the Matriculation English Expression teachers had used a combination of questionnaires, visiting speakers, organised debates and informal contact to raise moral issues concerning education, sex, war and so on. In informal discussion in class and during extra-curricular activities there were parallel attempts to raise issues in other schools.

Students' Perceptions of the Relative Importance
of Religious Aims to the School.

Students were given a list of nine possible aims of schools and asked to select up to three they considered their "school most

¹ P. H. Wright, "Attitude Change under Direct and Indirect Interpersonal Influence" (1966), p.209. In an experimental situation Wright showed that indirect influence - where the subject was not conscious of any attempt to influence - the effectiveness of influence increased.

strongly aims to achieve". Instructions reminded them to give their impression as to what their school "aims to achieve, not whether it is successful". The question was administered separately from the major questionnaire, in October and November.

The list of alternative aims is not meant to cover all major possible aims. There is no alternative concerning "training in skills for future occupation" or "providing a general education". These options were not included as they may have obtained such a large endorsement that discrimination between the remaining items would have been difficult.

Two specifically religious aims: "a feeling of the presence of God" and "a belief in Christ", were included among the nine aims to be assessed.

The percentage of the votes cast in each group for each aim was calculated. The results are given in detail in Table G - 1 and G - 2.

It is difficult to assess how much perception of aims varies according to the characteristics of the perceiver. There are a few clear differences between boys and girls at the same school in their perception of the importance of some aims. However, most variations are slight compared with the variations between schools.

Two aims "intellectual achievement for its own sake" and "a sense of values" are ranked first to fourth in every group but other aims, particularly "sporting achievement", vary considerably in rank from school to school.

As expected, the students at state secondary schools only very occasionally consider religious aims to be among the three most important aims of the alternatives listed. However, some of the church schools do not have a much stronger endorsement of the religious aims.

TABLE 6 - 1

The Relative Importance of Aims of Schools (as perceived by students)

Percentage who mentioned each aim as among the three most important.

Percentage of Votes cast in school:

School:		A sense of belonging	A feeling of the presence of God	Intellectual achievement for its own sake	A sense of values	Sporting achieve- ment	Social issues under- standing	A belief in Christ	A critical approach to ideas	Development of individual interests	Votes cast
Woodville H.S.	F:	8	1	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>	13	8	2	17	13	87
	M:	4	-	16	<u>24</u>	8	16	-	15	<u>17</u>	112
Burnham H.S.	F:	5	-	<u>26</u>	<u>18</u>	16	12	-	16	17	57
	M:	2	-	<u>30</u>	14	13	14	1	<u>18</u>	6	83
Inberg H.S.	F:	5	-	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	14	10	-	21	17	42
	M:	8	3	<u>16</u>	<u>19</u>	10	12	1	16	16	121
Newscape H.S. ^a	F:)										
	M:)	3	3	<u>18</u>	15	<u>29</u>	6	3	7	15	266
Southdown H.S.	F:	9	-	<u>25</u>	11	<u>23</u>	5	-	14	13	56
	M:	2	-	<u>31</u>	10	<u>31</u>	6	-	13	8	52
Greenfall H.S.	F:	8	1	<u>22</u>	<u>26</u>	11	8	-	10	14	271
Centreburn T.S.	M:	6	-	<u>19</u>	<u>24</u>	2	<u>19</u>	2	16	11	62
Plenbern G.C.	F:	12	6	<u>17</u>	13	<u>18</u>	6	4	9	15	217
Arbour G.C.	F:	11	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	12	4	4	<u>15</u>	8	8	156
R.C.G.S.	F:	7	<u>21</u>	13	<u>27</u>	1	6	10	2	13	117
Catholic B.C.	M:	4	<u>16</u>	14	<u>24</u>	5	7	<u>16</u>	4	10	437
Edgevale B.G.	M:	10	7	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	10	9	6	13	12	176
Eastwood B.C.	M:	8	8	14	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>	5	6	7	16	359

Alternatives receiving highest percentage of votes and second highest percentage of votes have been underlined.

^a Due to an error in instructions the sex of the respondent was not given.

TABLE 6 - 2

The Relative Importance of the Religious Aims of the Schools
(as perceived by the students)

Percentage who mentioned the following among
the three most important aims.

<u>A Belief in Christ</u>		<u>A Feeling of the Presence of God</u>	
Catholic B.C.	16	Arbour G.C.	23
Arbour G.C.	15	R.C.G.S.	21
R.C.G.S.	10	Catholic B.C.	16
Edgevale B.G.	6	Eastwood B.C.	8
Eastwood B.C.	6	Edgevale B.G.	7
Plenbern G.C.	4	Plenbern G.C.	6
Newscape H.S.	3	Newscape H.S.	3
		Inberg H.S. (Boys)	3

A Sense of Values

R.C.G.S.	27
Greenfall H.S.	26
Woodville H.S. (Boys)	24
Catholic B.C.	24
Centreburn T.S.	24
Woodville H.S. (Girls)	20
Eastwood B.C.	19
Inberg H.S. (Boys)	19
Burnham H.S. (Girls)	18
Edgevale B.G.	17
Inberg H.S. (Girls)	17
Newscape H.S. (Boys and Girls)	15
Plenbern G.C.	13
Arbour G.C.	12
Southdown H.S. (Girls)	11
Southdown H.S. (Boys)	10

The six church schools could be divided into two groups, Catholic Boys' College, Roman Catholic Girls' School and Arbour Girls' College where religious aims are seen as important relative to the other aims, scoring between them thirty-two per cent, thirty-one per cent and thirty-eight per cent of the votes respectively and Plenbern Girls' College, Eastwood Boys' College and the Edgevale Boys' Grammar where less than ten per cent of the votes are cast for each of the religious items; the items combined providing scores of ten per cent, fourteen per cent and thirteen per cent respectively. Again it must be stressed that these figures do not indicate that these latter schools are not perceived to have important religious aims, but, relative to the other alternative aims suggested, they are perceived to play a subsidiary role.¹

The church schools are not consistently perceived as relatively more concerned about developing a sense of values in students than are the state secondary schools. In four government schools and three church schools developing a sense of values is perceived as a more important aim than intellectual achievement for its own sake. Many high school teachers may be surprised and heartened by the broad interpretation of their aims by students in a system which so often appears to be dominated by examination pressures.

One other indirect measure of the way institutionalisation of religion filters through to students is discussion by students of the religious views of their teachers. Such discussion will depend partly on the interests of students and norms regarding the discussion of religion generally in the groups within the school. However, it should also depend partly on the opportunities students have had to find out what the views of their teachers are, i.e. the visibility of the teachers' religious views to the students.

Very few students discuss the religious views of their teachers quite a lot. Seventeen per cent of those at the Catholic Boys'

¹ Appendix I gives subsidiary evidence from responses to open-ended questions on the relative importance of religious aims. The evidence generally supports the classification of schools given here.

College and 11 per cent at the Roman Catholic Girls' School do so, but only 4 per cent at Arbour Girls' College, the other church school at which religious aims were perceived as relatively important. (See Table 6 - 1).

Generally the church schools seem to have more discussion about the religious views of teachers although the two girls' Protestant schools have less of such discussion in the Form Five groups surveyed than two high schools. The results, of course, may reflect a great deal of discussion about the views of only one teacher (for instance, the Chaplain) than discussion about the views of many teachers. There is a Chaplain at Newscape High School where boys and girls discuss the religious views of teachers more frequently than at most high schools.

TABLE 6 - 3

Discussion of the Religious Views of Teachers

(Question 17B)

Percentage of students who discuss:

<u>Quite a lot</u>		<u>Quite a lot + sometimes</u>	
Catholic B.C.	17	Catholic B.C.	52
R.C.G.S.	11	R.C.G.S.	41
Eastwood B.C.	9	Eastwood B.C.	39
Edgevale B.G.	7	Edgevale B.G.	36
Newscape H.S. (Boys)	6	Greenfall H.S. (Girls)	29
Greenfall H.S. (Girls)	5	Newscape H.S. (Boys)	22
		Newscape H.S. (Girls)	22
		Arbour G.C.	21
		Plenbern G.C.	19
		Southdown H.S. (Girls)	17
		Woodville H.S. (Boys)	17

Comparisons between State Secondary and Protestant Church Schools

Two recent studies have attempted to analyse the possible effects of church school education in Protestant schools.

Mol, in his study of religion in Australia, found few differences between Protestants who had been to a church school and those who had not, in aspects of religious orientation. Most of the differences in attitudes which did exist could be substantially explained by the education of the respondent.¹ Some of the differences which did exist were in the direction of those who attended church schools being less religious.

Scott and Orr studied 753 students in Grades 9 - 11 (Forms 3 - 5) in seven Independent and two State high schools in Queensland, using for the purposes of comparative analysis five Anglican schools (three girls' schools, two boys' schools) and the two co-educational high schools.² Statistically significant differences were found on a number of religious items. Those from state schools were more likely to read books about the heroes of the church, to read the Bible for themselves, to like going to church or chapel services voluntarily during the week, to see how religion affects everyday life but were less likely to pray a bit each day.³ Scott and Orr also found that 8 per cent of the Independent and 21 per cent of the State school students attended available weekend church services when living at home,⁴ while 20 per cent of each group attended often and 37 per cent of the independent but 28 per cent of the State school group attended occasionally. These differences were not statistically significant. In addition on the first factor of a values inventory, identified as a general factor "religious zeal", the State school students outscored the independent school students.⁵

¹ Mol (1968^A), pp.21-24; 29-30.

² Scott and Orr (1967), p.131.

³ Ibid, pp.138-139. In regard to prayer more State school students disagreed that they hated compulsory prayers.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

Finally independent school students outscored state schools on the test of religious knowledge.¹

Thus on all items where there is a significant difference except on prayer and religious knowledge, the state school students are more likely to give the religious response. It is possible that many of the independent school students included prayers in school assembly as praying a bit each day.

However, as presented by Scott and Orr these results do not indicate much about the effects of school. No allowance has been made for sex differences in making the comparisons. The writers note that their study offers no support for the generalisation that "females are more pious than males". However, this in turn is suspect because of the failure to take school into account. It may be that if Scott and Orr had considered high school boys, high school girls, Anglican school boys and Anglican school girls as four separate groups they could have shown interesting differences between sexes in each type of school, and between schools for each sex.²

Even had this been done, there is still doubt that the Anglican schools en bloc can be compared with the high schools en bloc. This assumes a homogeneity that must be demonstrated. In the case of the high schools the writers in a footnote admit that in one high school 56 per cent of Anglicans were confirmed, in another 15 per cent but dismiss this casually - "the latter reflects circumstances of purely localised significance".³ Might not these circumstances of localised significance affect other items? If so what then happens to the comparisons between high and Anglican schools if twenty more students belong to the school where these local factors are operating? It

¹ Ibid, p.136.

² In a letter Orr indicated that separate analysis did not in fact run counter to the more generalised findings. While this excuses the presentation in the case of one article, the point made above still stands as a point of general procedure.

³ Ibid, p.134.

would have been more profitable if any "effect" statement was to be made (and the ensuing discussion suggests that effects have been established)¹ to have considered the schools separately unless homogeneity could be first established.

This will be the procedure in the analysis of the survey results. Boys groups and girls groups in each school will be considered separately. If the Protestant church schools consistently have more or less students giving the religious responses than all of the state secondary schools considered separately, then there is a tentative case for claiming that the findings are in line with or not in line with previous findings. Even then a generalisation to church schools is not permissible and it would be necessary to control for the religious background of home to filter out the effects of the more (or less) religious being sent to church schools.

Analysis of Boys' Groups

Table 6 - 4 shows that, on most religious items, Eastwood Boys' College and Edgevale Boys' Grammar have a higher percentage of students who show strong religious involvement than those in most high schools, although the differences are neither large nor consistent. This tendency is not marked in the questions about religious experience and prayer, while Edgevale Boys' Grammar has a relatively low percentage of students who agree with the most conservative response on belief items. The clear difference between Edgevale Boys' Grammar and Eastwood Boys' College on Item J could reflect either the denominational background differences of students or the emphases in religious education in the schools.

It would be incorrect without further analysis to attribute even the small margin of more religious responses of the two church schools to factors within the school. It is evident from Items K - N that the

¹ Although Scott and Orr (1967) do warn readers against generalisation without much care. Ibid, p.131 (Footnote).

students of Edgevale Boys' Grammar and Eastwood Boys' College come from home backgrounds where at least the father is perceived to be more favourable to Christian belief and practice. This is most clearly shown in the extent to which fathers are perceived as agreeing that Christian beliefs should play a part in everyday decisions, and in parents' churchgoing. The evidence here is in accord with Mol's finding that more fathers who send their children to church schools, are regular churchgoers than those who send their children to state schools.¹

To check at least in a crude way, how much the differences between the church schools and state secondary schools could be attributed to father's religious orientation, this was held constant in each school. The results are too detailed to report in full so only conclusions are presented. In the subgroups there is no consistent result but in three out of ten possible cases Eastwood Boys' College students are more likely to give the conservative religious responses than students at other schools.

Numbers are too small and the measures of parental religious orientation are probably not so accurate as to permit a more detailed or conclusive analysis.

It certainly should not be concluded that the church schools in question are having no effect on the religious orientation of students through formal teaching or informal processes. More detailed questions on particular aspects of religious orientation may reveal that the schools have an important influence on the content of belief or the subtleties of religious attitudes and expression of them, as was hinted at in Item J.

¹ Mol (1968), pp.21, 30. Mol found these parents tended to come in disproportionate numbers from the middle occupational ranks.

TABLE 6 - 4

Religious Characteristics of Boys at Protestant Church Schools and State Secondary Schools^a

Percentage who	<u>State Secondary Schools</u>						<u>Church Schools</u>	
	Woodville H.S.	Burnham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	Newscape H.S.	Southdown H.S.	Centreburn T.S.	Edgevale B.G. ^b	Eastwood B.C. ^b
A. had prayed within the previous 24 hours:	9	19	25	23	24	18	12(7) ^b	23(3) ^b
B. score 4+ on religious experience index:	14	11	36	15	14	35	27(3)	25(4)
C. accept miracles of Jesus without qualification:	14	19	30	17	29	30	19(6)	37(1)
D. go to church weekly or more often:	14	14	9	13	24	-	37(1)	20(3)
E. sometimes or often ask themselves what God would want them to do:	28	38	39	34	48	47	49(2)	52(1)
F. score "high" on religious goals index:	7	16	16	17	9	6	27(2)	33(1)
G. consider clergymen known best as an important religious referent	19	35	32	25	52	18	36(2)	36(2)
H. agree that Christian beliefs should guide behaviour and decisions at school	34	59	32	51	76	65	55(5)	65(2)
I. agree there is a heaven or a hell for every person after death	14	27	14	23	43	24	24(4)	31(2)
J. consider as very important reason for Christian belief "forgiveness and new Life"	23	27	30	28	24	29	21(8)	40(1)

TABLE 6 - 4 (Contd.)

Percentage who	Woodville H.S.	Burnham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	Newscape H.S.	Southdown H.S.	Centreburn T.S.	Edgevale B.G.	Eastwood B.C.	
K. perceives father to firmly hold traditional Christian beliefs	35	19	39	23	19	6	27(4)	37(2)	
L. perceives father as agreeing that Christian beliefs should play a part in everyday decisions	16	19	27	15	19	12	33(2)	34(1)	
M. claims parents who both go to church weekly + or one weekly one sometimes	21	8	11	13	14	6	19(3)	22(1)	
N. perceives father to be concerned about religion	42	43	43	36	33	24	45(2)	56(1)	
	N	(43)	(37)	(44)	(53)	(21)	(17)	(67)	(134)

^a Catholics and Greek Orthodox and also non-Christians have been excluded to make the comparison between Protestants at church schools and Protestants at state secondary schools.

^b Figures in brackets after the percentages for Edgevale Boys' Grammar and Eastwood Boys' College represent ranking of those schools among the eight according to the percentage who gave the most religious response.

Analysis of Girls' Groups

In the girls' schools the percentage of religious responses is relatively low in the two church schools. However, the results highlight the need to consider the state schools separately because of the variability between them. Were the church schools contrasted with only Woodville High School and Inberg High School, they would appear to have a relatively high religious response on many questions, but if compared with Greenfall High School and Newscape High School large and consistent differences are apparent in the direction of the church school students giving a lower proportion of religious responses. (See Items B, C, E, I and J of Table 6 - 5).

The differences in the perceptions of parents' religious orientation are not as large. Indeed Plenbern Girls' College and Arbour Girls' College students are much more likely to perceive their parents as regular attenders at church than students of other schools except Newscape High School. This may reflect the association of socio-economic status and churchgoing discussed in Chapter III.

When perceived religious orientation of parents is held constant fairly consistent differences continue to be evident in the tables. The students of two church schools whose mothers are perceived as strongly religious have a lower percentage giving the religious response themselves than students of Greenfall High School and Newscape High School whose mothers are perceived as strongly religious. The same is true of those whose mothers are perceived as not strongly religious.¹

¹ It is realised at this point in the argument that differing reference stands for judgment about being religious makes some conclusions tentative. Thus students who have found strongly religious friends at school may have come to judge their parents by a stricter standard. This means parental churchgoing would be controlled inadequately. However, it could also be argued that at Arbour Girls' College where religious aims were perceived as relatively important, parents might also be judged by the strict religious standards emanating from the school.

TABLE 6 - 5

Religious Characteristics of Girls at Protestant Church Schools and State Secondary Schools^a

Percentage who	<u>State Secondary Schools</u>						<u>Church Schools</u>	
	Woodville H.S.	Burnham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	Greenfall H.S.	Newscape H.S.	Southdown H.S.	Plenbern G.C.	Arbour G.C.
A. had prayed within the previous 24 hours	22	24	37	41	62	57	26(5) ^b	26(5) ^b
B. score 4+ on the religious experience index	20	44	47	54	44	48	22(6)	21(7)
C. accept miracles of Jesus without qualification	41	40	42	47	56	24	28(6)	22(8)
D. go to church weekly or more often	20	28	37	33	51	52	27(6)	24(7)
E. sometimes or often ask themselves what God would want them to do	37	68	47	80	82	71	56(6)	60(5)
F. score "high" on the religious goals index	24	40	21	53	64	48	44(4)	33(6)
G. consider clergymen known best as an important religious referent	22	48	42	40	67	43	38(6)	29(7)
H. agree that Christian beliefs should guide behaviour and decisions at school	61	48	47	73	87	67	62(4)	59(6)
I. agree that there is a heaven or hell for every person after death	27	28	47	56	41	57	26(7)	26(7)
J. consider giving forgiveness and new life a very important reason for belief	39	44	42	63	69	43	49(3)	33(8)

TABLE 6 - 5 (Contd.)

Percentage who	Woodville H.S.	Burnham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	Greenfall H.S.	Newscape H.S.	Southdown H.S.	Plenbern G.C.	Arbour G.C.
K. perceive mother as firmly holding traditional Christian beliefs	37	64	53	59	62	43	44(6)	47(5)
L. perceive mother as agreeing Christian beliefs should often influence	32	64	32	53	56	48	52(4)	38(6)
M. claim parents both go to church weekly +, or one weekly one sometimes	12	4	11	15	21	10	21(1)	19(3)
N. perceive mother as concerned about religion	66	72	68	70	79	57	69(4)	60(7)
N	(41)	(25)	(19)	(86)	(39)	(21)	(85)	(58)

^a Catholics and Greek Orthodox and also non-Christians have been excluded to make the comparison between Protestants at church schools and Protestants at state secondary schools.

^b Figures in brackets after the percentages for Plenbern Girls' College and Arbour Girls' College represent ranking of those schools among the eight according to the percentage who gave the most religious responses.

The same tendency is evident when the churchgoing of parents is held constant. As perception of the churchgoing of parents is likely to be accurate, there is less chance that any relationship observed is because the religious orientation of parents has not been measured independently.

TABLE 6 - 6

Perceived Churchgoing of Parents and the
Churchgoing of Students - a Comparison of
Protestants at two Church Schools and two High Schools

Numbers ^b who go to church in each category of schools	Perceived Churchgoing of Parents ^a					
	Regular		Moderate		Infrequent/ Not at all	
	High ^c Schools	Church ^d Schools	High Schools	Church Schools	High Schools	Church Schools
Weekly +	18	15	18	16	10	6
< weekly but at least monthly	3	11	10	16	28	13
less than once a month	-	3	6	17	23	39
N	(21)	(29)	(34)	(49)	(61)	(58)

^a Perceived churchgoing of parents is classified on the basis of a combined score for the churchgoing of mother and father where weekly + = 3, sometimes = 2, rarely = 1, never = 0. Scores of 5 - 6 were classified as regular, 2 - 4 moderate, 0 - 1 infrequent or not at all.

^b Numbers are given because of the small size of some cells.

^c Newscape High School and Greenfall High School showed sufficiently similar scores for the total to be calculated.

^d Plenbern Girls' College and Arbour Girls' College showed sufficiently similar scores for the totals to be calculated.

Of course, the numbers are small but the tendency for students at the two high schools to be more likely to go to church within each category of perceived churchgoing of parents is pronounced enough not to be upset by a few coding or response errors.

The differences between the girls at the church schools and high schools, other than Greenfall and Newscape High Schools, are not consistent or large when perceived mothers' religious orientation is held constant. It is certainly not possible to conclude that the girls who attend Plenbern Girls' College and Arbour Girls' College are less religious than girls at high schools in general on the dimensions measured. However, they are less religious on the dimensions measured than the girls at two particular high schools and this is true when perceived mothers' religious orientation is held constant.

As a descriptive statement, without any necessary implications regarding the effect of the school, the findings of this survey are that the boys at the two Protestant church schools rank middle to high on measures of religious orientation when compared with boys at high schools while the girls at the two Protestant church schools rank middle to low on these measures when compared with girls at high schools.

Differences between Catholics at Catholic Secondary Schools
and State Secondary Schools.

Greeley and Rossi have provided definitive findings on the effect of education of Catholics in Catholic schools on their religious orientation in the U.S.A. The most relevant finding from the viewpoint of this research is that Catholic education did produce lasting differences in a wide range of aspects of religious orientation but that this was true only when spouse and parental background were supportive of the church school. The support of spouse was the most important.¹

¹ "The School apparently reinforces the work of the home after the devotional level of the home reaches a certain point...unless religious devotion in the home reaches a certain level, value-oriented schooling will have little or no effect on adult behaviour; but once the religiousness of the home reaches a critical point, the additional effect of the school will grow very rapidly." (p.87)

"Only on the purely cognitional effect of the religious-knowledge scale is there much of a relationship among those from less religious backgrounds." (p.89)

"Catholic schools have an impact only when there is at least one kind of religiousness, either a religious spouse or a religious spouse and religious parents. However, the schools have no effect when a respondent with religious parents marries an unreligious spouse." (p.102)

A team of researchers examining Catholic schools in the U.S.A. found some evidence that "Catechesis teaching" was affecting the discernment of students in religious matters (8th and 12th grades) and that some attitudes, for instance towards divorce with remarriage, were affected by both the religious background of parents and having a Catholic education.¹ They further noted that Catholic schooling did not have a uniform influence, but that status and family and also regional diocesan and local factors made a difference.²

Mol's survey in Australia showed that more Catholics who had attended Catholic schools were religious according to all indicators used than were Catholics who had not had any Catholic school education.³ When parents' churchgoing was held constant, the churchgoing of the respondent was still higher for those who had had Catholic school education. (Table 6 - 7)

TABLE 6 - 7

Percentage of Catholic respondents who
regularly attend Church, according to Parental Churchgoing
and Denominational Schooling. (Mol Table 3)⁴

Both parents of respondents were	<u>Catholic-school education</u>	
	Yes	No
regular churchgoers	83 (n = 273)	53 (n = 92)
irregular churchgoers	48 (n = 71)	39 (n = 51)

The differences according to Catholic schooling also showed up on other religious items when parents' churchgoing was held constant, the differences being most marked between those whose parents were both regular churchgoers.⁵ Mol noted that his findings were similar to those of Greeley and Rossi.⁶

¹ Neuwien (1966), pp.168-170, p.204.

² Ibid, pp.220-221.

³ Mol (1968^A), p.21.

⁴ Ibid, p.25.

⁵ Ibid, p.26.

⁶ Ibid, p.31.

Robertson, in a survey of 250 post-school Catholic adolescents drawn from nine Sydney suburbs, discovered frequency of religious practices after leaving school was related to having had a Catholic Education. Fifty-six per cent of those who had had all Catholic education, 19 per cent of those with some Catholic education and 11 per cent with no Catholic education scored "high" on religious practices.¹ Home background is not held constant but the findings are in line with those of Mol.

As there are so few Catholics in state secondary schools among the students surveyed, it is not possible to do more than report the differences between those attending the Catholic schools and the aggregate of those attending the state secondary schools, without the multivariate analysis which would enable us to eliminate spurious associations or specify when the associations were strong.

Table 6 - 8 shows that, according to nearly every dimension of religious orientation tested, students who go to Catholic schools are more religious than those who do not, and they also come from homes which are perceived as more religious. This conclusion is in accord with Mol's findings. However, it is not possible to judge from these figures the extent to which this finding would be applicable to a wider range of schools.

Differences between Schools

So far the investigation has suggested that there are some differences between Catholics in the Catholic schools and the state secondary schools surveyed and between Protestants in the state secondary schools (in which they form the majority of the population)

¹ Y. Robertson, "Some Religious Practices and Attitudes of Post School Adolescents" (1968), p.28. A classification of "high" required attendance at mass and at communion weekly and confession sometimes.

and the Protestant church schools surveyed. The strategy now is to examine the Form Five groups in the thirteen schools as a whole, allowing for separate analysis of the boys and girls groups in co-educational schools. Can the young people in these schools be regarded as a homogeneous group in aspects of religious orientation or is it necessary to regard the groups as being distinctive in their religious involvement? All that is needed to show important differences between the schools is large percentage differences. These are evident in Tables 6 - 9 and 6 - 10. However, if it is assumed that each school is representative of a number of similar schools, a test can be carried out to see if the differences between schools can be projected to a wider population.

An X^2 test for K. independent samples was conducted to see if the students from different schools could have been drawn from the same population or populations which were identical in regard to the aspects of religious orientation measured.¹

In the light of findings already discussed in this chapter, it is not surprising that the results indicate clearly that the students are not a homogeneous group. The null hypothesis that there is no difference in the religious orientation of students between schools could be rejected, with less than one in a thousand chances that such results could be found by chance, for most measures of religious involvement. This is true of the comparison among boys' groups and among girls' groups.

Inspection shows that the independent schools did account for much of the differences between schools. Among the boys' groups the Catholic school is by far the most religious on nearly all items. Among the girls' groups, the students of the Convent generally show stronger religious involvement than the students of other schools, but there are also sharp differences among the other schools.

¹ Tables were collapsed to avoid small cells. No cell had an unexpected frequency of ≤ 5 .

TABLE 6 - 9

Homogeneity - Heterogeneity of Boys' Groups in Aspects of Religious Orientation

ITEM:	Wood-	Burn-	Inberg	New-	South-	Centre-	Cath.	Edge-	East-	Over-	Test for		Test for homo-	
	ville	ham	H.S.	scape	down	burn	B.C.	vale	wood	all	homogeneity of	homogeneity of state		
	H.S.	H.S.	H.S.	H.S.	H.S.	T.S.	B.C.	B.G.	B.C.	%	$X^2 = (8 \text{ or } 16 \text{ df})$	$X^2 = (5 \text{ or } 10 \text{ df})$		
RELIGIOUS CONCERN Percentage disagreeing "religious matters do not concern me"	52	51	60	47	46	48	76	64	58	(61)	28.8	$p < .001$	3.1	N.S.
HEAVEN AND HELL Percentage agreeing there is a heaven and hell for every person	19	29	21	23	42	26	87	24	30	(41)	190.9	$p < .001$	14.4	N.S.
RELIGIOUS CONSIDERATIONS Percentage who ask themselves what God would want them to do	31	37	43	38	46	44	68	50	58	(50)	33.2	$p < .001$	3.5	N.S.
RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE Percentage scoring 4+ on religious experience index	15	15	34	19	17	41	49	26	25	(30)	41.9	$p < .001$	15.6	$p < .02$
DOCTRINE: Percentage who believe Jesus Christ is Son of God...Lord and Saviour	42	51	43	42	58	41	84	48	53	(56)	51.3	$p < .001$	3.1	N.S.
PRAYER: Percentage who have prayed within the last 24 hours	13	20	24	25	25	19	56	11	23	(29)	70.8	$p < .001$	5.1	N.S.
CHURCHGOING: Percentage weekly and percentage, at least once a month	15	15	14	20	21	8	81	36	20	(35)	223.0	$p < .001$	14.5	N.S.
	10	27	25	20	4	11	12	21	27	(19)				

TABLE 6 - 9 (Contd.)

ITEM:	Wood- ville H.S.	Burn- ham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	New- scape H.S.	South- down H.S.	Centre- burn T.S.	Cath. B.C.	Edge- vale B.G	East- wood B.C.	Over- all %	Test for homogeneity of whole group $X^2 = (8 \text{ or } 16 \text{ df})$	Test for homo- geneity of state secondary schools $X^2 = (5 \text{ or } 10 \text{ df})$
MIRACLES: Percentage who accept all the miracles of Jesus without qualification	19	20	31	22	29	22	69	19	36	(37)	78.0 $p < .001$	5.2 N.S.
AGREE CHRISTIAN BELIEF SHOULD INFLUENCE SCHOOL BEHAVIOUR AND DECISIONS Percentage	38	59	36	52	71	59	86	56	64	(63)	64.3 $p < .001$	12.9 $p < .05$

N.B. Percentages are given here for convenience of reading but, of course, X^2 was calculated from absolute numbers.

TABLE 6 - 10

Homogeneity - Heterogeneity of Girls' Groups on Aspects of Religious Orientation

ITEM:	Wood-ville H.S.	Burn-ham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	Green-fall H.S.	Plen-ber G.C.	Arbour G.C.	New-scape H.S.	South-down H.S.	RCGS	Over-all %	Test for homogeneity of whole group $\chi^2 = (8 \text{ or } 16 \text{ df})$	Test for homogeneity of state secondary schools $\chi^2 = (5 \text{ or } 10 \text{ df})$		
RELIGIOUS CONCERN														
Percentage disagree religious matters not of concern	73	73	54	76	70	70	75	88	79	(73)	28.8	$p < .001$	8.2	N.S.
HEAVEN AND HELL														
Percentage agreeing there is a heaven or hell for every person	33	31	42	53	26	23	43	50	81	(41)	190.9	$p < .001$	12.6	N.S.
RELIGIOUS CONSIDERATIONS														
Percentage who ask themselves what God would want them to do	39	69	54	82	57	57	76	71	68	(65)	33.2	$p < .001$	35.5	$p < .001$
RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE														
Percentage scoring 4+ on religious experience index	24	46	41	53	23	20	49	42	51	(38)	41.8	$p < .001$	16.5	$p < .01$
DOCTRINE: Percentage who believe Jesus Christ is Son of God... Lord and Saviour	43	58	58	80	46	40	82	54	89	(62)	51.2	$p < .001$	27.6	$p < .001$
PRAYER: Percentage who have prayed within last 24 hours	24	27	34	43	26	27	61	50	81	(41)	70.8	$p < .001$	19.7	$p < .01$

TABLE 6 - 10 (Contd.)

ITEM:	Wood-ville H.S.	Burn-ham H.S.	Inberg H.S.	Green-fall H.S.	Plen-bern G.C.	Arbour G.C.	New-scape H.S.	South-down H.S.	RCGS	Over all %	Test for homogeneity of whole group $X^2 = (8 \text{ or } 16 \text{ df})$	Test for homo-geneity of state secondary schools $X^2 = (5 \text{ or } 10 \text{ df})$
CHURCHGOING												
Percentage weekly and percentage at least once a month	25	31	39	34	26	21	51	46	96	(39)	223.0 $p < .001$	27.4 $p < .01$
	12	31	9	33	31	24	25	29	4	(24)	C.Coeff. 513	
MIRACLES												
Percentage who accept miracles of Jesus without qualification	43	38	39	49	28	20	57	21	55	(55)	77.9 $p < .001$	13.9 $p < .05$
AGREE CHRISTIAN BELIEF SHOULD INFLUENCE BEHAVIOUR AND DECISIONS AT SCHOOL												
	59	50	46	72	62	51	82	63	92	(66)	64.3 $p < .001$	14.3 $p < .02$
N	(51)	(26)	(23)	(108)	(87)	(70)	(51)	(24)	(47)	(487)		

N.B. Percentages are given here for convenience of reading but, of course, X^2 was calculated from absolute numbers.

A further test was conducted to find out if the state secondary school students should be considered as homogeneous or heterogeneous.

The boys' groups yielded inconclusive results. On only two questions was there a statistically significant difference between schools. One of the two questions was the most directly related to behaviour at school ("Christian beliefs should help to guide my behaviour and decisions at school"). The heterogeneity of the schools in religious orientation could not be established. But neither could homogeneity. Usually there was less than a 50 per cent chance of the distribution occurring by chance and the contingency co-efficient of relationship between schools and religious variables ranged between 0.11 and 0.24 (religious experience question). It would be very misleading to conclude that absence of statistically significant differences proves homogeneity.

The girls' groups were heterogeneous on most questions. The null hypothesis that there was no difference between girls groups in the different high schools could be rejected at .05 level of confidence or beyond in eight out of eleven items. The "scepticism" at Woodville High School was a major factor in two of the belief questions and the religious experience question but generally the size of X^2 was not caused simply by the result of one school. This test vindicates the reluctance to compare high school students en bloc with students of other types of schools.¹

The results reported so far do not tell the complete story as the schools sometimes differ substantially in their ranking on different items. For instance, Southdown High School girls obtain a low score on the miracles and doctrine question where they rank eighth, but obtain a very high score on religious concern (rank first), Centreburn Technical School ranks second on the religious

¹ The High School studied in the major pilot test, if added, would increase further the religious diversity of the schools, as more students at that school showed stronger religious involvement than at any other high school - particularly the boys.

experience index, sixth on frequency of prayer and last (ninth) on churchgoing. Overall there is generally a high rho co-efficient of relationship between the ranking of the schools on the nine religious variables tested.¹ However, there are cases where the students from schools differ, as we might expect from the analysis given in Chapter III of the importance of distinguishing between dimensions of religious orientation. That is they differ in ranking from one dimension of religious orientation to another.

The differences between the students of the various schools may be due to background factors (socio-economic status of the area, or other characteristics) or factors attributable to the schools, through the formal teaching and/or the student social system and peer group influence. It is tempting to link the relatively low scores on belief items and churchgoing of boys and girls groups in the Form Five at Woodville High School with the fact that Woodville High School draws on areas which included the collectors' districts having the highest (1.9 per cent), eleventh highest (1.3 per cent) and sixteenth highest (1.2 per cent) percentage of "no religion" responses of the 611 census districts in Melbourne, according to the 1961 Census.²

The final two sections of this Chapter explore two factors within the schools which may be of importance in explaining religious differences : the formal religious education given in the schools and the student subcultures. The influence of teachers is considered in Appendix K.

¹ For the girls' groups, values of the co-efficient range from $r = 0.99$ to 0.28 but is in only two cases less than 0.50 and is generally statistically significant at $.05$ level or beyond (for 9 cases a rho co-efficient of 0.60 is likely to occur by chance less than one in twenty times). The ranking was computed from the whole range of responses for each item, the most religious response scoring 5, the second most religious response 4, etc. The final figure was then divided by the number of valid responses. This minimised the danger of obtaining rankings that depended on cutting points.

² Data supplied by Lancaster Jones, in an as yet unpublished survey of the social structure of Melbourne. The C.D. which had the highest "no religion" response, also had the sixth highest "no reply" response (17 per cent).

Formal Religious Education in the Schools

The Teaching of Religion in the Schools

Authority for the present system of religious education in state schools is given by the Education Act 1958:

Religious Instruction may be given in any State School.... Such Religious Instruction shall be given by persons who are accredited representatives of Religious bodies and who are approved by the Minister [of Education] for the purpose. Such Religious Instruction shall be given on the basis of the normal class organisation of the school.

No teacher within the meaning of this Act shall give any instruction other than secular instruction in any State school building.¹

The Council for Christian Education in Schools accredits teachers and is responsible for drawing up an Agreed Syllabus which instructors are obliged to follow in general terms. The Agreed Syllabus at present under revision, was accepted by Anglican, Baptist, Church of Christ, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Salvation Army churches. Catholics generally receive separate instruction at the same time as the remainder of students meet together. This takes place in a normal scheduled period in the time table. Students who do not wish to attend religious instruction can be excused by a note from their parents.

At the Independent schools, courses are planned separately by each school, although recent conferences have resulted in the exchange of ideas.

The organisation of religious education varies enormously. Much depends on the teaching resources available. In two of the seven state secondary schools no instruction was given to Form Five students due to shortage of teachers, although it was given to junior forms, and had been given to the students surveyed when they were younger. In three other schools, including both schools at

¹ Council for Christian Education in Schools Agreed Syllabus Preface.

which a Chaplain was present, some Form Five students received Religious Education but others did not because of time-table clashes or alternative school activities.

In the other eight schools all students, except those especially excused, took religious education. At one high school Form Five and Form Six students took instruction together in a hall where the clergy used the technique of team teaching. In the other seven schools teaching was on a classroom basis with a wide spectrum of teaching methods in use: formal didactic lessons, class discussions, small group discussions, assignments. The emphases of the instructors also varied from a focus on human relations to a focus on Christian doctrine.

There has been considerable criticism of the provisions for religious education, particularly in the state schools.¹ Whatever estimate is made of the success of the efforts of the teachers of religion, there is abundant evidence that they are aware of the need to motivate and make their teaching relevant. This was evident in interviews, in materials produced by the Council for Christian Education in Schools and also in the varied experiments in the classroom. These included use of questionnaires to ascertain what classes wished to talk about, development of problem situations, use of films and reviews of relevant books.

Students' Evaluation of the Religious Teaching

If a favourable opinion of religious education is considered a necessary condition of positive influence of the teaching, then less than half the students surveyed, have had their religious outlook changed or influenced by it.² In thirteen of the eighteen groups unfavourable opinions outnumbered favourable ones.

¹ For instance Rev. T. H. Timpson, Secretary Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, claimed religious education was irrelevant to young people. The Age 22 May 1967.

² Of course, it is recognised that there may be a few students positively influenced by the religious teaching who still give a predominantly negative assessment.

TABLE 6 - 11

Student opinions about Religious Teaching in Schools

		<u>Numbers giving:</u>			
		<u>N</u>	<u>Favourable</u> <u>Opinions</u>	<u>Ambivalent</u> <u>or Neutral</u> <u>Comments</u>	<u>Unfavourable</u> <u>Opinions</u>
Woodville H.S.	boys	(48) ^a	5	7	24
	girls	(51)	5	6	26
Burnham H.S.	boys	(41)	7	5	14
	girls	(26)	2	2	10
Inberg H.S.	boys	(59)	9	9	26
	girls	(23)	2	3	10
Newscape H.S.	boys	(64)	17	8	25
	girls	(51)	24	5	14
Southdown H.S.	boys	(24)	6	2	11
	girls	(24)	7	2	9
Greenfall H.S.	girls	(108)	27	25	24
Centreburn T.S.	boys	(27)	11	1	2
Catholic B.C.		(156)	51	42	36
Edgevale B.G.		(69)	15	7	23
Eastwood B.C.		(135)	30	30	48
Plenbern G.C.		(87)	12	18	30
Arbour G.C.		(70)	6	8	37
R.C.G.S.		(47)	24	8	9

^a Rows do not add up to Ns because many students gave irrelevant responses or no response.

The question was: From your experience of the teaching of religion in this school, what is your opinion of the interest, importance and value of this teaching.

Variation from school to school is evident. Broadly, the differences correspond to the differences from school to school on the various measures of religious orientation. In the four groups which differed clearly from others by having a higher proportion of students who showed strong religious involvement - Greenfall High School, Newscape High School Girls, Roman Catholic Girls' School and the Catholic Boys' College - more students give favourable than unfavourable opinions.

However, it would be unwise to interpret the religious orientation of the students as an outcome of the impact of religious education without being able to test causal direction directly, all that is known of the relative influence of home and formal teaching would suggest that the attitude to religious education is more likely to be an outcome of a prior favourable disposition towards religion. Such a conclusion receives some support from the content of the comments in response to the evaluation question.

Those who commented favourably were often quite specific about influence.

Helps you to decide what to do in some circumstances.
(2039 M)

Helps to give a better understanding of God and how you should act and treat others.

I think that it brings up many aspects of life and human nature which one does not normally think of. It gives a better understanding of people. (2232 F)

Valuable and of importance in learning the teaching of the Bible.... (0437 M)

However, few of these comments or others I have inspected give an impression of a major shift in orientation. The closest to this I have found is the girl who considered the teaching in her school had brought her "to see clearly on many matters concerning God and His Kingdom and made me want to live by His Word". (0523) As will be discussed shortly, there is reason to believe that many of those whose prior attitudes toward religion were negative had already ceased to listen to the teaching.

A favourable assessment of the religious teaching does not guarantee that the teaching has been influential. A little over half the favourable comments did not show any sense of personal involvement or refer to any influence.¹ However, the specific

¹ Within the categories presented in Table 6 - 11 a further classification was made between general approval and enthusiastic personally involved approval and between general disapproval and hostility or scorn. These finer classifications do not have a high reliability (first and second coders often disagreed) so little attention is given to them here.

comments of a substantial minority of students should not be ignored. Even in schools where negative opinions predominated there were always a few who gave an enthusiastic favourable evaluation.

In spite of the sharp differences in evaluation within each form there is enough evidence in the responses to indicate that evaluation is in some way dependent on the teaching as well as the students' presuppositions. For instance, it is probably no coincidence that relative to the responses on the measures of religious orientation, evaluation of religious education is favourable at Centreburn Technical School and to some extent at Newscape High School, the two state secondary schools where there are Chaplains.

At Centreburn Technical School the Chaplain believes that religious education should be "pupil centred", that "cultural equivalents" must be found for Biblical terms and that teaching involves "redemptive involvement".¹ He has been successful in communicating his aim to the students and winning the approval of most of the students for the direction of the course which gives much attention to preparation for family living. In no other school is there so much enthusiasm.

...a very useful and helpful thing ... it teaches us how to overcome social problems we may be faced with.
(3713)

Allows us to see the future of marriage. (3715)

The teacher is just "great" and I think it is very valuable teaching, (3718)

I feel it is extremely important for those wishing for self-improvement (in character). (3727)

However, revision of curricula per se is not a panacea for obtaining favourable education as shall be seen later. The Chaplain at this school has been successful in using this approach; others might fail.

¹ From a cyclostyled document written by the Chaplain (unpublished).

This school is one example of what could be shown in nearly all schools - distinctive themes do emerge in the praise or condemnation.

As mentioned before there were marked differences in religious teaching from school to school and within some schools where more than one teacher was responsible for the teaching of different classes at the Form Five level (Catholic Boys' College, Greenfall High School and Eastwood Boys' College for a while). Further it has been noted that in five schools all or some of the students did not attend religious teaching.¹ There seemed little value in these circumstances in seeking to obtain the personal religious correlates of a favourable or negative opinion of the teaching. Certain characteristics may be associated with favourable assessment of one type of teaching but quite other characteristics with the same assessment of a different type of teaching.

However, an effort will be made to see if there are factors which operate across all schools which concern the expectations of students concerning the religious teaching and their definition of the "religious teaching situation" in schools. This analysis will be developed principally from the answers to the question about religious teaching itself.

A number of recent studies in England have examined the factors which make religious teaching in schools effective. Loukes performed a pioneering task with his group interviews² and tests in schools judged as successful in religious education.³ This has been followed by the more systematic study by Alves.⁴ However, these studies have

¹ This was quite apart from students who did not attend because of a note from their parents.

² H. Loukes, Teenage Religion (1961).

³ H. Loukes, New Ground in Christian Education (1965)

⁴ Alves (1968). A number of other studies have devoted some attention to formal religious education in the schools : Cox (1967) and Hyde (1965) in England; Mcberg (1962), p.206; Rosen (1965) pp.124 ff; Greeley and Rossi (1966), pp.190-191.

been concerned principally with the content of courses, teaching methods, staff qualifications, examinations and other school activities such as social service schemes.¹ While these factors may be very important in determining the level of acceptance of religious teaching, the ensuing analysis is based on the view that the way in which students define the religious teaching situation will be important also.²

Personal opinion and Perceived majority opinion of Religious Teaching

Within each school personal assessment of the interest, importance and value of the religious teaching is associated with the response to the statement:

Most students in Form Five at this school do not consider that the teaching of religion in this school is worth serious attention.

It seems likely that this association is partly due to contamination. Some students interpreted the personal assessment question as being an assessment as to whether the religious teaching was of interest and value to most students, rather than to themselves, so the two questions were covering the same ground.

This teaching has kept hardly any pupil, as far as I can see, interested. (0468 M)

There is no value for most students treat it largely as a joke. (0057 F)

Has very little effect on anyone. No interest is taken in it - it is just a "bludge". Due to attitudes, teaching has very little value. (2212 M)

However, a mistaken interpretation of the question is not always easy to distinguish from a response where the student is

¹ Alves (1968), pp.94-106.
Hyde (1965), p.82.

² One point should be mentioned briefly. The most frequent criticism of the content of religious education was that it is known beforehand and is repetitive.

identifying with the majority opinion. The last quotation above is probably an example of this. So more definitely, are the following:

Most like me just go along for a laugh. (0427 M)

None at all. We go there for a laugh and to argue with the priest. (0057 M)

TABLE 6 - 12

Association between Personal Assessment of Religious Teaching and Perceived Majority Opinion of Students in Form Five

Gamma Co-efficient of Association^a

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Woodville H.S.	.81	-.14
Burnham H.S.	.52	n
Inberg H.S.	.11	.68
Newscape H.S.	.68	.54
Southdown H.S.	.76	n
Centreburn T.S.	n	
Greenfall H.S.		.69
Catholic B.C.	.47	
Edgevale B.G.	.63	
Eastwood B.C.	.52	
Plenbern G.C.		.31
Arbour G.C.		.26
R.C.G.S.		.14

^a Calculated from four cell tables. Ambivalent or neutral personal responses were counted as positive; perception of Form Five responses were dichotomised between can't decide and tend to agree except where a disproportionate number of negative opinions were then obtained, in which case, the cutting point was made between tend to agree and definitely agree. Irrelevant comments, don't know and no answer response were excluded for both variables.

n = No calculation because of insufficient cases in one column.

In these cases and many others, students are happy to go along with the strong current of student opinion. It cannot be estimated how many students are swayed in their opinion by classmates so that a more favourable climate of form opinion would have produced a

positive evaluation of the religious teaching. However, those who are hostile or bored often make their opinions clear. There are reports of disruption of periods, doing homework during the periods, paying no attention and even failing to attend scheduled periods. This behaviour is visible, indicates student collusion and suggests some pressure to accept the majority negative opinion.

Indeed the dissident elements can make the situation so uncomfortable that others come to a negative assessment of the religious teaching because the situation does not permit them to learn.

I find it is of little value in this school as those who want to listen are prevented from doing so by those who have little interest and want to show off by being rude to the Minister. (0066 F)

Apathy as well as active obstruction of some can diminish the value of the teaching for others.

Very little interest in R.I. This leads to little discussion and consequently, the importance and value are negligible. (2230 F)

A final point should be mentioned in regard to the assessment of majority opinion. An overwhelming proportion assess the majority opinion to be a negative evaluation of the religious teaching. Even at the Catholic Boys' College and Greenfall High School where most personal evaluations are positive, more students perceive majority opinion as negative than perceive it as positive.

While this finding may be partly due to agreement tendency with an opinion which was negative, this perception is supported by more detailed analysis of the responses. Many students who give a positive evaluation of the teaching indicate their minority position. The following comment makes a point which recurs frequently:

¹ The discipline issue and its effects on learning is not a problem unique to religious teaching. However, the lack of training of many teachers of religion and the comparatively low status of the subject may accentuate the problem. A number of students feel religious teaching takes up time that could be devoted to examinable subjects.

My opinion ... is that the teaching is very helpful and relevant to our daily activities. Unfortunately many who are of that very religion do not think the same. (0049 F - Greek Orthodox)

I have found no case of the reverse situation : a student giving a negative opinion of the teaching but noting that he is in the minority.

Religious education periods may be, for many, the occasion when reactions of other students to religion are most visible. There must be at least a suspicion that when students observe hostile, scornful or apathetic responses to religious teaching, this may give them the impression that the majority of those their own age is not concerned about religion.

Expectations and Reference Points in the Judgment of Religious Teaching

A student consensus may be reached that any school subject is worthwhile or not worthwhile. However, it is doubtful if students approach other subjects with so many preconceptions, so many influences from elsewhere, so many expectations as to what will be taught and such clear views as to what should be taught. The comment from a Methodist boy, "I have found little to be gained from R.I. especially when compared with church and youth club activities," (0473) does not surprise us as much as would a similar comparison between history at school and at a local historical society.

The same can be applied to the content of religious teaching. In most cases students will have few preconceptions about simultaneous equations or the social consequences of the gold rushes. In any case they are prepared to concede to the expert when taught. Toward religion students are more likely to have firmly fixed attitudes, reinforced by parents, friends or church.

I feel that I have my own ideas already and I only attend to hear other views. (2227 F)

I think it has relatively little interest for me because I do not believe it. (2242 F)

This has not affected me one way or the other. I still believe what was taught to me when I was going to Sunday School and nothing will ever change that. (0413 M)

School or Church teachings make little or no impression on the views which we have already organised between ourselves. (0594 F)

The point is an obvious one, but its implications do not appear to have been drawn out. The religious education class has more resemblances to the classical attitude change experimental groups than to classes in most other subjects. However, the students are usually taught as if they have few firmly held attitudes unless the students can be very easily labelled as atheists or fundamentalists.

Judgments about the religious education programme are often evaluated in terms of a fixed viewpoint regarding what religion ought to concern itself. Again while other subjects may be accused of irrelevance to life, the accusation does not usually carry the same feeling that what is being done is not merely mistaken but morally wrong.

At this school they teach about community problems and how to be good and what Jesus did, but these don't get you saved at all. (0074 F)

There is little or no value as it is not really related to our way of living and problems of our community. (6806 M)

Last year religion was an enjoyable subject - chapters in the Bible were discussed and gone into quite deeply This year however, the Bible has hardly ever been mentioned, as has anything directly concerned with religion.... (6822 M)

Too much emphasis is placed on the life of Jesus Christ and not enough is placed on the value of basic Christian standards. (2030 M)

They teach us the wrong things.... They do not read the peaceful verses from the Bible. (0517 F)

The reference points from which religious education is judged are varied. It would not be possible, even if it were desirable to

meet all the expectations. The point is illustrated again in the reaction to a Christian view of sex receiving some emphasis in the course. Some feel it is the most profitable aspect, others resent it and consider it irrelevant to religion. A positive evaluation of the religious teaching depends upon a match between the expectations and the focus of the teaching. There are sufficient examples of this to encourage teachers to believe such a correspondence is quite a frequent occurrence:

... interesting because we discuss social, moral and ethical problems rather than straight Religion. (6832 M)

I think it is very important because it helps you to know God better. (0465 F)

I feel it is important because it makes me think about the problems of today and decide whether or not I should try to help. (0068 F)

The other possibility is that some students may be prepared to alter their concept of religious education or to have sufficiently open expectations to follow the emphases selected in the particular school. There are a few examples of this process:

As you get older you realise that the teachings are not strictly religious but a guide to a newer social outlook. (2201 M)

The important point, however is that so many students have firm reference points from which the emphases and content of religious teaching are evaluated and which tend to insulate them from the influence of religious teaching which does not meet their expectations.

Independence and Religious Teaching

Most students perceive religious education as an attempt to change their views. Many accept this situation with gratitude:

It has helped me to know whether something was right or wrong and how to make it right if it was wrong. (4790 M)

This teaching is very important as it helps to shape one's future. (0415 M)

The teaching is very interesting and will eventually help me make up my mind about God. At present I'm not sure about religion. (0034 M)

However, to others religious education seems like a threat to the freedom to make up their own mind. The extent to which this is felt depends on the style of teaching. One teacher is bitterly criticised by a number of students for his failure to acknowledge other viewpoints, to permit discussion and to answer questions. His classroom methods were interpreted by students as an attempt to impose his views.

The phenomena is not restricted to the one school where the teaching might be described as dogmatic. Many expressions of resentment at being forced to go to religious education periods may be clichés rather than heart felt considerations. However, the point does echo assertions of independence made in response to other questions by students. For instance, one girl wrote:

I think that we should by now, have our own ideas on this subject of religion and I resent discussing and being taught at school things that I may not agree with. (0591)

Much of the resentment may arise from the teachers' failure to recognise the varied opinions students have rather than attempts of teachers to influence per se. To assume consensus and work from this point may be a subtle and successful way of changing loosely held opinions. However, when viewpoints are firmly held, the acknowledgment of differences may be more a successful technique of changing attitudes.¹

Conclusion

Generally students expect that religious education teachers will endeavour to change their attitudes. Some will have defined this activity as illegitimate, unnecessary or useless before the

¹ This, of course, is speculation based on interpretation of a few responses. Controlled experiments would be necessary to test the hypothesis.

year starts. Others will find that their expectations and beliefs about the purpose of religious education are disappointed. The remainder will be open to influence if the classroom atmosphere and student opinion permits, and if the teaching is good enough in other ways.

Even then students may not show enthusiasm. Many more are prepared to concede that the teaching is "valuable" than who find it "interesting". In spite of these factors there is evidence that among those already motivated to take religion seriously, religious education often has specific and definite influence.

Some Approaches to Student Subcultures

One explanation of the observed differences in the strength of religious involvement between schools could be that the schools - or the Form Five groups within the schools - each constitute distinctive social systems whose norms concerning religion differ.¹ In other terms, religious values are an important aspect of the distinctive student subculture in each Form Five.²

A variety of procedures are available to determine the "value climates" of the Form Five groups in the schools, or, more particularly, to determine whether religious behaviour and attitudes are prescribed by the student social system in each Form Five.

The most direct procedure is to ask students what it takes to get in with the leading crowd in the group. This procedure was

¹ See Chapter IV, p.114, for a discussion of student social systems.

² Concerning the idea that a form level can constitute a social system (as opposed to a school) the conclusions of Coleman (1961), p.75, should be noted: "there is a social system among adolescents in the school, with its own distinctive norms", yet "factors peculiar to the class [= Victorian form] in school were also important". Coleman concluded that it would have been better, if possible, to conduct a class-by-class analysis than a school-by-school analysis of student subcultures. (p.76)

adopted by Coleman¹ but (unfortunately, in retrospect) a similar question was not included in this study. The four procedures which were adopted are outlined below:

- A. The orientation of the majority of the Form, as perceived by the students, is examined. If there is widespread disagreement in perceptions it is unlikely that there are clearly prescribed norms emanating from the student social system as a whole.
- B. The relationship between the perceived religious orientation of the majority of the form and personal religious orientation is assessed. If the student subculture prescribes attitudes toward religion there should be some association between the perceived majority orientation and personal orientation.
- C. In schools in which the religious climate of Form Five is favourable to religious involvement, religious involvement of students should be relatively stronger than in other schools, (i.e. stronger than would be expected from the other characteristics of the students). For instance, if students in two schools are matched on the religious involvement of their parents, more students from schools where the religious climate is more favourable should show strong religious involvement. The particular form of multivariate analysis involved in the testing of such a proposition ("structural analysis") will be discussed at the appropriate point.
- D. Coleman has argued:

Another way of gaining understanding of the adolescent societies, and the way they channel adolescent energies, is by considering those members that boys and girls most esteem - the ones they most want to be like, the ones they would likely to be friends with, the ones they see as members of the leading

¹ Ibid, .p.68.

crowd, the ones they choose most often as friends.¹
 How are these people, who are held in special
 positions of regard by their classmates, different
 from their less distinguished fellows?"²

Using the sociometric choices requested in Question 59, a
 comparison will be made of the religious orientation of those
 often chosen with the religious orientation of those rarely
 chosen.

A. Perceptions of the Orientation of Form Five Students

Coleman included in his questionnaire a number of items
 specifically designed to discover the dominant subcultural values.
 As such items were not included in this questionnaire, the only
 measure of the norms of Form Five is through perceptions of what the
 majority believe (Question 42). Perceived majority belief of a group
 cannot be equated with the norms of a group - even if the perceptions
 are correct - as the "majority" may not be the ones who control the
 social rewards and exercise leadership. Given this reservation
 knowledge of the perceptions of majority opinion will be a useful
 indicator of the norms of the group.

The questions about the religious orientation of Form Five
 students did ^{not} normally produce distributions where an overwhelming
 majority perceived students in the same way - either as favourable
 or unfavourable to religion.³ There is other evidence of low
 visibility of majority belief. One extreme case of contrasting

¹ Coleman did not assume that results will be identical regardless of
 which measure of esteem is used. He discussed the differences
 between the elites identified by each measure, pp.98 ff.

² Ibid, p.97.

³ In most schools on most questions less than 60 per cent gave
 either "true" or "not True" response to the statements about the
 orientation of most of Form Five. A more detailed tabulation of
 results is given in Appendix J. The distribution of results may
 be partly a function of the questions - as it is theoretically
 possible to ask for questions about the likely response of a group
 in such a way as members will be divided about what most of the
 group thinks - by setting the dividing point between the negative
 and positive responses at about the average opinion of the group.

perceptions of which there are other less striking examples, is at Greenfall High School where 26 per cent considered true the statement that most of Form Five "don't feel Christian belief should play any part in everyday decisions" while 30 per cent thought most of Form Five "feel Christian beliefs should often play a part in everyday decisions". Such a situation could not arise where norms of a group were explicit or influential. Also the frequency of the "don't know" response is indicative of lack of visibility of norms. In only one girls' group on one question is the "don't know" response under 10 per cent while for boys' and girls' groups it usually ranges between 20 per cent and 35 per cent.

There are differences in perceived orientation of the majority from school to school and these differences are generally in the direction expected from knowledge of the aggregated responses of the Form Five. For instance, at Arbour Girls' College 36 per cent agree (43 per cent disagree) that most of Form Five is not concerned about religious matters while at the Roman Catholic Girls' School 17 per cent agree (77 per cent disagree). Rho co-efficients were calculated to show the relationship between the rank order of schools according to the perceived orientation of the Form Five and the rank order according to the aggregated responses of the students in the Form on various measures of religious orientation. In all cases the co-efficients were greater than 0.13 but in only one case out of eight was there a statistically significant association.¹

While the results indicate that many students are aware of majority religious viewpoints and actual differences are reflected to an extent in perceived differences, the overall impression is that most students do not find the majority viewpoint clear or imposing.

¹ Rho co-efficients were: for girls - .47, .37, .55, .73*
for boys - .23, .13, .13, .37

*Statistically significant $P < .05$. It was decided that the girls' groups and boys' groups should be tested separately as it was suspected each would have their own sex in mind when giving their perceptions.

B. The Relationship between the Perceived Orientation of the Majority of Form Five and the Students' Own Orientation.

There is strong evidence of a positive association between personal religious orientation and the perceived orientation of the majority of the Form Five.

Only a limited number of results have been reported in Table 6 - 13 so that all results that could be changed if there were a few coding errors or if a few students failed to give the answer which they intended to give are excluded. This was necessary as the large proportion of "don't know" responses and uneven distributions to questions about the orientation of Form Five increased the possibility of unreliable results. Responses for small groups are not reported at all.

There are only 4 cases of negative association as against 36 cases of positive association, 8 of which are significant at the .05 level or beyond. On each aspect of perceived orientation of Form Five compared with personal orientation there are more positive associations than negative ones. In spite of the many cases where calculations of gamma was not applicable this adds up to a strong case for arguing that personal religious orientation and perception of orientation of Form Five are generally closely tied.¹

The results could be interpreted as support for the influence of the student subcultures, at least as perceived by the individual students. Students may feel pressures or the desire to conform to what they perceived as the majority opinion. Alternatively we could note how students are able to build around themselves a "world" which is consistent with their own outlook.

¹ This conclusion could be supported by an analysis of students whose perception of Form Five is like their own orientation as against those where it is unlike. In an overwhelming majority of cases those who are alike outnumber those whose own orientation is discrepant with their perception of their form.

TABLE 6 - 13

Association Between Perceived Religious Orientation of Form Five and Personal Religious Orientation

(Gamma Co-efficients)

SCHOOL

Perceived belief
of Form Five -
Students' belief
about Jesus

Perceived belief
of Form Five -
Students' belief
about miracles

Perceived application
Christian beliefs
Form Five - Students'
frequency of asking
themselves what God would
want them to do.

Perceived application
of Christian beliefs by
Form Five - Students'
belief in application
of Christian
beliefs at school.

Perceived
religious
concern of
Form Five -
Students'
religious
concern

Positive-
Negative
Associations

GIRLS

Woodville H.S.	.00	.07	.71	.75	1.00	5-0
Greenfall H.S.	n	n	n	.18	.34	2-0
Plenbern G.C.	n	n	.61*	.20	.66*	3-0
Arbour G.C.	n	n	.76*	.47	.14	3-0
Newscape H.S.	n	n	.15	n	.67	2-0

BOYS

Woodville H.S.	.38	n	n	n	n	1-0
Burnham H.S.	.09	n	.46	.46	-.43	3-1
Inberg H.S.	.46	n	.30	-.14	-.18	2-2
Newscape H.S.	.68	.58	n	n	-.07	2-1
Catholic B.C.	n	n	.64*	.78*	.60*	3-0
Edgevale B.G.	.38	.15	.23	.19	.54	5-0
Eastwood B.C.	.84*	.63*	.24	.16	.31	5-0

* Significance X^2 (1 df) at .05 level or beyond.

n Not applicable

TOTAL
Positive-
Negative
Association 36-4

In this case the second explanation appears to be more consistent with other evidence. Evidence for the low visibility of majority opinion has already been given. In such a situation it would be relatively easy for students to feel the opinion of the majority was like that of themselves or their friends.

The resilient ability of the students to perceive the religious environment as in support of their own views can be illustrated by the findings of one school. At the Catholic Boys' College 95 students disagree that the majority of Form Five is not concerned about religion¹, 36 are in agreement that most are not concerned and 25 "don't know". This represents a much higher consensus than in most cases about the orientation of the majority. Yet of those who claim that they are not concerned about religion themselves 14 say the majority of the form is like them and 13 say opposite, 8 replying that they didn't know. Thus those not concerned about religion themselves are more likely to find the majority of the form as supporting them in spite of the general consensus that majority opinion is the opposite.

The analysis of perceived orientation of Form Five orientation in relation to personal orientation has tended to confirm the view that there is no unitary subculture to which students conform in the Form Five groups, although there is a tendency to congruence between the perceived orientation of most of Form Five and the students' own orientation.

C. Structural Analysis of Form Five Groups

The third procedure endeavours to specify the impact of some group characteristics of the Form Five groups - more particularly the difference according to the group characteristics of family religious background. The difficulty of ascertaining the effects on individuals

¹ 119 actually disagree that they are not concerned.

of group characteristics which are in turn dependent on an aggregation of individual characteristics has been discussed by Blau:

The structural effects of a social value can be isolated by showing that the association between its prevalence in a community or group and certain patterns of conduct is independent of whether an individual holds this value or not.¹

Structural analysis overcomes the problem of circularity which occurs when inference of group effect is made directly from the existence of common norms on a group:

The claim that common values of communities are social in origin and the product of socialization [of that community] is a hypothesis that requires empirical confirmation To demonstrate its validity requires evidence that individuals who do not have a certain orientation but live in communities where this orientation prevails are more apt to develop such an orientation over time than those in other communities.²

Wilson applied "structural analysis" to the explanation of aspirations of students, showing that the occupational status of the majority of students in schools, independently of the occupational status of individual students, was positively related to occupational aspirations.³

Applied to the problem of determining the effect of school climate on students, "structural analysis" is used to determine whether the home background (religious) of the students as a group has an association, independent of the home background of individual students, with the level of their own religious involvement. Of course, religious home background of the majority is only a very partial indicator of the climate of student opinion concerning religion, but it is one aspect which should be investigated in the light of the strong association between religious orientation of students and their

¹ P. M. Blau, "Structural Effects" (1960), p.180.

² Ibid, p.193.

³ A. B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspiration of High School Boys" (1963).

parents. The hypothesis is that students attending schools where the majority come from homes in which parents show high religious involvement will show stronger religious involvement than others, even when parental religious involvement of individual students is held constant.

The hypothesis is generally confirmed in the case of girls but is not confirmed in the case of the boys. Table 6 - 14 reports the findings for the girls.

Nine out of ten comparisons between schools where parental religious involvement is high and where it is low (i.e. between columns (i) and (iii) and (ii) and (iv)) support the hypothesis, although statistical significance is rarely obtained (3 cases). However, it is possible that the religious involvement of parents has not been controlled adequately. Also it should be noted that differences within the two categories of schools according to the perceived religious orientation of parents are far stronger than differences between the two categories of schools when perceived religious orientation of parents is held constant.

Among the boys no consistent pattern appears at all. This could mean that the school climate of religious opinion has little influence on the boys or that perceived parental religious involvement is useless as an indicator of school religious climate. It has been noted elsewhere that boys are less likely than girls to follow the patterns set by parents.

This brief analysis is by no means an adequate test of the impact of school climate by use of structural analysis. It points to a model of analysis which could be pursued further rather than providing definitive results.

TABLE 6 - 14

Association of the Religious Involvement of Parents in the School (as a group) and Personal Religious Involvement of Students when the Religious Involvement of the Parents of Individual Students is Controlled.

(Girls)

Parental religious involvement of individual students. ^b	Percentage of students who:	Level of Parental religious involvement as a characteristic of the school. ^a			
		S T R O N G		W E A K	
		(i) Strong	(ii) Weak	(iii) Strong	(iv) Weak
A. accept the miracles without qualification		53	27	42	21
B. believe Jesus is the Son of God ... Saviour, Lord		78	52	57*	32*
C. believe in a heaven or a hell for every person after death		52	27	47	17
	N	(161)	(91)	(60)	(66)
D. often or sometimes ask themselves what God would want them to do		83	54	70	36
E. agree Christian belief should affect behaviour, decisions at school		83	56	78	36*
	N	(145)	(54)	(60)	(53)
F. disagree "religious matters do not concern me"		79	63	82	60
	N	(210)	(49)	(92)	(35)

^a Classifications were according to perceived belief of parents for Items A - C, perceived commitment of parents to bringing religious considerations into everyday matters for Items D - E and perceived religious concern of parents for Item F, so that schools and students within schools are classified according to the dimension of perceived orientation of parents most appropriate to the measure of the students' own orientation. This explains the different N's at various points.

^b Roman Catholic Girls' School was excluded from analysis because there were almost no students in the school whose parents showed low religious involvement. If the school were considered separately as a group in which parental religious involvement is very strong, the existing pattern would be confirmed.

* The difference between columns (i) and (iii) or (ii) and (iv) is statistically significant at .05 level.

D. Student Leadership, Selection of Friends and Religious Orientation

Students chosen as the "most generally recognised by other students as leaders among them" (Question 59D) were no more or less likely than other students to show strong religious involvement. Table 6 - 15 shows a comparison between leaders and others on three measures in twelve groups. In no case is there a statistically significant difference between the leaders (operationally defined here as those mentioned twice or more often in response to Question 59D) and Form Five considered as a whole. In only one case out of thirty-six is there a difference between percentages of more than 10 per cent.

It should be noted that the finding is consistent irrespective as to whether a clear majority favour one response (e.g. as at the Catholic Boys' College) or students are equally divided. Thus we cannot reject two null hypotheses:

- (i) Selection as leader is not associated with conformity to the dominant patterns of religious orientation in the particular Form Five.
- (ii) Selection as leader is not associated with strength of religious involvement.

While this does not amount to conclusive evidence that there is no relationship between selection as leader and religious involvement, it creates a strong presupposition that this is the case.

A similar analysis of selection as friend in relation to religious involvement again showed no consistent or strong differences between those selected by many, those selected by few and those who were not selected at all by those in the same form. The analysis did suggest that the religious extremists were not likely to be chosen as friends by many students but the numbers involved are so small that it is not possible to determine if this result could be explained easily

TABLE 6 - 15

The Religious Orientation of Student Leaders

A Comparison of those nominated as Leaders twice or more often and the entire form group on some measures of religious involvement.

School	N's ^a	Percentage who agreed Jesus is the Son of God ∴ Saviour and Lord		Percentage who had prayed within previous three days		Percentage who attended Church at least once a month	
		Leaders	Entire Form	Leaders	Entire Form	Leaders	Entire Form
<u>BOYS:</u>							
Woodville H.S.	(19-45)	47	42	11	13	21	24
Burnham H.S.	(17-38)	53	47	18	21	41	42
Inberg H.S.	(21-58)	43	43	33	28	43	40
Newscape H.S.	(22-56)	41	46	27	29	45	46
Catholic B.C.	(70-151)	81	83	79	80	86	83
Edgevale B.G.	(29-67)	41	48	21	21	52	57
Eastwood B.C.	(55-129)	55	53	40	36	49	47
<u>GIRLS:</u>							
Woodville H.S.	(20-46)	40	43	15	33	40	41
Greenfall H.S.	(39-99)	74	79	59	60	74	70
Plenbern G.C.	(38-81)	42	48	37	38	63	60
Newscape H.S.	(24-47)	83	83	63	72	71	79
R.C.G.S.	(22-45)	95	89	86	80	100	96

^a The numbers in Form Five as a whole are less than the number of students who completed questionnaires in each group. It was not possible to calculate the number of choices received by students who did not identify themselves by their own code number.

by chance. It is supported by some evidence in the interviews that a few extremists suffer social penalties.¹

S u m m a r y

Not one of the four procedures has given much support to the view that religion is an important aspect of student subcultures to which students feel drawn to conform. While there are persistent associations between the perceived majority orientation of the form and personal orientation, such associations could be explained by the participation of students in different friendship cliques within the form and projection of their own views. The examination of the student social systems in more detail, to take account of friendship patterns, is one task of Chapter VII.

¹ For instance at Eastwood Boys' College, one boy obviously received much ragging and was an isolate - even a few questionnaires referred specifically to him as a religious extremist.

CHAPTER VII

FRIENDS AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

Theoretical Framework and Approach to the Problem

The Adolescent and his Friends

The review of the "adolescent subculture" debate in Chapter IV has already placed the consideration of the religious influence of friends in theoretical perspective. However, conformity to age-category is not the same phenomenon as peer group conformity and conformity to friends' orientation may be different again.

Conformity to age-category may be a solitary phenomenon in which an individual perceives (or misperceives) and adopts what he considers to be the typical behaviour and attitudes of those his own age. In fact, these perceptions are likely to be mediated through contact with peers, although mass media and perception learned from parents may be important for some.

A peer group may or may not support what is perceived by its members to be typical adolescent behaviour. It is probably correctly assumed by writers that there is some correlation between belonging to a gang or clique and conformity to expectations of age-mates as opposed to adult expectations, but systematic examination of this matter is lacking.

Finally a distinction should be made between a peer group and a set of friends. A person may not belong to what he (or a sociologist) regards as a peer group, gang or clique, but he may have one, two or more friends who influence him quite a lot. The friends of one person may have little interaction with each other. A 16 year old might have a close school friend, another friend with whom he

plays Saturday sport and a girl friend from another school, so that his closest friends rarely meet.¹ Another person may have just one very close and influential friend.

Otherwise competing schools of psychologists are agreed that age-mates, particularly the peer group, are important to adolescents. For instance Ausubel has stressed the role of peers in the process of adolescent de-satellization from the family.² As a period of transition between the family of origin and family of procreation, adolescence represents a period of special dependence on friends. Coleman emphasised this argument:

There are few periods in life in which associations are so strong, intimate and all-encompassing as those that develop during adolescence. Because adolescence is a unique transitional period, when a boy or girl is no longer fully within the parental family, but has not yet formed a family of his own, close ties with friends replace the family ties that are so strong during most of the rest of his life.³

The students in this survey are on the whole at an age when the importance of the peer group is near its peak if the evidence of other studies can be transferred. Connell found in his study of adolescents in Sydney (14-15 years old students) that 70 per cent of the boys and 81-82 per cent of the girls were members of a peer group. This figure was reasonably consistent across schools.⁴ Wheeler in a study of Form Five students in Western Australia found 78 per cent boys and 88 per cent girls were in single sex or mixed sex groups.⁵ According to

¹ There is evidence that boys are more likely to have segmental friendships of this kind than girls.
Coleman (1961), p.13.
Connell et Al (1963), p.51.

² D. P. Ausubel, "Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development" (1954), pp.203, 341 ff.

³ Coleman (1961), p.174.

⁴ Connell et Al (1963), p.53. The question on which peer group membership was based is noted on p.217.

⁵ D. K. Wheeler, "The Adolescent Peer Group and its Activities" (1961^A), p.34.

Dunphy's analysis of Sydney adolescents the 15-17 age group are at the point where the crowd (association of cliques) is in structural transition with, for the most part, unisexual cliques, but with high status members of cliques having their own heterosexual cliques.¹

It could be expected then that, unless local or school factors are of a special nature, peer groups will be important although in some cases heterosexual friendships are beginning to break up the solidarity of peer groups.

Religion and the Friends of Adolescents

There is no need for another study merely to confirm that friends will often show congruence in their norms.² Such a finding in general terms could be predicted from research into primary groups quite apart from specific reference to the importance of the peer group to the adolescent.³ The particular issue to which this chapter addresses itself is : "does religious orientation fall into the sphere of behaviour and attitudes on which adolescent friends will show the expected norm congruence"? To suggest why research in this area is needed it is relevant to suggest reasons why the expected norm congruence among friends might not apply to the religious orientation of adolescents.

1. First religion may not be important enough to most adolescents or relevant enough to their common activities for similarity of religious orientation between friends to be valued.

¹ D. C. Dunphy, "The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups" (1963), p.236. By comparison one could note that Willmott's figures relating to East London show a decline in the frequency of peer group participation from the 14-15 age-group to the 16-18 age-group - Willmott (1966), pp.23, 35.

² The term "norm congruence" is used to avoid begging question of causation.

³ E.g. S. Schacter, "Deviation, Rejection and Communication" (1964), p.328.
Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), pp.31-42.

The basic model on which norm congruence depends has been outlined by Newcomb in The Acquaintance Process. He argued that strain may be set up in an individual system when A is attracted to B and there is a discrepancy between A's attitude to X and A's perception of B's attitude toward X. A strain occurs in a collective system when A and B are attracted towards each other but differ in their attitudes toward X.¹ The strain sets off mechanisms of change to bring the systems into balance.²

However, Newcomb pointed out that when this model of individual or collective system strain was applied it was important to know two other variables -

- (i) The importance of X to A (and B)
- (ii) the common relevance of X to A and B.

Thus if A does not really care much what he or anyone else thinks of X little strain will be induced on his side by any discrepancy between his attitude toward X and B's attitude toward X. Also if both define attitudes toward X as merely a private matter about which they are happy to disagree then little strain will be induced by discrepancy.³

Sherif and Sherif used a similar argument when they argued that the "latitude of acceptable behaviour defined by the norms of a group related to matters affecting the existence and perpetuation of the group will be narrower (permit fewer alternatives) than the latitudes defined by norms regulating behaviour for matters of less significance".⁴

¹ Newcomb (1961), pp.12, 19.

² The various possibilities of bringing about balance are discussed on p.17 (for the individual system) although one possibility is not mentioned by Newcomb : a change in the nature of the relationship without a decrease in attraction e.g. from fellow believer to evangelist - to be considered further in the final Chapter.

³ Ibid, pp.13, 19.

⁴ M. Sherif and C. W. Sherif, Reference Groups (1964), p.93. For similar arguments see also Schacter (1964), p.312, and A. Strauss, "Concepts, Communication and Groups" (1953), p.114.

It could be argued then that religious orientation is not relevant to the common activities of some adolescents and perhaps of low salience to others. For instance, it was asserted by some respondents in the pilot interviews that "religion hasn't anything to do with friendships", or, more assertively, that "religion ought to be kept out of friendships". If this is true there should be little or no congruence of religious norms among friends.

2. The second argument refers to the debate reviewed earlier regarding the scope, sincerity and depth of conformity to peers. If peer conformity is ritualistic and segmental,¹ congruence of religious norms may not show in peer groups and among friends except on those characteristics where deviance can be observed and penalised. Further, among those to whom religion was important and thus near the sacred end of the continuum, one might expect strong resistance to pressures to comply to the expectations of peers.

However there is an important difference between conformity to what is regarded as typical for one's age-category and conformity to a peer group. Membership of an age-category is ascribed. If a person feels constrained by those his own age he may be able to minimise interaction with them, but he cannot opt out of his age-category. On the other hand, membership of a peer group is voluntary. Coleman has pointed out that "in very selectivity" lies the weakness of peer groups as agents of a change as tension can be resolved by searching elsewhere for greater compatibility.²

As a result it could be expected that coercion would be less frequently the cause of norm congruence in peer groups. However, it is still possible that the peer group or the friends of a person may attempt to control aspects of behaviour which the

¹ Footnote, Chapter IV, p.107.

² J. S. Coleman, "Peer Cultures and Education in Modern Society" (1966), pp.249-250.

person feels they have no right to control. He may comply to obtain the rewards offered by the group.

Friendship Patterns and Similarities in Orientation

In many studies, attempts have been made to relate choice of friends to characteristics of chooser or chosen. One procedure has been to discover the characteristics of those who obtain a high status score on sociometric tests by being "overchosen" as friend or leader. This procedure should be distinguished from findings which show that those of similar characteristics choose each other more often than expected by chance when asked to nominate friends in a sociometric test.

The former procedure informs us that in a given group or subgroup those with certain characteristics tend to have higher prestige than those without these characteristics. This is evidence of the value climate of the group. Such data has been used to give insight into the values of a group by many writers.¹ We have already discussed this point in regard to the religious climate of Form Five as a group.²

¹ For instance:

M. E. Bonney, "A Sociometric Study of the Relationship of Some Factors to Mutual Friendships on the Elementary, Secondary and College Levels" (1946).

M. E. Bonney, "A Study of Friendship Choices in College in Relation to Church Affiliation, In-Church References, Family Size and Length of Enrollment in College" (1949).

Coleman (1961), p.68.

² There is one point at which such findings have relevance to the second type of association. If a group is dichotomised on a religious variable and popularity as measured by friendship choice is directed to those of one particular orientation, there will be a lack of cohesion in the low prestige subgroups. Many of their friendship choices will have been directed to those of the other orientation. By definition there will be a low or negative correlation between the religious orientation of the low prestige chooser and that of his nominated set of friends.

Attention will be focused on the second kind of association. Studies which have asked adolescents for the criteria on which they choose friends have usually stressed personality variables (personal warmth, kindness, cheery nature, trustworthiness, etc.) rather than variables in belief, values or religious behaviour.¹ Campbell in a study among school children in New South Wales showed the importance of opportunities for contact in a variety of activities in the formation of friendships.² Connell found among Sydney adolescents that desirable and undesirable characteristics of potential members of a peer group were predominantly social habits and skills and social personality, but religious factors ranked third among undesirable characteristics of potential friends (ahead of family background and social prejudice). "Someone who does not believe in God" and "someone who is very religious" were unpopular.³ Among positive characteristics desired of new members of peer groups, sharing group's ideas was among the three most important considerations only for girls in single sex groups in non-high schools. Attractive personality and sociableness were nearly always regarded as more important.⁴ The findings of Connell would suggest that although religious behaviour or belief is not a major factor in choice of friends, by the process in which groups exclude polar types (the very religious, the outspoken atheist) there may be some correlation between religious orientation of friends - especially in schools where there has been religious polarisation to those extremes.

Those who have used sociometric techniques have given much attention to the likelihood of people of the same socio-economic

¹ D. K. Wheeler, "Popularity among Adolescents in Western Australia and the United States of America" (1963), p.300 - Wheeler referred to previous American studies and compared them with Western Australian findings.

² Campbell (1957), pp.118-120.

³ Connell et Al (1963), pp.55-56

⁴ Ibid, p.58.

status choosing each other.¹ More recently Turner has found that students of like ambition are more likely to choose each other as friends than students whose parents were of the same socio-economic status.² Values and other religious variables have received less consideration.³ Smelser in an unpublished study noted by Lindsey and Borgatta⁴ showed that cliques in female college dormitories were homogeneous in eight attitudinal areas but these were not specifically religious. Lundberg and Steele found membership of the same church one of the most important determinants of clique structure in a small New England village.⁵ Goodnow and Tagiuri showed that in a boys' preparatory school (secondary level) despite school efforts to minimise differences, Jews, Protestants and Catholics each chose "a larger percentage of its own members than its percentage of representation in the population". These differences were statistically significant.⁶ Bonney, in 1946, found among 1,200 students at North Texas that the tendency to in-group denominational choices existed in practically all denominations. Particularly Baptists but also Methodists, Church of Christ adherents, Presbyterians, Catholics and those without church affiliation

¹ Positive associations have usually been found. G. Lindzey and E. F. Borgatta, "Sociometric Measurement" (1954), p.429; Bonney (1946), p.38; and G. A. Lundberg and V. Beazley, "Consciousness of Kind in a College Population" (1948), pp.68-70. Lundberg and Beazley's evidence points in the same direction.

² "In more than two thirds of the classrooms there is an apparent tendency for students to select as friends others with ambitions like their own." Turner (1964), p.118.

³ O. D. Duncan, A. O. Haller and A. Portes, "Peer Influences on Aspirations: A Reinterpretation" (1968), p.121, also found an association between aspirations of students and their friends which could not be explained by common socio-economic status.

⁴ Lindzey and Borgatta, (1954), pp.431-432.

⁵ Reported Ibid, p.429.

⁶ R. E. Goodnow and R. Tagiuri, "Religious Ethnocentrism and its Recognition among Adolescent Boys" (1952), pp.317-319.

tended to make in-group choices. The tendency was usually substantial and statistically significant.¹

It can be seen from these studies that examination of the relationship of friendship patterns with religion has been principally along the lines of showing denominational cleavage in friendships. Rosen is the major exception (see p.292). Coleman also has examined other religious variables in relation to clique formation. He was able to identify some distinctively religious cliques. The members shared religious characteristics in common.²

Coleman noted that these cliques cut across grades, a rare phenomenon which he attributes to the fact that "they are interested in matters that concern the majority of adolescents very little" so "they must either forsake the interest - as some certainly do - or look beyond the confines of their grade for friends".³ Generally Coleman found that the cliques show little tendency to be religiously homogeneous at Elmtown and Marketville.⁴

Another perspective is given by those who have asked directly how important friends were as religious influences. Arsenian's survey at a men's college in New England found friends to be quite important. Students were asked if certain groups or people had contributed

¹ Bonncy (1949), p.159.

² "The interests of the 234 C clique at Marketville lie not in athletics, nor in school activities, nor in dating nor in cars. The members have one thing in common - religious interests. They all attend church every Sunday; five out of seven report that religion is the thing they have most in common; and five out of seven say they would most like to be a missionary.

The 3D clique of Elmtown has an almost identical religious orientation : all go to church every Sunday; three of the five members mention religion as their common activity; all but one rank 'living up to religious ideals' first, two want to be missionaries." - Coleman (1961), pp.144-195.

³ Ibid. The same phenomenon is noted of three girls' cliques interested in rock and roll and "a good time". p.206.

⁴ Ibid., p.202.

towards development of a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward religion. Fewer students said school mates had had no influence either way than who denied the influence of parents, siblings, college clubs or church.¹ In American Catholic schools, however, it was found that classmates' example was placed behind parents' example, school religious instruction, teachers' example and parish church instruction as of importance in their religious development according to ratings by students.²

Over 70 per cent of the Jewish teenagers in Rosen's Yorktown survey included one or more age-mates among the people whose opinion of them mattered a great deal. One quarter of them said they turned to one of their peers when making up their mind about something important.

Yet, he tended not to perceive his peers as an important force affecting his religious attitudes and behaviour. In other words they were not perceived as religious referents. The idea that age-mates might influence him in this area seemed to most adolescents a bit bizarre.³

18 per cent named a friend of the same age as a person who had helped them feel the way they did about religion.⁴ Rosen concluded that there was a gap between perception and reality.

Intensive interviewing and observation of adolescents in Yorktown over a year's period revealed a situation quite different from what the adolescent believed to be the case. The peer group proved to be a far more potent factor than the adolescent imagined.⁵

Rosen was able to show a strong association between the religious attitudes of adolescents and the majority of their peer group, even when parental attitude was held constant.⁶

¹ Arsenian (1942), p.344.

² Neuwien et Al (1966) p.246.

³ Rosen (1965), p.84.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., pp.93-94. The Ns are rather small but the association is strong and statistically significant (by X^2 with Yates correction factor). Among observant parents 72 per cent were in accord with their peer group, among non-observant parents 84 per cent were in accord with their peer group (calculation from Table 8 on p.94).

The cumulative evidence of the studies reported suggests that, although we may anticipate frequent denial of religious influence of friends, there will be an association between the religious orientation of friends or, from a different perspective, those of the same religious orientation will choose each other as friends more frequently than would be expected by chance.

Strategies of Assessment

A number of strategies will be used to assess the relationship between friendship patterns and religious orientation. The strategies certainly cannot be expected to yield identical results as they are measuring slightly different things, but the case will be stronger if they supplement rather than contradict each other.

The first strategy is one employed earlier in the study : that of matching personal religious orientation with the perceived religious orientation of others - in this case of the perceived religious orientation of friends. Four questions were designed specifically to test the respondent's perception of the religious orientation of his five best friends.¹ Newcomb for one used this approach in his examination of norm congruence.²

The second and third strategies both depend on use of sociometric techniques to identify friends and so compare their actual religious orientations. The difference between the strategies is in the emphasis they place on perceived sets of friends as against reciprocated friendships and clique structures. In one case

¹ Questions 10C, 11, 24 and 54.

² Newcomb (1961), passim. Winslow reported a study which showed that there was a reasonable association between the estimate of the opinion of friends and their actual (expressed) opinion. In a study of boy and boy pairs and girl and girl pairs he found a 0.61 (\pm .07) (Boys) and a 0.77 (\pm .04) (Girls) association between actual and perceived opinions. - C. N. Winslow, "A Study of the Extent of Agreement between Friends' Opinions and their Ability to Estimate the Opinions of Each Other" (1937), p.440.

similarity of the respondent's religious orientation to that of his nominated set of friends is compared; in the other pairs who reciprocate friendship choices¹ are discovered and their homogeneity on religious variables is then examined.

Rossi had strong opinions on the relative worth of such procedures. He made the distinction between peer groups and sets of peers² and argued that sociometric choices could not be relied on because of the possibility of arriving at different groupings from the same set of choices and that "for a large portion of the students it will not be possible to place them within a clearly defined peer group".³ He argued for measurement of "interpersonal environment"

"Interpersonal environment" is centered around individuals rather than around groups. It does not attempt to define the world of other persons in terms of the structures of that world but only in terms of aggregates of individuals who may or may not be structured into patterned relationships among themselves. This is not to deny that the degree and kind of patterning among individuals in a person's interpersonal environment has some relevance but only to exclude this patterning from consideration primarily for reasons of research expediency.⁴

The approach suggested by Rossi is a valuable one. Although there is no measure in this survey of frequency of contact which would permit the development of a sophisticated measure of interpersonal environment, it is possible to make estimates of the religious climate of students by examining the orientation of their five (or less) closest school friends.

The "sets of friends" and "peer group" approaches need not be considered as alternatives. No extra information is required to

¹ And cliques and crowds - see later for operational definitions.

² P. H. Rossi, "Research Strategies in Measuring Peer Group Influences" (1966), p.191.

³ Ibid, pp.193-199.

⁴ Ibid, p.200.

discover peer groups, pairs of reciprocated friends and so on, although more analysis is required. The "peer group" approach involves grouping students according to friendship choices so that the total pattern of choices is revealed. Important aspects of the structure of the social system may be discovered, such as cleavage of a group according to one variable being considered. Pairs who are similar in orientation can be discovered when the majority of a student's set of friends are different from him.¹

Because of the time involved in the analysis and presentation of sociograms necessary for the "peer group" approach, emphasis will be placed on the sets of friends procedure. However, this will be supported by a detailed analysis of four groups to discover if analysis of reciprocated friendships and cliques confirms, qualifies or contradicts the conclusions arrived at by other methods.

Personal Religious Orientation and Perception of Religious Orientation of Friends

This section will show that there are strong and consistent associations between personal religious orientation and perceived religious orientation of friends.

Boys

- (a) Religious Concern. Respondents were dichotomised in the perception of the religious concern of friends according to their responses to Question 11. Those who indicated that their five closest friends were not-at-all concerned or wrote in that a few were moderately concerned but most were not-at-all concerned were

¹ For the use of such an approach see Coleman (1961), Chapter VII.

TABLE 7 - 1

Association of Personal Religious Concern
and Perceived Religious Concern of Friends in Each School
 (Boys)

School	N (Usable) (responses)	Gamma Co-efficient	Like Cases	Unlike Cases	Test of significance
Woodville H.S.	(41)	.56	27	- 14	$X^2 = 2.7$ N.S.
Burnham H.S.	(39)	.41	24	- 15	$X^2 = 0.8$ N.S.
Inberg H.S.	(55)	.60	38	- 18	$X^2 = 4.7$ P < .05
Newscape H.S..	(51)	.77	38	- 15	$X^2 = 9.1$ P < .01
Southdown H.S.	(21)	.85	17	- 5	F P < .05
Centreburn T.S.	(23)	n	17	- 6	F P < .05
Catholic B.C.	(146)	n	111	- 35	$X^2 = 5.6$ P < .02
Edgevale B.G.	(66)	.79	50	- 16	$X^2 = 12.0$ P < .001
Eastwood B.C.	(125)	.56	83	- 42	$X^2 = 8.9$ P < .01

NET GAMMA CO-EFFICIENT (Comparisons of pairs of students only within schools) 0.56

n Gamma Co-efficient could have altered too much if there were a few errors.

F = Fisher exact probability test.

classified as negative. The other respondents were classified as positive. Perception of friends was then compared with response to the question, "Religious matters do not concern me".

Eighty-three per cent of the students who perceived friends as positive but only fifty per cent of those who perceived friends as negative expressed concern about religious matters.¹ The gamma co-efficient of association was 0.79, one of the highest associations reported in the entire study, apart from associations within schools.

When the association is examined within schools, it persists strongly in each one. So consistent is this finding that an overall test of significance can be applied without the apprehension that different numerical representation from schools would seriously affect the result. Such a test shows that the distribution would occur by chance less than once in a thousand times.² A projection of the finding of the association between personal religious concern and perceived religious concern of friends to other similar groups in Melbourne schools is justified.

The possibility that the demonstrated association could be explained by perceived religious concern of father was considered. Table 7 - 2 presents the results of analysis, controlling for this factor.

Perceived religious concern of father and of friends have an independent association with personal religious concern. Taken together they provide a very powerful predictor of personal religious orientation. Where friends and father are perceived as

¹ 296/355 as against 107/215; 54 responses were ignored because of an incomplete or don't know response for at least one of the two questions. The figures may be also taken to suggest that students underestimate the religious concern of their friends.

² $\chi^2 = 71.0$ $P < .001$.

TABLE 7 - 2

Concern about Religion according to
Perceived Religious Concern of Father and of Friends
(Boys)

Percentage in each category who express concern about religion

Perceived concern of Friends	Perceived concern of Father:		
	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	DON'T KNOW
POSITIVE	84% (247) ^a	53% (105)	53% (60)
NEGATIVE	59% (87)	29% (58)	18% (32)

^a Number in brackets represents N in each category.

positive, 84 per cent express concern about religion themselves. When friends and father are perceived as negative, only 29 per cent express concern themselves. It is also apparent from looking at the absolute numbers that those who perceive their father as concerned about religion are more likely (than those who do not) to perceive their friends as concerned about religion.

Before seeking to interpret these findings, we will review the results of other aspects of religious orientation. The analysis above shows the general procedure that was adopted with each variable. However, results for the other variables will not be presented in such detail.

(b) Belief. Students were asked to estimate the attitudes of their friends toward "traditional Christian beliefs" (Question 54). Those who considered that most of their five closest friends held "some traditional Christian beliefs while doubting some (such as about the miracles) were classed as positive, along with those who estimated their friends to be more conservative than this.¹ The remainder were classed as negative.

¹ i.e. Responses A or B or a similar write-in.

Those who perceived their friends as positive were more likely to agree that there was a heaven or a hell for every person after death. This was true in each school.

TABLE 7 - 3

Perceived Belief of Friends and Belief
in a Heaven or a Hell
(Boys)

Per cent who agreed with the statement that there is a heaven or a hell for every person after death.	Perception of Belief of Friends	
	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Woodville H.S.	31	13
Burnham H.S.	47	14
Inberg H.S.	29	8
Newscape H.S.	40	6
Southdown H.S.	7/15 ^a	3/8 ^a
Centreburn T.S.	5/13 ^a	1/10 ^a
Edgevale B.G.	27	15
Eastwood B.C.	41	9
Catholic B.C.	91	56

^a absolute numbers given as N too low for percentage calculation.

When perceived belief of father is held constant there is still a strong association between personal belief in heaven and hell and perceived belief of friends. For instance, where the father is perceived as not firmly holding traditional Christian beliefs 50/126 (40 per cent) believe when their friends are perceived as positive, but only 18/129 (14 per cent) when their friends are perceived as negative.

Correlations between other indicators of belief and the perceived belief of friends reinforces the findings. For instance, when comparisons between only those who are at the same school is made, knowledge of which of a pair perceives friends as more orthodox improves prediction of which is more orthodox in personal belief (about the miracles) by 46 per cent. The

association is positive within each school. Perceived belief of friends is consistently and strongly associated with the students' own religious orientation.

(c) Churchgoing. Students were asked how many of their five closest friends attended church or church activities at least once a month. Where none or all of friends are perceived as going to church once a month there is a very strong likelihood that the student will do the same as his friends. Eighty-three per cent (N = 121) of those whose five closest friends went to church at least once a month were weekly churchgoers, but only 9 per cent (N = 100) of those whose five friends did not attend church at least once a month.

When perceived parental churchgoing is held constant it is difficult to observe any correlation between personal churchgoing and perceived churchgoing of friends in some categories of parental churchgoing. This is because the association between perceived churchgoing of friends and parents is so strong, that some cells are too small to permit comparisons. Thus if neither parent is perceived as going to church at all, in only 17/120 cases are three or more friends perceived as going to church monthly or more often. On the other hand, if both parents go to church weekly, in 99/138 cases three or more friends are perceived as at least monthly churchgoers.

When parents are not both perceived as either weekly or very infrequent churchgoers an association between perceived churchgoing of friends and personal churchgoing is strong. When parental churchgoing is low but not zero¹ the clear and consistent nature of the association can be observed.

¹ When one parent does not go to church at all and the other goes rarely or sometimes, or when both go rarely or one sometimes, one rarely.

TABLE 7 - 4

Friends' Churchgoing and Personal Churchgoing
when Parental Churchgoing is Low but not Zero (Boys)

Percentage of students going to church.	Number of friends perceived as going to church at least once a month				N
	<u>0</u>	<u>1 - 2</u>	<u>3 - 4</u>	<u>5</u>	
Less than monthly	88	71	42	4	(120)
Monthly but not weekly	9	22	33	21	(45)
Weekly +	3	8	24	75	(39)
N	(33)	(92)	(45)	(24)	(204)

A similar association between friends churchgoing and personal churchgoing can be observed among students both of whose parents go to church sometimes or when one parent goes to church weekly and the other sometimes. Thus where parents go to church sometimes or mother and father differ in regularity of churchgoing there is a strong correlation between personal churchgoing and perceived churchgoing of friends.

An inspection of each school showed that the positive association between personal and friends' churchgoing was present in each one.

To summarise: There is overwhelming evidence of a strong association between perceived religious orientation of friends and personal religious orientation.

Girls

The associations found among the boys are also found among the girls and again these associations persist when school and perceived religious orientation of parents are controlled. It is not intended to duplicate all the results shown for the boys but two observations

should be made concerning conditions under which the associations are relatively strong.

Table 7 - 5 shows that the association between the perceived religious involvement of friends and personal religious orientation is consistently stronger when mother is perceived as not holding traditional Christian beliefs. For instance, the percentage who agree that Jesus is the son of God varies from 85 per cent to 65 per cent according to the perceived belief of friends when mother is perceived to hold traditional Christian beliefs, but the range is from 73 per cent to 21 per cent when mother is perceived as not holding traditional Christian beliefs.

TABLE 7 - 5

Gamma Co-efficients of Association between
Personal Orientation and Perceived Orientation
of Friends: Perceived Orientation of Mother Controlled
 (Girls)

	Mother perceived as holding traditional Christian beliefs (or as concerned about religion)	Mother perceived as not holding firmly traditional Christian beliefs (or as not concerned about religion)
Doctrine Question:	.40	.63
Miracles Question:	.31	.42
Religious Experience Question:	.25	.39
Religious Concern Question:	.50	.66

When the cultural expectation for girls to be concerned about religion and to hold conservative beliefs is reinforced by the students' perceptions of religious involvement of their parents, friends do not have so much influence. Even when friends are perceived as predominantly negative, most girls still endorse the conservative response. However when cultural expectations and

parental example are in conflict¹ perceived belief of friends is decisive.²

The second observation concerns the tendency for girls to follow their parents and boys to follow their friends in situations of conflict. When parents go to church rarely or not at all but three or four of the five closest friends of students attend church at least once a month 65 per cent of the boys (N = 31) and 19 per cent of the girls (N = 32) go to church weekly. When parents are regular churchgoers but only one or two of the student's five closest friends attend church at least once a month 23 per cent of the boys (N = 22) but 55 per cent of the girls (N = 22) go to church weekly. Similar patterns can be observed for other measures of religious orientation.

Summary and Interpretation

On a wide range of measures of religious involvement there is a strong association between personal religious orientation and the perceived orientation of friends. While the boys are more likely to follow their friends against their parents than are girls, the association is true of both sexes.

There are a number of possible ways in which the associations could be explained:

- (i) Students may project their own religious orientation onto parents and friends. It has already been suggested a number of

¹ "Conflict" here is not meant to imply overt conflict - merely discrepancy in views.

² In the case of the boys there is no such clear pattern - I suspect because on belief and religious concern questions cultural expectations are fairly evenly divided. Had perceived and personal religious experience been examined I suspect the phenomenon would have been revealed in the opposite way to the above, i.e. Association would be high for those who perceived parents high on religious experience and thus contrary to the cultural expectation for them.

times that projection may be a factor of importance, although one would expect estimates of the orientation of friends to have more basis in reality than perceived orientation of age-category.

Further perception of churchgoing of friends requires reporting reasonably concrete and specific aspects of behaviour. Even in this case there is a possibility of some bias in making approximations and deciding marginal cases.

On the results above it is not possible to rule out the projection interpretation but it is unlikely to be a major part of the explanation at least for the association of the perceived churchgoing of friends and students' own churchgoing.

(ii) The second alternative is merely a modification of the first.

Perception of orientation of parents may be accurate and orientation of parents may be a major factor in explaining the personal orientation of students. However, the association between personal orientation and perceived orientation of friends may be due to projection. This interpretation concedes that, because most parents make their attitudes quite explicit to their children, orientation of parents is likely to be perceived accurately.

(iii) Orientation of parents may be a factor determining the religious orientation of the students. Parents may also control the selection of their children's friends. Parents may involve their children in social situation (school, church, neighbourhood) where they are likely to meet others of substantially the same orientation. This might be deliberate policy (for instance, parents sending a student to a Catholic school) or the quite unintended consequence of their own involvements.

Parents may influence selection of friends by choice of school and neighbourhood but when correlation between perceived orientation of friends and person orientation are considered within schools, this factor has been partially controlled.¹ And most friends do come from the same school. Parents may encourage some friendships and not others, but in view of the strength of the associations shown, direct parental influence over choice of friends is unlikely to be a complete explanation. Further, it still leaves to be explained the association between personal and friends' religious orientation when parental religious orientation is controlled.

(iv) Parents and others may influence the students in their religious orientation. The students in turn select friends who are compatible with their own religious orientation. These will tend to be people of similar orientation.

(v) Parents and friends may influence the students. Some who were not like their friends when friendships were first formed find that their friends or peer group acts as a referent for their religious attitudes and behaviour. Others feel they must conform on matters of religion for acceptance. As a result, congruence in religious orientation between friends increases with their continued association.

The relative emphasis to be placed on the selection and influence factors cannot be settled in this discussion. In either case religious orientation is closely tied in with friendship patterns because religious matters are relevant to the social relationship between the friends.

¹ This does not provide controls for family friends or contacts through church. However, we have observed that the number of students who have three or more friends who go to the same church is small (for boys only 79/624 - 13%)

(vi) The association of perceived religious orientation of friends and personal religious orientation may be merely part of an attitudinal compatibility far wider in scope. Friends may be chosen on criteria such as moral values or personal aspirations, which may in turn be related to religious attitudes and behaviour.¹

A larger constellation of attitudes and values would have to be tested to check this possibility. However, later results² indicate that the association between personal churchgoing and the perceived churchgoing of friends is stronger than the associations between the various measures of religious orientation. It would therefore seem unlikely that the associations between aspects of religious orientation and other attitudes could be strong enough to account for the association of the religious orientation of friends.³

It is possible to suggest other modifications and combinations of these interpretations. A final assessment is postponed to the end of the chapter.

¹ A study of Form Six students in Maintained English Grammar schools showed an association between religious variables and morality D. Wright and E. Cox, "A Study of the Relationship between Moral Judgment and Religious Belief in a Sample of English Adolescents" (1967), pp, 135-144. It has also been shown in a primarily adult population in Australia by Mol. (1968^B).

² Chapter VIII, p.355.

³ Further comments will be made when comparing the religious orientation of school friends by the sociometric procedure.

Nomination of Friends as Referents and Similarities in Personal and Friends' Perceived Religious Orientation

Students were asked how important it was to them that their close friends at school were in agreement with the most important of their views about religion.

The percentage who responded that they would very much like agreement or who would reconsider their views if there was not agreement ranged between 41 per cent (Newscape High School girls) to 15 per cent (Centreburn Technical School) Table 7 - 6 shows that parents were more often nominated than friends in these categories at every school except Eastwood Boys' College.

TABLE 7 - 6

Close Friends at School and Parents as Nominated Religious Referents

Percentage who said they would very much like agreement or who would reconsider views if there was disagreement

School	Girls		Boys	
	Friends	Parents	Friends	Parents
Woodville H.S.	27	35	17	21
Burnham H.S.	38	46	20	37
Inberg H.S.	35	45	20	39
Greenfall H.S.	33	50		
Plenbern G.C.	26	41		
Arbour G.C.	36	37		
Newscape H.S.	41	61		
Southdown H.S.	21	50	25	42
R.C.G.S.	36	58		
Centreburn T.S.			15	30
Catholic B.C.			37	63
Edgevale B.G.			26	27
Eastwood B.C.			28	27

There are many reasons to suspect that the meaning of these figures is not simply the obvious one that parents are more important as religious referents than are friends.

We have already noted that Rosen's study found that friends did not appear as obvious religious referents, in spite of demonstrated correlations. Further, a warning has already been sounded that responses to the religious referents question were distorted by assertiveness about independence from a class of respondents whom one suspects might be those most influenced by their age-mates.

Students who nominated friends as religious referents were not more likely than others to be in agreement with the perceived orientation of their friends. Nor were students who considered that agreement with friends was more important than agreement with parents more likely to be similar to their friends in religious orientation.¹

Even among the cross-pressured students, (those whose parents and friends differed substantially in their strength of religious involvement) knowing whether the agreement of parents or friends was more valued does not improve the prediction of the students' own orientation.

It is surprising that the 'reference group approach' does not permit us to predict more accurately when the perceived orientation of friends and personal orientation will be similar as the approach was successful in improving specification of when the perceived orientation of most of those of the same age and personal orientation would be similar. To the extent that all friends are 'orientational others',² the question may not have measured such strong contrasting feelings as might have been entertained about age-category.³ The result casts further doubt on the validity of the question concerning the desire for the agreement of others. The final chapter will discuss further the problems of identifying social influences.

¹ The principal tables on which this summary is based are shown in Appendix L.

² Chapter 11, p.53, Chapter VII, p.310.

³ However the 'reference group approach' worked for Rosen when applied to friends.

Patterns of Friendship and
Actual Religious Orientation

Use of the sociometric data to discover the friends of students enables us to compare the actual religious orientation of friends..

The comparison of personal orientation with the actual orientation of school friends eliminates the effect of mis-perception of others through projection, differing standards of being religious or simply inaccurate communication. However the interpretation of any findings of association between religious orientation of friends is still an open one. Such an association could be due to selection of friends according to religious criteria or other criteria with which religious orientation is associated and/or to the influence of the friends on each other subsequent to the establishment of friendship.

Another difference between the associations reported above (personal orientation - perceived orientation of friends) and those to follow should be noted. The associations to follow concern only school friends, as information about the religious orientation of non-school friends is not available. In contrast, the perception questions refer to the students' five best friends irrespective of whether or not they attend the same school.

We shall commence by looking at two schools in detail, with the assistance of sociograms. Emphasis will be placed on reciprocated friendships and peer groups which can be established through friendship choices. The purpose of this is to see, at fairly close quarters, the patterns which are summarised later in tables and co-efficients. The overall results will then be presented. After assessment of these results further reference will be made to particular schools to follow up some specific issues. Before proceeding with this analysis we should pause to examine the use of sociometric techniques in this survey.

Use of Sociometric Data and Techniques

To identify the questionnaires of friends of a respondent, each student was asked:

Which students from Form V at this school (if any) are among your five closest friends

The code number for every student in the Form was placed on the blackboard or given on a duplicated list to each student. The names were arranged alphabetically (in forms or houses¹ in certain cases) but the code numbers along side them were made random. Thus the task of finding the name of the friend was made easy while the anonymity of the students was protected.

In several ways the form of the question deviates from Moreno's classical criteria for sociometric questions.² Lindzey and Borgatta have noted that the promise of reconstruction of organisation according to the findings of the sociometric test is often almost impossible in the research situation.³ If the motivation of subjects to respond with care can be obtained in other ways, this feature of the sociometric test is dispensable.

Moreno favoured allowing unlimited choice of friends but most surveys have found it necessary, for practical if no other reason, to limit nominations to five or less.⁴

Again Moreno considered that sociometric questions should specify the particular activity for which choices were to be made (e.g. 'Whom would you most like to study with or to play sport with?')⁵ No doubt the persons chosen will vary from activity to activity. In this survey the major concern is to identify 'orientational others' among those in the same form so as to discover whether they were significant others for religion specifically. It would have defeated the purpose of the question to have specified friends should be

¹ A house is a subdivision of students in the school used mainly for intra-school sports competition.

² Lindzey and Borgatta (1954), p.407.

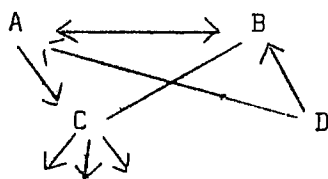
³ Ibid, p.408.

⁴ Ibid, p.408.

⁵ Ibid, p.407.

chosen on specifically religious criteria. No other specific activity was relevant. It was considered that the general term (friends) was direct, simple and appropriate for the purposes of the survey.

The reliability of sociometric tests is difficult to ascertain. In test-re-test situations changes could be interpreted as lack of reliability, or real changes in friendship patterns if any appreciable time has lapsed.¹ In the schools in which all choices were plotted on a sociogram there were very few instances of choices which seemed random. In this way, choices certainly gave the impression of tapping real interpersonal ties rather than being arbitrary. Reciprocated choices have some in-built reliability and so also does the following quite frequent pattern:



Although there is only one reciprocated choice the choices of A C, B C, D A and D B give validity to each other at least as expression of whom are desired as friends. It is unlikely such a pattern would occur by chance.

Reciprocated choices eliminate the 'wishful thinking' which may be contained in ascertaining the choices from only direction. Also, the excesses of unreality in choice of friends may have been minimised by the placing of another question immediately before the friends question:

'Which students in Form V would you most like to feel had a high opinion of you. Give the code number of two or less' (Question 59B).

¹ Lindzey and Borgatta (1954) p. 420. Of course the same problem arises in other areas e.g. attitude change. If personality variables which are considered relatively permanent are under consideration test re-test checks on reliability are more useful. Lindzey notes that there is evidence that even after some period of time, sociometric choices do not alter dramatically.

This "drained off" a lot of choices of the opposite sex. Although students could nominate their fellow students in response to Questions 59B and 59C (the question about friends) and indeed most of those nominated for 59B were also nominated for 59C, this was not so of choices of the opposite sex which were much more likely to appear in response to Question 59B. As cross-sex choices could be expected to be prominent among the hoped-for but not obtained friendships choices, it would appear that the questions have worked in the way intended. Realistic response to Question 59C is assisted by the opportunity to express wishes in Question 59B.¹

While the possibility of changing friendships has been mentioned above, it is legitimate to regard nominations as more than the passing phase of a day or week. Connell's study showed that in Sydney there was considerable stability in friendships. Among 664 sixteen-year-old boys 79 per cent of best friends had been so for at least a year and only 13 per cent less than six months while for girls (N = 494) figures were 75 per cent and 13 per cent.²

Not all students were prepared to place an identification number on the questionnaire.³ The overwhelming majority did do so and it was possible to infer the identification numbers of some others who had nominated friends but had not given their own numbers.⁴

¹ Question 59B of course had other purposes too. For instance,
See pp.317-318.

² The results of 15 years-old and 17 years-old boys and girls are similar. Connell et Al. (1963), p.48.

³ Students were told not to put their identification number on the sheet if they considered it such a risk to their anonymity that sincerity and frankness of response would be sacrificed.

⁴ This was done in about 20 cases altogether and only when the identification was in no reasonable doubt. The process of inferences for the first school where this was done was checked by a colleague. At Arbour Girls' College confusion was created because of the absence on the first day of twenty students who were all surveyed on the next school day but the sheets containing the identification numbers they had been given had been destroyed. Some identification numbers were recovered by memory of the first set of students. Finally 52/70 of these students could be identified. In the other schools identification rates were much higher. 67/70, 79/82, 60/67, 100/108, 129/135, 152/156, 45/47, 104/115, 81/87 48/48, 23/27. Even at Arbour Girls' College some of the loss could be retrieved by allocating letters to the second groups so at least their choices of each other could be used.

A final word should be said about representation of data.

In the data concerned with examining the association of religious orientation between a student and his set of nominated friends, the basic statistic used is the gamma co-efficient on a collapsed two by two table. In fact this measure is almost the same as the measure used by Turner to test whether cleavage existed within a group.

Cleavage analysis is based on a comparison of the characteristics of chooser and chosen measuring tendencies for students to select others who are similar or dissimilar to themselves. We have employed simple fourfold tabulations dichotomizing the variable under consideration and placing characteristics of the chooser on one axis and of the chosen on the other. If the product of the number of choices falling in the two cells in which chooser and chosen are alike exceeds the product of the number of choices in the other two cells, a positive cleavage exists.¹

The measure used in this survey differs from Turner's measure only in that it combines the orientations of the sets of chosen friends to find the orientation of the majority rather than considering each chooser-chosen pair separately.

In the case of examination of cliques and reciprocated friendships representation has been made principally by sociogram, so it is appropriate to issue a warning.

The representativeness of the sociogram has depended almost completely upon the vigilance and sensitivity of the investigator, with few or no external checks upon the adequacy of the diagram he presents. Thus, depending upon the particular spatial conventions or groupings the investigator uses, he can create different impressions of the group being examined.²

¹ Turner (1964), p.115. Campbell (1957) also used the same formula for obtaining an index of friendship preference, p.117.

² In the sociograms to be presented, spatial arrangements sometimes have been used to convey impressions in addition to those conveyed by the lines linking students with those with whom the reciprocated choices. Thus if a student was chosen by one or more member of a group but did not reciprocate the choices he was placed on the outskirts of the group. In a small number of cases arbitrary decisions had to be made about the placement of students because they had links but no reciprocated links with a number of separate groups.
Lindzey and Borgatta (1954), p.412.

The objective content of the criteria for placement of students in the sociogram is high but to check on the distortions due to the subjectivity of aspects of placement and the reader's visual impressions, a gamma co-efficient of association is calculated of the characteristics of the chooser and chosen using reciprocated choices only to test for similarity or dissimilarity. Cliques are also analysed for homogeneity of religious orientation of their members.

SOME DEFINITIONS FOR USE IN THE SOCIOMETRIC ANALYSIS. A number of terms will be used to facilitate analysis of the sociograms. The operational definition of these terms is given below. The definitions do not always coincide with the definitions given by other writers, but they are ones considered most useful for forwarding analysis of the groups studied.

A Clique. A group built around a nucleus of three or more members, in which each member has reciprocated friendship choices with at least two others in the group.¹

A Constellation. A group built around a nucleus of three or more members, in which each member has a reciprocated friendship choice with at least one other in the group. While there is less assurance that a constellation represents an interacting group, evidence of unreciprocated choices suggest that this is usually the case. The exceptions are the sprawling constellations² which represent something akin to the "crowd" as defined by Dunphy.³

A Chain. A group of three or more students linked by a series of reciprocated choices but with each student reciprocating choices with only one other student in the group. All chains are constellations but not vice versa.

¹ Compare Coleman's definition (1961), p.183.

² E.g. At Eastwood Boys' College, Sociogram 8, Appendix M.

³ Dunphy (1963), p.233.

Cleavage refers to the lack of choice between those differing in orientation in regard to a certain question. Perfect cleavage would exist if no one chose as a friend any one who differed in orientation.

Cohesiveness refers to the proportion of the possible in-group choices which are made in a group. A group of four would have maximum cohesiveness if all four reciprocated friendship choices with the others in the group.

Religious Orientation and Friendship Patterns in Two Schools

Southdown High School (Girls). The Southdown High School girls were chosen as the first group to be analysed because the group is small. The group structure can be kept in mind and the lines of analysis can be clear and simple. Further, other evidence suggests that this is a group where close links between religious orientation and friendship patterns could be observed.

Most of the girls belong to cliques (Sociogram 1).¹ There are three cliques, clique I having maximum possible cohesiveness. The isolation of the constellations is striking. The only inter-constellation choice comes from 36 (clique I) who nominates 42 (clique III) and 47 (clique II) as friends.²

Sociogram 2 indicates that friendships are partly linked with local church affiliation. Four of the five girls who attend Southdown Anglican Church are close friends (constellation III). The "excluded" girl (39) does not go to church weekly as the others do. Four of the five girls who go to Southdown Presbyterian Church form

¹ All sociograms are included in Appendix M. As each sociogram takes a complete page, it was not possible to have the sociogram and the relevant text on the same page. It was, therefore, considered that the sociograms should be consolidated in the Appendix.

² Some confirmation of this pattern is obtained from the marginal comment of 27 who referred specifically to "secluded and separate groups of friendship".

a chain (constellation II). The "miscellaneous" seem to be thrown together : Greek Orthodox and Catholic¹ and Jewish-Temple Society.²

There is a sharp cleavage between weekly churchgoers and others (Sociogram 3). The Southdown Anglican clique and the pair 40 - 45, also in constellation II, represent one extreme. The "miscellaneous" wing of constellation II have a norm of occasional churchgoing while five out of six in constellation III and its associated pair, 31 and 46,³ do not go to church at all. The clear impressions of the sociogram are supported by calculation of a co-efficient based on reciprocated friendships.

TABLE 7 - 7

Reciprocated Friendship Choices and Churchgoing
(Southdown High School girls)

CHOOSER Churchgoing	CHOSEN Churchgoing	
	Weekly +	< Weekly
Weekly +	18	8
< Weekly	8	16
	Gamma = .64	
	$\chi^2 = 5.09$	P < .05

When religious experience of respondents is examined (Sociogram 4) the same pattern is observable although not to the same extent. At the extremes are the Anglican clique in constellation II (high) and constellation III (low), but clique I is again divided.

¹ 31 - 46 lower middle of the sociogram.

² 29 - 37 extreme right of constellation III.

³ 31 and 46 receive choices from 39 and 41.

TABLE 7 - 8

Reciprocated Friendship Choices and
Religious Experience
(Southdown High School Girls)

CHOOSEER Religious Experience	CHOSEN Religious Experience	
	4 +	< 4
4 +	12	10
< 4	10	14
Gamma = .25	$\chi^2 = 0.33$	N.S.

Sociograms 4 - 6 add one new aspect to the picture. The religious items tested in these sociograms discriminate among the more religious respondents and show one pair = 40 - 45 as the consistently high scorers on each dimension. 40 is a humanities student, 45 a science student, they go to different churches and live in different suburbs. They do not even share common school club activities. But these most consistently high scorers on various religious dimensions have found each other as friends.¹

An examination of the questionnaires (which was possible with a group with such small numbers) adds a little more to the picture. Clique I, which we had observed as mixed in religious orientation, can also be viewed as two pairs relatively homogeneous in religious orientation. Although all four choose each other as friends 26 and 34 name each other but not the other two as students whom they would most like to feel had a high opinion of them. Likewise 25 and 36 choose each other but not the other two in their responses to this question. Sociograms 3 (churchgoing), 4 (religious experience) and 7 (miracles) indicate those in each pair are alike in religious

¹ Some comments on the Questionnaires of 40 and 45 validate the deduction from their high scores on religious items, e.g. 45: "I wish other people my age could find the enjoyment I have found in religion."

orientation. The "reference group" question in this case indicates which friends are the ones with whom religious orientation is congruent.¹

The last point concerns more the validation of the picture we have drawn by observation of an exception. 41 scores high on the religious dimensions in Sociograms 4 and 5 although she comes from a predominantly non-religious group. It is, therefore, interesting to note her consciousness of this. In reply to the question, "Who are the people (if any) who have helped you feel the way you do about religion?" she replies:

My friends at school who are not regular churchgoers and who don't believe in God. I feel that lately I'm getting more help through believing in God and praying to him about any difficulties I get into. I feel that my friends are getting a "raw-deal".²

Again in response to the question on belief of friends, she comments:

I think perhaps I am the only one holding any religious beliefs along with perhaps one other.

Her final comment at the conclusion of the questionnaire is almost an apology for believing. She perhaps feels she needs good reasons to believe in spite of the consensus of her friends:

God is something to believe in and a young person like me, I feel, needs something to believe in.

The consistent and general impression of the co-efficients of association is that friendship patterns and the religious orientation of the girls at Southdown High School are connected with each other. The more detailed analysis permitted by the sociometric technique and a study of the individual questionnaires, with few exceptions,

¹ In further analysis of sociograms, it is my intention to see if this "reference group" question can be used more extensively to find homogeneous pairs within heterogeneous cliques as well as identifying orientational others who are not close friends. The task is a long one. Time and word limits prevented the analysis being extended within this thesis.

² I interpret this last comment to mean she thinks her friends are missing out on something by not believing.

TABLE 7 - 9

Summary - Association of Religious Orientation of Friends (Southdown High School Girls)

Aspects of Religious Orientation	A Gamma Co-efficient - "sets of friends" ^a	B Fisher's exact test for contingency table represented by co-efficient in Column A	C Gamma Co-efficient "reciprocated friends"	D X ² test for contingency table represented by co-efficient in Column C
Churchgoing	.68	n.s.	.64	P < .05
Found Religious Ideals as Goals	.53	P < .05	.92	P < .001
Bible Reading	.60	n.s.	.23	n.s.
Doctrine (belief)	.78	P < .05	.87	P < .001
Heaven and Hell (belief)	.58	n.s.	.05	n.s.
Religious Experience	.38	n.s.	.25	n.s.
Religious Convictions	.60	n.s.	.39	n.s.
Miracles (belief)	.60	n.s.	.66	P < .05
Referring to the will of God	^b n	n.s.	-.27	^b n

^a i.e Association majority religious orientation of those nominated as school friends and personal religious orientation.

^b n = no calculation as for some reason the statistic would be unreliable.

^c Concerning combining a statistic based on like and unlike pairs to measure association with the use of X² for tests of significance the following comment of Blalock is relevant:

"There is no particular reason why a measure of association has to be based on a comparable test statistic." Blalock (1960), p.230.

confirms this impression. Religious orientation is more similar for pairs of close friends than for cliques or constellations.

The findings of the "sets of friends" analysis and the reciprocated friends analysis are summarised in the table on page 319, showing a strong case for concluding that religious orientation and friendship patterns are associated among the girls at Southdown High School.

Eastwood Boys' College. Eastwood Boys' College students are not so clearly divided into cliques. There are 11 cliques which together have 36 of the 129 identified respondents (Sociogram 8) compared with 15 out of 24 of the girls at Southdown High School. To simplify a complex picture, students not involved in reciprocated choices have been omitted from the sociograms.

Sociogram 9 shows the frequency of churchgoing of respondents. There is a clustering of those who do not go to church at all in constellation V, and a clustering of more frequent churchgoers in constellations II and III. Only constellations V and III show much homogeneity and even most cliques are not homogeneous in the frequency of churchgoing of their members. However, when the reciprocated friendship becomes the unit of analysis, a strong association in the frequency of churchgoing of friends can be observed (Table 7 - 10).

TABLE 7 - 10
Reciprocated Friendship Choices and Churchgoing
at Eastwood Boys' College

Churchgoing of Chooser	Churchgoing of Chosen		N
	Monthly +	< Monthly	
Monthly +	64	38	102
< Monthly	38	54	92
N	102	92	194
Gamma = .52	$\chi^2 = 7.5$	$P < .01$	

Sociogram 10 (religious experience of respondents) again reveals some differences between constellations but the analysis of reciprocated friendships (summarised in Table 7 - 11) is more informative. Those who score 4+ on the religious experience index are likely to overchoose each other as friends.¹ Those who score nil on the index are the ones least likely to exchange friendship choices with those who score 4+. The distribution is likely to occur by chance less than one in a thousand times and this is principally because the polar opposites rarely choose each other as friends.²

TABLE 7 - 11

Reciprocated Friendship Choices and Religious Experience

(Eastwood Boys' College)

Percentage of choices in each category of choosers directed to each category of chosen:		Religious Experience of Chosen			
		4 - 6	1 - 3	0	N
Religious Experience of Chooser					
4 - 6		40	49	11	(45)
1 - 3		27	37	35	(83)
0		9	52	39	(56)
					(184)
		Gamma = .39	$X^2 = 19.09$ (4 df)	P < .001	

Similar patterns can be obtained when other aspects of religious orientation are studied. The range of strength of association is fairly represented by showing two extremes. On the item concerning application of Christian beliefs at school there is a gamma

¹ An examination of Sociogram 10 will show that triads 41 - 17 - 10 (Constellation II), 68 - 97 - 73 (Constellation IV) and pairs 129 - 103 (II) 92 - 85 (VI) 139 - 22 and 129 - 103 (VIII) account for 12/24 students who score 4+ on the religious experience index. The 24 includes some students not reported in the sociogram as they were not involved in reciprocated friendship.

² $X^2 = 19.09$; 11.04 of which is the result of the difference between expected and observed frequency in the two relevant cells.

co-efficient of association between the orientation of pairs of friends of 0.61 ($X^2 = 16.1$ $P < .001$). On the item regarding religious concern the co-efficient is 0.14 ($X^2 = .65$ n.s.)

One further finding deserves attention. Attendance at the voluntary religious group (a branch of the Crusader Inter School Christian Fellowship) is closely tied to reciprocated friendship and constellation membership (Sociogram 11). All six students in C.N. VIII and a connected pair attend at least occasionally as do 5/6 of C.N.III. Of the 94 friendship pairs with completed responses to this item:

in 16 pairs - both attended at least occasionally

in 52 pairs - neither attended

in 32 pairs - one attended at least occasionally but the other did not. This distribution would occur by chance less than once in a thousand times ($X^2 = 52.5$).

As participation in a voluntary religious group in school hours is likely to be observed by friends and so affect their common activities, the strong association could be expected.

The analysis of reciprocated friendships at Eastwood Boys' College indicate that, for many students, friendship patterns and religious orientation are relevant to each other. This is not so clearly reflected by the examination of cliques and constellations, which, with the exceptions of constellations III and V, show little homogeneity.

An Overview of the Association between Personal Religious Orientation and the Religious Orientation of Sets of Friends.

In each school the religious orientation of students was compared with those of their nominated sets of friends so that a table of the form set out below was obtained.

Religious Orientation of Respondent	Religious Orientation of Set of Friends		
	POSITIVE	EQUALLY DIVIDED	NEGATIVE
POSITIVE	a	b	c
NEGATIVE	d	e	f

After inspection of the table, it was collapsed so that the "equally divided" category was combined with the numerically lower category of "positive" and "negative" and a gamma co-efficient calculated.¹ In schools where numbers permitted, an X^2 test was calculated for the uncollapsed table, but where necessary the columns were combined as above before an X^2 test or Fisher Exact Test is computed. Where the gamma co-efficient could be altered radically by small changes in some cells as a result of skewed distribution, a finding of not applicable (n) was reported. In a number of cases variables were dichotomised at two points to check for consistency of results and to obtain usable results in schools where responses were clustered at one extreme.²

As with results presented earlier, attention should be paid to consistency (or lack of it) in co-efficients over many dimensions of religious orientation in one school, or over many schools in one dimension of religious orientation. Individual variations are a fragile basis for interpretation.

As an example of the information summarised in the tables to follow the results of one question will be examined for the girls' group at Woodville High School. Students were dichotomised into those who definitely agreed that, "Christian beliefs should help to guide my behaviour and decisions at school", and those who gave other responses apart from "don't know".³ Table 7 - 12 indicates the data obtained from the computer.

¹ See Appendix N for a discussion and justification of the procedures which were used.

² In cases where two cutting points were used:

- (i) if both observations were positive or negative the more conservative co-efficient is reported.
- (ii) if the observations were contradictory "C" is reported to denote this.
- (iii) if one observation did not yield reliable or linear results and the other did, the latter observation is reported.

³ Those who said they didn't know or gave no answer were excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 7 - 12

Personal Orientation of Students and the Orientation
of their Nominated School Friends in Regard to the Question of
Application of Christian Beliefs at School
(Woodville High School Girls)

Orientation of Student	Orientation of Friends			TOTAL
	MAJORITY POSITIVE	FRIENDS EQUALLY DIVIDED	MAJORITY NEGATIVE	
POSITIVE	9	2	4	15
NEGATIVE	3	3	18	24
TOTAL	12	5	22	39

According to the rule concerning collapsing the table, "friends equally divided" were considered as "positive". The gamma co-efficient of association between the orientation of the students and the orientation of their friends is 0.78. The association is statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond. This association represents one of the strongest ten per cent of associations discovered.

In most schools the weight of evidence supports the view that there is a positive association between the religious orientation of students and their sets of friends. Those of similar religious orientation are more likely to be chosen as friends than those of dissimilar orientation. There is thus an indication of friendship cleavage on the basis of religious orientation.

There are some groups in which the associations reported in Table 7 - 13 are consistently positive and strong. Among Southdown High School girls, among Woodville High School girls, at the Catholic Boys' College and at Eastwood Boys' College there is no case of a negative association. Although statistical significance is only rarely obtained,¹ the associations are substantial in nearly every

¹ The working rule of taking the more conservative association when two cutting points were used meant that a statistically significant association was not reported. Had not this rule been adopted at least six more statistically significant associations could have been reported.

TABLE 7 - 13

Association Between the Religious Orientation of Students and Their Sets of Friends.
(Gamma Co-Efficients of Association)

School	A Religious Concern	B Belief in Heaven & Hell	C Christian Beliefs at School	D Belief (Doc- trine)	E Church- going	F Prayer	G Referring to the Will of God	H Religious Exper- ience	I Bible Read- ing	J Attitude to Religious Education	K Beliefs in Mir- acles	L Ranking of Religious Convictions	Positive- Negative Observa- tions ^b
<u>GIRLS</u>													
Woodville H.S. ^a	.06	.33	.78*	.02	.40	.45	.12	.65	.34	n	.36	.55	11-0
Burnham H.S.	-.65	.47	.16	-.20	.67	-.19	n	.40	n	n	c	.33	5-3
Inberg H.S.	.95*	-.59	.56	.17	c	.11	-.61	.56	n	n	x	.00	5-3
Greenfall H.S.	x	x	.09	x	.39*	.15	-.68	.26	.32*	.42	.11	x	7-5
Plenbern G.C.	.07	-.15	.48*	.04	.14	-.01	.33	.29	.56	.71	.53	.09	10-2
Arbour G.C.	.56	.59	.22	x	.66	x	.67*	-.39	.47*	n	.16	.31	8-3
Newscape H.S.	.31	-.22	n	n	.17	x	.65	x	.04	.29	-.33	.38	6-4
Southdown H.S.	n	.58	.56	.78	.58	.95*	n	.38	.60	.74	.60	.60	10-0
<u>BOYS</u>													
Woodville H.S.	-.27	.13	.13	.52	.79	n	-.40	n	n	n	.26	n	5-2
Burnham H.S.	.63	-.27	.37	.77*	.14	.02	.64	n	n	n	-.28	n	6-2
Inberg H.S.	-.32	.45	.30	x	.20	.66	-.20	-.20	n	n	-.78	n	4-5
Newscape H.S.	-.51	.18	.58*	.33	.28	.19	.25	.37	.70	.19	.44	x	10-2
Catholic B.C.	.58	n	.02	n	.50	.47	.31	.24	n	.27	.20	.49	9-0
Edgevale B.G.	.16	-.37	x	.45	.61	-.59	.00	-.05	.47	-.42	-.54	.27	5-6
Eastwood B.C.	.31	.14	.29	.30	.45	.05	.19	.22	.23	.02	.43*	.40	12-0
TOTAL - Positive-Neg. Observations	9-5	8-6	13-1	9-4	14-0	9-5	8-4	9-4	9-0	7-1	9-5	9-2	113-37

* Statistically significant X^2 or Fisher exact test $P < .05$

≠ Statistically significant but one cell $P < .5$

n Insufficient numbers for calculation.

x Non-linear association only.

c Contradictory findings.

case. At the Catholic Boys' College the predominance of responses showing high religious involvement did not make it possible to obtain reliable results on all questions as at Eastwood Boys' College.

In three other groups a clear majority of the observations result in positive associations : Plenbern Girls' College, Arbour Girls' College and Newscape High School (boys). These groups have an aggregate of 28 positive observations and 7 negative ones. At Greenfall High School distribution resulted in many non-linear associations, but there is only one association that is actually negative (Non-linear associations are considered negative in the summary column and other reports of the table.) There are seven positive associations. Among Burnham High School boys the predominance of responses showing low religious involvement resulted in four cases where reliable observations could not be reported, but in six of the other eight observations, positive associations can be shown.

In summary, there are nine schools where the evidence points strongly to a similarity of religious orientation between students and those whom they nominate as friends in Form Five. There are four more groups where the majority of associations are positive but the margin is not convincing - Woodville High School boys 5 - 2, Inberg High School girls 5 - 3, Burnham High School girls 5 - 2 and Newscape High School girls 6 - 4. Findings in these groups do not provide any substantial support that aspects of religious orientation and friendship patterns are connected.¹

Finally at Edgevale Boys' Grammar and among Inberg High School boys there are slightly more negative observations than positive ones. Even in these groups non-linear results contribute to the predominance of negative associations.

¹ The inconsistent results may be partly due to the relatively small size of these groups: 48, 23, 26, 51 respectively, compared with the schools in which consistent results were obtained (24, 51, 135, 156).

If all results were purely random, there being no relationship between religious orientation of friends, the ratio of positive/negative associations should range as far to the negative end of the continuum as it does to the positive end. This is clearly not the case. The school groups range from providing all positive associations to a slight majority of negative ones. Overall there are 113 positive observations and 37 negative ones on the twelve dimensions.¹

Three groups have not been included in the analysis : the Roman Catholic Girls' School, Southdown High School Boys and Centreburn Technical School. At these schools it was rarely possible to obtain reliable results because responses tended to be primarily negative (in the case of boys) or positive and because of the small numbers in these groups.²

There is general support for the conclusion that religious orientation is related to friendship among Form Five students in the thirteen schools examined. The important qualification is that this association varies in consistency and strength from school to school.

Such a finding raises a further question which this survey was not designed to answer: why is it in some schools that religious factors are important in friendships or friends important in determination of religious orientation while in other schools religious orientation is largely irrelevant to friendship patterns? An answer is not immediately evident. The schools where strong associations are evident include groups where most students showed low religious involvement (Woodville High School girls) and where involvement was high (Catholic Boys' College). Among them are schools where religion is officially salient and where it is not. One possible factor is the existence of polar types at either religious or non-religious ends of

¹ According to the sign test this distribution is likely to happen less than one in a thousand times by chance.

² There were ten positive associations and four negative ones in the groups.

the continuum. Positive associations could be partly the results of extremists - radicals or religious enthusiasts - choosing each other as friends. Having only two schools in which cleavage is not evident as control groups, it is not possible to refute or confirm this hypothesis.

Dimensions. Similarity of orientation of friends is stronger for some aspects of religious orientation rather than others.

If the columns in Table 7 - 13 are followed downwards it can be observed that application of Christian beliefs at school, churchgoing, Bible reading and the ranking of the importance of religious convictions all have reasonably consistent positive associations. This is less true of the questions on religious concern, belief in a heaven or a hell, prayer, referring to the will of God and belief in the miracles of Jesus. In the question regarding the ranking of religious ideals (not reported in the table) the distribution was too uneven for there to be sufficient cases to judge.

Friends seem to be most closely associated in religious orientation on indicators of the ritual dimension (whether public or private). Perhaps this is because these responses, referring to specified behaviour, are the most reliable. The high positive correlations on churchgoing could be explicable also in terms of the observability of churchgoing to friends and its relevance to friendship activities - influencing allocation of time ("How about coming round on Sunday morning?") The application of Christian beliefs at school (although not necessarily the expression of attitude) also should be observable by school friends and relevant to activities of friends. But this type of explanation does not fit religious experience which it could be argued is potentially the most private of all religious dimensions.¹ Perhaps those who score high on religious experience

¹ Although there are four negative observations out of thirteen for "religious experience" the positive associations are strong (all > 0.20) and positive associations can be shown at the Roman Catholic Girls' School and Centreburn Technical School.

also show other more observable expressions of their religious orientation.

The belief items did not on the whole yield positive associations. The doctrine question is a partial exception. At Woodville High School where intellectual dissent seems to be more of an issue, there is an association between personal belief and belief of sets of friends in all three belief items for boys and girls, but in nearly all schools the associations on the ritual dimension are stronger and more consistently positive.

One would expect, in some schools, an association between friends in viewpoints about religious education because various classes might have different teachers who varied in appeal and classes would tend to coincide with friendship groups. This factor would apply to the Catholic Boys' College, Greenfall High School and Eastwood Boys' College, but elsewhere religious education was either not given, given to one group and not to others, given to a number of groups separately by one teacher or given in a combined session. There are seven positive observations and one negative one. Unfortunately, the only cutting point in which much confidence could be placed¹ did not provide enough approving comments for even splits in many schools - thus the frequent "not applicable" finding. However, the information supports the analysis of group influence on attitudes toward religious education given in Chapter VI.

Comparisons. The supplementary table (Table 7 - 14) attempts to give another perspective and some reference points for the results already reported.

The "religious change" variables (Items A - D) were considered apart from the others because they should be interpreted in a somewhat different way. If friends are influential in the formation of

¹ See Chapter VI, p.260.

TABLE 7 - 14

Association of Orientations of Students and Sets of Friends

<u>School</u>	<u>Religious Change</u>				<u>Friends</u>			<u>Parents</u>		
	Churchgoing A	Devotions Prayer B	Belief C	Importance of religious feeling, ideas. D	Religious Concern E	Belief F	Churchgoing G	Mother's Churchgoing H	Father's Churchgoing I	
<u>GIRLS</u>										
Woodville H.S.	-.35	.14	n	.59	.83	.57	.84	.39	.21	
Burnham H.S.	.54	.67	x	-.33	-.33	n	.56	x	.19	
Inberg H.S.	.66	.33	.36	n	.37	.23	n	-.32	n	
Greenfall H.S.	n	n	.39	n	n	n	.65*	.43	.37	
Plenbern G.C.	.45	n	n	.10	n	.71*	.48*	-1.00	x	
Arbour G.C.	.58*	-.02	x	n	x	.51*	.58*	x	x	
Newscape H.S.	.14	n	n	x	.08	n	.38*	.17	-.19	
Southdown H.S.	1.00*	n	n	n	x	.35	.71	.21	n	
R.C.G.S.	n	n	.13	n	.67	n	n	n	-.58	
<u>BOYS</u>										
Woodville H.S.	-.25	-.03	.41	n	-.38	n	.79	n	.18	
Burnham H.S.	x	.14	-.33	.47*	.14	x	.92*	.22	.74	
Inberg H.S.	-.07	-.33	.26	.13	.17	.68*	.56	-.16	.71	
Newscape H.S.	.56	.32	.34	.22	-.15	.42	.31	.25	.41	
Southdown H.S.	.38	n	.38	n	.17	n	n	-.37	n	
Centreburn T.S.	-.50	n	-.69	n	n	n	n	n	.56	
Catholic B.C.	.36	x	.29	.02	-.03	.55	n	x	.03	
Edgevale B.G.	.77*	.04	.03	-.25	.30	.19	.82*	-1.00	.65	
Eastwood B.C.	.20	.11	.30	.55*	.05	.04	.28	-.08	.07	
TOTAL	Positive-Neg. Observations	10-5	5-2	9-2	7-2	9-6	9-1	13-0	6-8	10-5

TABLE 7 - 14 (Contd.)

	Course (Science versus Other)	<u>Variables for Comparison</u>					Helping Community as motive in occupational choice	
		School Loyalty	School Identif- ication	Go-Set Reading	Adult versus Peer Orientation	P		
	J	K	L	M	N	P		
<u>GIRLS</u>								
Woodville H.S.	.05	.76*	.74*	.05	.25	n		
Burnham H.S.	n	n	n	.03	n	.35	* Statistically significant or Fisher Exact Test P < .05 (1 df)	
Inberg H.S.	n	.25	-.49	-.83	n	n		
Greenfall H.S.	.60	.04	.05	.33	.24	x		
Plenbern G.C.	.84	n	.35	.33	n	-.40	≠ Statistically significant but one cell < 5	
Arbour G.C.	.27	.33	.20	.64	x	n		
Newscape H.S.	.26	.68 [≠]	.56	n	x	.40		
Southdown H.S.	n	n	.60	.47	.71	.09 [≠]	n Insufficient numbers for calculation.	
R.C.G.S.	n	n	.26	x	n	.65 [≠]		
<u>BOYS</u>								
Woodville H.S.	.62	.61	.62	n	n	x	x Non-linear association only.	
Burnham H.S.	.92*	x	-.73	.64*	x	.56		
Inberg H.S.	.45	n	.16	.11	-.03	x		
Newscape H.S.	.65*	-.04	.00	-.48	.42	.64*		
Southdown H.S.	n	.75	-.50	n	-.02	n		
Centreburn T.S.	n	n	-.33	n	n	x		
Catholic B.C.	.74*	.21	.17	.51*	n	.32		
Edgevale B.G.	.88*	.56*	.57	.26	.07	x		
Eastwood B.C.	.28	.46	.45	.60*	.71*	.35		
TOTAL Positive- Negative Observations	12-0	10-2	13-4	10-4	6-5	8-6		

religious orientation. it is hard to know what to expect in terms of co-efficients of association. If A, who is a regular churchgoer, becomes a friend of B, C and D, who are not churchgoers and group effect takes place, it could be expected that A will go to church less often and B, C and D remain the same or perhaps go more often. Thus a comparison of change will yield a negative correlation between friends. On the other hand, A, B, C and D may change together as a result of exchange of opinion.

In the dichotomies required to produce the tables from which the co-efficients were calculated, no change was classed with positive change. If the first model of group influence is frequent there will be an under-estimation of group effect in schools where negative changers have moved into conformity with friends of low religious orientation while the friends have not changed.

Overall positive correlations outnumber the negative ones, particularly on the change in belief item. Most of the negative associations are in the schools where there is a smaller number who endorse responses at the religious end of the continuum so that the results could be explained as in the paragraph above.

The "perception of group climate" bracket of associations (Items E - H) indicate the extent to which a person and his set of friends are in consensus in their perceptions of the religious orientation of their five closest friends. A large positive gamma indicates that many respondents perceive the orientation of their set of friends in the way that these set of friends in turn perceive the orientation of their set of friends.

The strength of the co-efficient will depend upon:

- (i) The overlap in the sets of friends; if a student's nominated friends in turn nominate each other and no one else there will be no chance for actual variation in religious orientation of friends apart from the variation depending upon which person

cannot be included as one of the friends because he is the perceiver.

- (ii) Accuracy of perception of the orientation of friends; generally the less accuracy the wider the discrepancies between the perceptions of a number of respondents.

The results show a high degree of consensus about the religious orientation of sets of friends by the students and their sets of friends. This is particularly so in the case of perceived churchgoing of friends where there are six cases of statistically significant associations. No co-efficient in either cutting point tried was less than 0.28. From the results we can argue that students are aware of a common norm among their close friends regarding church attendance. Combined with the evidence of high correlations among friends on churchgoing there is a powerful case for concluding that churchgoing (or otherwise) is a relevant behaviour to most friends and cliques. However, consensus was obtained originally (selection or influence), there certainly is agreement among friends on the question of churchgoing and most students can report accurately the churchgoing of their friends.

An attempt was made to see if parents of friends had similar churchgoing habits (Items H - F). If it could be shown that this was the case, and that the associations were as strong as the associations between the churchgoing of the friends themselves, then it could be argued that selection of friends on religious criteria must be more important than influence among friends. The orientation of the parents, it could be safely assumed, would be prior to the formation of adolescent friendships, so there could be little dispute about direction of causation. It would imply that those from churchgoing homes select each other as friends.

Neither of two cutting points succeeded in producing tables from which decisive results could be obtained. Consequently results must remain tentative. A large number of non-linear associations have to be reported. These cast doubt as to whether there is any consistent relationship. On the mother's churchgoing item as many negative associations as positive associations occur. There is evidence of positive association of churchgoing among fathers of friends in nine of the groups. However, the similarity of the orientation of the fathers of friends is not so strong that common orientation of fathers could explain the similarities of orientation among friends.

Other co-efficients represent benchmarks so that the comparative strength of association on the religious variables can be assessed.

Course at school (dichotomised into science and other) emerges as a strong basis of friendship.¹ Statistically significant associations were found in four schools. In another four cases the co-efficient of association exceeds 0.40. There are no negative observations. In five schools friends are more likely to be pursuing the same course than they are to be alike on any of the religious variables. It seems fair to conclude that friendship is more closely tied to course at school than religious orientation.²

On two measures of attitude toward school, school loyalty and school identification (Items K and L) positive associations are consistent, except in some small groups. Again, except in two small groups, the school loyalty and identification questions yield almost

¹ It is not assumed that the direction of causation is more simple than in the case of religious orientation. It may be that many students choose the course that their friends intend to follow so as to avoid separation.

² Cf. Coleman (1961) who found class at school was the item that pairs of friends most often had in common, p.76.

identical results. The strength of association ranges in much the same way as it did on most religious variables. Similarities of friends' attitude toward school among friends can be expected a little more frequently than similarities in friends' religious orientation in matters such as religious experience, prayer and belief in Christ but not as frequently as in similarities in regard to churchgoing.

The weight of evidence indicates that those who read Go-Set "overchoose" as friends those who also read Go-Set. There are statistically significant associations in three schools. However, the peer-oriented and adult-oriented do not show much evidence of friendship cleavage except at Eastwood Boys' College and among the Southdown High School girls. These adolescent social-system variables do not seem as important in friendship patterns as are most religious variables.

The ranking of "opportunities for doing a helpful task in the community" as an important factor in choice of career (Question 29) was also associated with friendship patterns in most schools. There was only one case of a negative association. The range of strength of associations is again about the same as religious variables such as prayer. However, ranking of the importance of being an outstanding performer in sport (Question 39) in most cases was not a factor or was so in an inverse manner : sets of friends were less likely to rank being outstanding at sport as very important if their nominator did.¹

Religious orientation variables do not have a unique association with friendship patterns and are dwarfed in significance by course at school, but they do show up as comparably important with or more important than other attitudinal variables which were tested.

The findings of this section have been generally positive, reinforcing the evidence given by the analysis of the perception of

¹ The associations for this question are not reported in Table 7 - 14.

the religious orientation of friends. Friends are more likely to share similar religious beliefs and behaviour than are members of the same school who are not friends. While the associations have reached statistical significance only on odd occasions, the consistency of results over many religious variables and across schools is imposing.

However, the section also opens up new questions about which only hints of answers could be given:

Why do certain schools show stronger association among friends on religious variables than other schools do?

Does this indicate religious feelings and ideas are salient?

that there has been conflict? that polar types exist? that in these schools there are distinct religious crowds and non-religious crowds?

In more general theoretical terms what does friendship cleavage on a given characteristic show about group structure and values? Why do certain religious variables show stronger association among friends than others do? Visibility of the attitude or behaviour to friends has been mentioned as a likely candidate, consistent with most but not all the results.

We will now return to an examination of two more groups in detail to see if they help us to understand the processes behind the associations which have been observed. This time two schools where there is not such clear evidence of similarity of religious orientation among friends will be studied.

An Analysis of two Schools - a Further detailed Study

Newscape High School Girls. Newscape High School girls generally showed strong religious involvement. However analysis of the associations between the religious orientation of the students and the religious orientation of their nominated sets of friends suggested that religious orientation had little to do with friendship patterns.¹

¹ There were six positive and four negative associations.

Sociogram 13 indicates that church affiliation is relevant to friendship patterns. There is a small chain of reciprocated friendships among three girls who go to Newscape Presbyterian Church.¹ Two girls from a Salvation Army Church choose each other.² Clique II and constellation IV included all except one of the non-Protestants, being composed of Catholics, Lutherans and Orthodox Church members plus one Baptist who is a recent arrival at the school. National origin rather than religion may be the factor determining this pattern. Five of the eight students from Hillboro Methodist Church belong to clique I.³

Sociograms 14 and 15 show positive associations between religious orientation of friends who have reciprocated choices, on questions of churchgoing and religious experience. In neither case do the associations reach statistical significance. However, the association on religious experience is a strong one ($\text{Gamma} = 0.40$). The cliques show little homogeneity in churchgoing or religious experience, the exception being clique IV where most endorse the less religious responses. This is further evidence that close friends may be alike in religious orientation when students are not similar in orientation to the majority of their friends (as indicated by the "sets of friends" analysis or by examination of cliques).

Cliques again show internal variation in regard to belief in a heaven and a hell for every person after death and belief in the miracles which the Bible says that Jesus performed. On belief in a heaven or a hell an analysis of reciprocated friends shows that there is a negative association (Sociogram 15 shows the pattern of responses). One pair, 76 - 110⁴ are alike in their beliefs as on

¹ 98-95-88 : 88 also chooses 98 Lower section of sociogram.

² 87-104 Upper section of sociogram.

³ Hillboro is adjacent to Newscape : there is no Newscape Methodist Church.

⁴ Extreme left of sociogram.

practically every other item. They are two of the three most consistently high scorers on measures of religious involvement.

Other items confirm the findings of the "sets of friends" analysis. Among Newscape High School girls there is little cleavage of friendship according to religion, except for a few close friends who reciprocate choices, although friends are often alike in their local church affiliation and their frequency of church attendance.

Edgevale Boys' Grammar. Edgevale Grammar boys less frequently chose responses reflecting religious involvement than the students at the other three schools studied in detail. The results of tests of association between students and their sets of friends were inconclusive. Five items showed cleavage of friendships on the basis of religious orientation and six items showed negative cleavage.

Friendship patterns in this form of seventy students are largely based on whether a student is a boarder and what subjects he takes at school. Sociogram 17 shows the degree of isolation of boarders. They are concentrated in constellations (V) and (VII). Although these do not constitute cliques and 5 and 9 are chosen by many non-boarders, only one boarder of the fifteen has a reciprocated friendship with a non-boarder. Sociogram 18 shows the higher inter-group choice among science and non-science students ($\text{Gamma} = 0.88$ $\chi^2 = 26.1$ $P < .001$).

A strong association was observed ($\text{Gamma} = 0.64$) between students and their nominated sets of friends on the churchgoing item. Boarders have to go to church weekly, thus the frequency of churchgoing among students in constellations (V) and (VII) (Sociogram 19). However, an association calculated on the basis of reciprocated friendships excluding boarders shows that boarders were not alone responsible for the high level of congruence among friends ($\text{Gamma} = 0.42$).

Analysis of reciprocated friendships, summarised by the co-efficients of association in Table 7 - 15, confirm positive associations shown by the sets of friends of analysis, for instance in regard to the doctrine question and religious concern. However, only constellations (IV) and (V) showed much congruence on these questions. Positive associations between the religious orientation of students who reciprocate friendship choices when the questions about religious experience and belief in miracles are considered, even though the "sets of friends" analysis showed negative associations. From a survey of a much larger number of sociograms than are reported here no pair showing consistently strong religious involvement can be observed. However, 14 and 19 (constellation I) are consistently at the non-religious end of the continuum of responses.

A test was made to see if results, obtained through analysis of "sets of friends" and reciprocated friendships were associated with each other. Twelve items were ranked according to the gamma co-efficients obtained by each method for Edgevale Boys' Grammar. The Rho co-efficient on the rankings of the items according to the strength of the two sets of gammas was calculated.

TABLE 7 - 15

Gamma Co-efficients showing Association of Religious Orientation between Friends : A Comparison between "Sets of Friends" and "Reciprocated Friends" Analysis

	"Sets of Friends" Gamma		"Reciprocated Friends" Gamma	
	Rank	Co-efficient	Rank	Co-efficient
Course at School	1	(.88)	1	(.88)
Churchgoing	2	(.61)	6	(.52)
School loyalty	3	(.56)	5	(.53)
Bible Reading	4	(.47)	4	(.62)
Doctrine	5	(.45)	2	(.79)
Perceived Religious Concern of Friends	6	(.30)	8	(.36)
Rank Religious Convictions	7	(.27)	3	(.68)
Religious Concern	8	(.16)	9	(.27)
Referring to will of God	9	(.00)	7	(.38)
Religious Experience	10	(-.31)	11	(.16)
Belief (Miracles)	11	(-.54)	10	(.22)
Prayer	12	(-.59)	12	(-.16)

$$r_s = 0.81 \quad P < .01$$

The association between the rankings is strong and statistically significant. This table also supports the evidence from other groups that there tends to be stronger associations between the religious orientation of students who reciprocated friendship choices than the religious orientation of students and the majority of their nominated school friends. This finding could reflect the greater reliability of reciprocated choices but it may also indicate that a few very close friends are more influential in religious matters than the aggregate of close friends or the peer group. The absence of clique solidarity in religious matters supports the second conclusion.

The results almost certainly under-estimate the relative importance of one or two very close friends as against closest friends in general, for the sociometric analysis within groups did not permit the congruence of pairs of students in cross-sex choices to be examined. In response to the question asking about religious influences, most students who replied that one or two particular friends had influenced them specifically noted that the friend was of the opposite sex (12/15 boys, 17/34 girls)

C o n c l u s i o n s

Cumulative evidence supports the conclusion that friendship patterns are related to the religious orientation of the Form Five students. Personal religious orientation is positively associated with the perceived orientation of friends and the expressed orientation of school friends.

One or two of a student's close friends are more likely to be similar in orientation to him than the majority of his friends. There is not a sharp cleavage between those of different orientations when choices are examined for a form as a whole. Certainly it is not possible to distinguish religious and non-religious crowds. Only a

few cliques show a high degree of consistency in religious orientation. Most students have at least some close friends who differ from them in frequency of churchgoing and other religious variables.

The students most likely to have friends who are like them in orientation are the polar types - the consistently non-religious and the religious enthusiasts. However, only occasionally can these students find enough school friends who are like them to form a clique within a form group. One such group can be isolated at Greenfall High School. Five girls who stood out for their expressions of religious enthusiasm formed a clique with near-maximum cohesiveness.¹ Three girls went to the same church and there is evidence the others visited this church on occasions. It is more frequent to find like pairs. The fact that similarity occurs more often among polar types is consistent with the view that congruence of attitudes is more likely when the attitudes are salient to the persons involved.

The interpretation of the findings must be an open one. Probably selection of friends according to compatibility, mutual influence and projection are each partly responsible for some associations. However, the associations cannot be "explained away" by any background factor tested in this chapter. The existence of associations when each student reports his own orientation indicates that the earlier associations between personal religious orientation and the perceived orientation of friends have some basis in reality. On the other hand, the early associations show that the students are usually aware of a degree of congruence in religious norms with their friends.

The general conclusion of the chapter is that religious orientation is relevant to friendship patterns for most students but only rarely is there complete homogeneity in religious orientation among a group of friends.

¹ The religious orientation of this group may be gleaned from a few comments. One girl criticised the questionnaire for its lack of the Question: "Is Jesus Christ your personal Saviour?" while another claimed "My views are very evangelical"

CHAPTER VIII

INVOLVEMENT IN CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

I n t r o d u c t i o n

There has been a preoccupation amongst clergy and some prominent laity in Australia in recent years with the structure and life of congregational or parish churches. For instance the reports published by the Joint Commission on Church Union in 1959 and 1964 are entitled "The Faith of the Church" (not The Faith of Christians) and "The Church: Its Nature, Function and Ordering".¹ The Proposed Basis of Union itself devoted much attention to the "Church's witness and worship" and the Church's weaknesses. Over half the document is concerned with its organisation, its membership, its ministry and the sacraments.² If attention is indicative of considered importance then the right ordering of the church is seen as crucial for the religious life of people.

How dependent is Christian commitment in its various aspects on participation within the "life of the church"?³

An individual's relation to a church can be viewed in two ways. It is at once an aspect of the ritual dimension of religious

¹ These documents relate to the negotiations between Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists. The attention given to church structures is partly a result of the existing differences in organisation which are more obvious than other differences.

² The Church: Its Nature, Function and Ordering and Proposed Basis of Union (1964).

³ In the analysis to follow church or churches will refer to the network of organisations specifically designed to fulfil religious functions and usually based on a geographical unit. The concept of the "invisible church" will not be considered.

orientation (in which aspect it has been considered in previous chapters), and a link with an organisation which can then provide learning experiences and exercise social control. Indeed this is one of the specific functions of churches. Anxiety about decline in church attendance is rarely just a concern that people less often express their religious feelings and belief in public ritual (though as one of the few outward shows of strength this is important for churches in maintaining self-esteem). There is usually the belief that lessened interaction with a church will decrease its control of behaviour and belief as well. The link with a church is seen as providing the necessary social support for the religious interpretation of life and/or for desirable social behaviour.

Not every meeting of individuals, even if regular, develops into a social system where roles and norms concern more than the immediate situation. A football crowd gathering each week at an oval may develop norms regarding occasions for applause and abuse, allowing children to the front to obtain a good view and so on, but it is doubtful if the football crowd controls behaviour even directly related to football in the backyard, or in the park. Nor is it interested in doing so (as a rule). The churches are certainly interested in influencing behaviour beyond the hour of actual church attendance. The scope of influence desired by churches is probably greater than that of most organisations to which a person belongs.

Many critics, however, have wondered if the structure of the church is such that it can act as a powerful socialising agency. Worries about "Sunday Christians", the usefulness of Sunday School, the "outdated structures" of the church and the failure of the church to provide fellowship - particularly its inability to integrate newcomers or those from diverse social strata - all reflect this concern. Wilson has expressed what many clerical and lay critics would feel:

In modern society in which men are highly individuated by diverse patterns of social experience in which men have considerable choice of the influences to which they expose themselves, there is no longer a widespread sense of community of feeling to which the Churches can minister... and this reduces the meaning and validity of corporate worship, except in so far as worshipping, like dancing can be economically provided for only when a number of people undertake it at the same time in the same place, because they need the atmospheric context of each other to do it.¹

Evidence of the Importance of Churchgoing

Fichter's study of an urban parish in the South of the U.S.A. gives some empirical support to the pessimists about the local church as a viable unit in which behaviour is learned and reinforced. It lacks the features which make a primary group usually such a powerful influence.

The social facts of parochial life indicate that the urban parishioners do not constitute an "organized formal group" but rather a social unit, which might be called a statistical population, a social aggregate or category.²

Only nuclear parishioners and those who were close friends outside the immediate church function served by subgroups of the church³ had developed more than segmental social relationships in the church.

Martin's summary of the English scene is similar:

... modern churches are clearly middle- and lower-class associations providing one tangential relationship among others - and that perhaps not the most important.⁴

Ward, in a study of a Catholic parish in Liverpool, found "little evidence that informal social relations were affected to any noteworthy extent by membership of the parish".⁵

¹ Wilson (1966), pp.34-35.

² Fichter (1954), pp.18-19.

³ Ibid, pp.49, 53-54.

⁴ Martin (1967), p.106.

⁵ C. K. Ward, Priests and People (1961), p.48.

Obenhaus and Schroeder found in their survey of a number of small communities that "higher proportions of Protestants than Catholics reported that they met their closest friends through church activities...", a fact which they attributed to more status differentiation among the Protestant churches so more opportunity to meet like-status people at church.¹ Friendships then appear to depend on characteristics other than sharing together in church activities. Similarity of interests and equality of status are more important in determining friendship patterns than is belonging to the same church per se.

This analysis suggests that the local congregation may be far from an effective socialising agency because of its lack of intimate social relationships to reinforce the official communications. However, empirical research has been practically unanimous in finding frequency of churchgoing to be positively associated with other aspects of religious behaviour and endorsement of religious attitudes.

Brown found consistent correlations between measures of orthodoxy and churchgoing.² In the townships studied by Schroeder and Obenhaus nuclear churchgoers gave richer content to the meaning of prophecy and parable in the Bible.³ Neuwien and his co-writers found mass attendance related to orthodox Catholic views on remarriage and marriage to non-Catholics.⁴ Glock and Stark found a strong correlation between orthodoxy and ritual involvement.⁵

These results are not inconsistent with the analysis of the church given by Fichter, Wilson and others. Brown certainly does argue

¹ Schroeder and Obenhaus (1964), p.89.

² L. B. Brown, "The Structure of Religious Belief" (1966), p.267.

³ Schroeder and Obenhaus (1964), pp.148-156.

⁴ Neuwien (1966), p.211.

⁵ The indicators of the latter were attendance at church and prayer. Glock and Stark (1966), pp.16-17.

from his results that the "relationships between belief and church membership, attitudinal acceptance of the church ('institutionalization') and authoritarianism suggest that strong social support is required for the maintenance of a system of religious belief", apparently implying the social support comes mainly from the church.¹ However, the level of churchgoing may be an expression of a favourable disposition toward religion rather than its source. After all one would expect some correlation between measures of the various dimensions of religious orientation. It is a giant stride further to argue that it is a person's relationship with the church which maintains other aspects of religious behaviour.

Evidence from an extensive study of English grammar school students by Hyde enables us to advance the argument a little. Hyde dichotomised boys and girls groups at each form level (Forms One to Six) into churchgoing and non-churchgoing. He found that there is little difference in attitude toward religion and in orthodoxy among churchgoing and non-churchgoing boys and girls in Forms One to Two but by Forms Three to Five they are drawing apart rapidly.²

Although there is by no means a linear development, it could be interpreted as indicating that without the social support of the contact with church religious orthodoxy among boys declines more markedly than it does when churchgoing persists. Among the girls, although there is less evidence of decline in orthodoxy, the difference between churchgoers and non-churchgoers is again slightly more evident in Forms Five and Six than Forms One and Two.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the older students, particularly boys, have developed a greater consciousness of belief and freedom of action, so that those who are sceptical of orthodox

¹ Brown (1966), p.268.

² Hyde (1965), p.32.

belief shake themselves free of church attendance. This combined with a trend toward rejection of orthodox belief could account for the trend described. In any case the differences are not very impressive even in Form Six.¹

Another possible approach to the problem of estimating the importance of participation in the local congregation in sustaining other aspects of religious orientation is to argue that if churchgoing is important in a unique way among the religious variables, then overall, correlations between churchgoing and other religious variables will be stronger than correlations between the other religious variables, at least when the variables belong to different dimensions. While it by no means follows logically that the associations must be due to independent influence of churchgoing on other aspects of religion, it is a supporting argument.

Faulkner and Gordon examined correlations between measures of the various dimensions for 362 respondents and found that for these respondents the ideological dimension had the strongest association with other dimensions. "If the size of the correlation co-efficient is indicative of the importance of a dimension, the ideological dimension was unmistakably of pervasive importance."² Hyde in the study referred to above also calculated a comprehensive set of correlation co-efficients, although he did not draw implications about the centrality to one dimension. The "attitude to God" sub-scale provided a stronger set of correlations with attitude toward the Bible, toward religion, and even toward the church and toward local churches than did attitude toward churchgoing.³

¹ Of course, the students have more exposure at school to religious teaching than most students in the high schools surveyed would have.

² J. E. Faulkner and F. de J. Gordon, "Religiosity in 5 - D: An Empirical Analysis" (1966), pp.250-251.

³ Hyde (1965), p.29.

Such evidence as is available does not provide any firm evidence of the church being the crucial social context from which religious behaviour and belief stems. A panel study might provide data in which direction of causation might be less ambiguous. However, it is possible to glean from our data some evidence which will be at least suggestive for further research.

Procedure for Analysis

It is proposed to assess the extent to which churches provide social support for other aspects of religious orientation in a number of ways.

First the association of churchgoing and other aspects of religious orientation will be examined, and tested to see if it is spurious, depending on parental religious orientation, sex or school. The comparative strength of association between churchgoing and other aspects of religious orientation will be assessed.

Second, we will endeavour to determine how many students show evidence of personal religious life but do not attend church. These students will be compared with others who do attend to church to see if in other ways they are just as likely to accept religious beliefs and values. If they do, then churchgoing makes little difference in the maintenance of religious involvement.

Third, the religious orientation of "recruits" whose frequency of churchgoing has recently increased will be compared with that of the "steadies" whose frequency of churchgoing has remained constant and "drifters" whose frequency of churchgoing has declined. If churchgoing is the dynamic growth point, then for each level of churchgoing the steadies should be more religious than recruits as they have had longer experience of the teaching and social support of

the church. On the other hand, if churchgoing is primarily a reflection of religious feelings and ideas, the new spurt of churchgoing by the recruits may show enthusiasm which outshines the steadies.

Fourth, we will investigate the hypotheses that those whose involvement in church goes beyond formal participation to club participation and finding friends among fellow churchgoers are more likely to show the religious norms of the church.

Fifth, we will try to confirm the suggestions from the approaches above by analysis of open-ended responses indicating the relations which the students seem to have with churches and the extent to which they are received as influential.

Finally, we will ask how many students would like clergy to agree with their religious views and examine evidence of the extent to which clergy are influential in practice.

All these procedures ignore the considerable differences from one congregation to another. Involvement in one type of congregation may mean something different to involvement in another. The limitation was unavoidable given the method of obtaining respondents. Ideally local church factors should be considered, but there may be still important factors which are independent of the specific congregation.

Survey Results

Churchgoing and Other Aspects of Religious Orientation

There is considerable evidence that Catholics and Protestants differ in the way in which churchgoing and other aspects of religious orientation are related.¹ It is, therefore, necessary to consider

¹ For instance Glock and Stark (1966) found that Catholics were much more likely to go to church without accepting orthodox beliefs. While Protestants were more likely to hold the beliefs without attending church. p.17.

them separately. As the Protestants form the largest group and are not concentrated in one school, the analysis will focus principally on them. It was decided to ignore the smaller groups of others such as Greek Orthodox and Jewish and treat the group as a whole as non-Catholics.¹

Table 8 - 1 summarises the associations discovered among non-Catholics between churchgoing and a selection of other aspects of religious orientation.

TABLE 8 - 1
Association of Churchgoing and Other Aspects
of Religious Orientation
(Non-Catholics)

	Gamma Co-efficients ^a	
	Boys	Girls
A. Prayer	.60	.47
B. Belief - Miracles	.42	.42
C. Belief - Doctrine	.44	.45
D. Religious Experience	.44	.38
E. Ranking of Religious Occupational Goal	.60	.47
F. Ranking of Religious Ideals Goal	.62	.50
G. Reference to God's will	.53	.38
H. Christian Beliefs at School	.41	.47
I. Religious Concern	.46	.49
J. Importance of Clergy as Religious Referents	.51	.49
K. Importance of Parents as Religious Referents	.36	.45

^a Gamma co-efficients were calculated from uncollapsed tables.

The co-efficients are consistently reasonably strong.² There is a 30 per cent better than chance opportunity of predicting

¹ The procedure of excluding other groups would have complicated the computing procedures beyond what seemed worthwhile for the small numbers involved. The miscellaneous groups would not account for more than 2 per cent of students.

² If it is assumed that all these measures are of one fundamental dimension (religiousness) then the co-efficients would appear "relatively low".

which of a pair of students will give the more religious response on any specific variable from knowledge of which student attends church more frequently. The co-efficients also indicate that the association is slightly stronger in most cases for boys than for girls.

To press the analysis further it is necessary to examine the percentage distribution according to frequency of churchgoing. These are given in Table 8 - 2.

Items D, E, L, M show the same pattern for both boys and girls. All are sufficiently hard tests of religious enthusiasm to obtain low endorsement from even weekly churchgoers. In each case the decline is dramatic in the next column (moderate churchgoers) and except for 7 per cent of infrequent churchgoers (boys) who score 6 on the religious experience index and the 7 per cent non-churchgoers (girls) who do the same, the irregular churchgoers provide hardly any endorsement for these items. It would seem that students with considerable religious enthusiasm (indicated by a high score on the religious experience index and a salience given to religious considerations) nearly always go to church weekly. There are not many among the Form Five students, who could be described as non-churchgoing religious enthusiasts.¹

While these and other less popular religious responses are, with few exceptions, restricted to weekly churchgoers, the more general approval of Christian belief (Items C and G) received about 50 per cent endorsement or more from all but those who did not go to church at all. Religious belief, concern, and practice abound even among infrequent churchgoers. Obversely, many weekly churchgoers do not pray often, have doubts about Christian doctrine and do not affirm confidently that they have had certain religious experiences. An association between frequency of churchgoing and a religious response is still evident on these more general items.

¹ Enthusiast may be a misleading choice of word. However, it will be used from time to time to describe those who consistently give responses endorsing the most religious alternative particularly to questions where such alternatives are generally unpopular.

TABLE 8 - 2

Churchgoing and Other Aspects of Religious Orientation (Non-Catholics)

Percentage in each category of churchgoing who give response	<u>B O Y S</u>				<u>G I R L S</u>			
	Weekly + Churchgoers	Moderate Churchgoers ^a	Infrequent Churchgoers ^b	Non-Churchgoers	Weekly Churchgoers	Moderate Churchgoers	Infrequent Churchgoers	Non-Churchgoers
A. Concerned about religion	84	67	64	31	90	78	58	52
B. Believe in Heaven and Hell definitely agree/tend to agree	31/14	14/18	9/12	4/8	37/17	14/18	9/12	7/3
C. Believe in application of Christian beliefs to school	80	63	51	35	89	68	48	32
D. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do	19	5	5	2	27	10	10	7
E. Religious experience score 6	20	2	7	1	16	7	2	7
F. Religious experience score 4+	45	25	28	6	52	37	22	22
G. Consider Jesus as Son of God ... Saviour, Lord	75	54	46	26	79	63	50	6
H. Prayed within previous 24 hours	36	29	14	9	60	32	20	18

TABLE 8 - 2 (Contd.)

Percentage in each category of churchgoing who give response	B O Y S				G I R L S			
	Weekly + Churchgoers	Moderate Churchgoers ^a	Infrequent Churchgoers ^b	Non-Churchgoers	Weekly Churchgoers	Moderate Churchgoers	Infrequent Churchgoers	Non-Churchgoers
I. Believe in miracles without qualification	49	31	18	13	62	27	33	15
J. Consider themselves less frequent in devotions since age 13	22	38	48	39	18	25	39	33
K. Consider religious ideas and feelings less important than when 13	20	24	37	49	5	12	27	35
L. Rank religious ideals goal first	15	4	1	-	20	4	4	2
M. Rank religious occupational goal first	17	4	3	1	20	4	3	-
	(N = 83)	(N = 97)	(N = 123)	(N = 136)	(N = 126)	(N = 114)	(N = 106)	(N = 60)

^a Less than once a week but at least once a month.

^b Less than once a month.

The association between churchgoing and the other religious variables cannot be explained by parents' churchgoing. There is no substantial reduction in the correlations, which persist within each category of parental churchgoing.¹ Table 8 - 3 illustrates the findings.

TABLE 8 - 3

The Association between Belief (Doctrine Question),
Churchgoing and the Perceived Churchgoing of Parents.

Percentage who believe that Jesus is the Son of
God ... Saviour, Lord in each category.

Churchgoing of Parents		<u>Students' Own Churchgoing</u>		
<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>Mother's Churchgoing</u>	Weekly + N	Moderate N	Not at all/ Infrequent N
	Weekly +	86 (66) ^a	63 (19)	. ^b (8)
	Sometimes	70 (43)	63 (41)	54 (46)
	Rarely/Not at all	67 (30)	64 (56)	37 (120)
<u>BOYS</u>	<u>Father's Churchgoing</u>			
	Weekly +	84 (49)	53 (15)	. ^b (8)
	Sometimes	75 (12)	50 (30)	41 (17)
	Rarely/Not at all	56 (25)	56 (45)	35 (220)

^a The number in brackets shows the N from which the percentage was calculated.

^b N was too small for a percentage to be calculated.

The numbers are small but the findings illustrated here are consistent when a number of aspects of religious orientation are examined. The associations between churchgoing and other aspects of religious orientation are also consistent within the schools.

¹ For girls mother's churchgoing was held constant, for boys father's churchgoing was held constant. Mol found that controlling for parental churchgoing did not eliminate the association between the respondents' churchgoing and other variables. R. Mol (1968^B)

For the purpose of testing the relative strength of association between various aspects of religious orientation, assumptions regarding the continuity of variables and their distribution were made so that product-moment correlations could be calculated. Tables 8 - 4 and 8 - 5 show the results.

The correlations between churchgoing and the other religious variables do not stand out as the strongest. For instance, frequency of prayer and score on the religious experience index have stronger correlations with most other aspects of religious orientation than does frequency of churchgoing. This is true of girls' and boys' groups.¹

On the other hand, churchgoing has a slightly stronger correlation with other religious variables than does response to the questions about religious concern and belief in Christ. (doctrine question). Also the other measure of organizational involvement, participation in church clubs, is more closely correlated with churchgoing than with other variables.

The analysis gives no evidence that churchgoing is the central dimension of religious orientation which provides the basis of religious involvement in other ways.²

All the product-moment correlations reported in the tables are statistically significant. However, other correlations are stronger than those between churchgoing and other aspects of religious orientation. Further, the correlations between churchgoing and the perceived churchgoing of parents and of friends are also stronger than the correlations between churchgoing and other religious variables.³

¹ The strength of associations in columns A, G and H should be compared.

² Analysis of the strength of gamma co-efficients confirms the conclusions here. See Appendix O.

³ Product moment correlations churchgoing - perceived churchgoing of friends: 0.52 (boys) and 0.45 (girls); churchgoing - perceived churchgoing of parents: 0.69 (boys) and 0.50 (girls).

TABLE 8 - 4

Correlation between Religious Variables
(Product-Moment Co-efficients) (Boys)

N = 280^a (Those from Catholic Boys' College not included)

	Churchgoing	Negative Religious Concern	Christian beliefs at school	Referring to God's will	Church Clubs	Negative Religious Ideals	Religious Experience	Prayer	Bible Reading	Miracles	Doctrine
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Churchgoing	*						.51	.47			.39
Negative Religious Concern ^b		*									
Christian Beliefs at school	-.46		*				-.42	-.45			-.39
Referring to God's will	.43	-.46		*			.51	.53			.45
Church Clubs	.42	-.42			*		.73	.65			.46
Negative Religious Ideals ^b	.45	-.28	.28	.23		*	.31	.27	.26	.28	.26
Religious Experience	-.45	.38					*	-.49			-.32
Prayer	.51	-.42						*			.48
Bible Reading	.47	-.45					.67		*		.47
Miracles	.41	-.38					.54	.51		*	.37
Doctrine	.39	-.36					.53	.49			* .54
	.39	-.39					.48	.47		.54	*

The unusual format of this table is designed to make easier the reading of the comparisons mentioned in the script. Other co-efficients were available but were not relevant. Both sides of the diagonal are given so that a column can be read at a glance.

^a N's are considerably reduced because all those who gave incomplete responses, don't know responses or responses classified as "other" for any of fourteen variables were excluded in the programme used.

^b The term negative before the item indicates that the question was worded in such a way as low scores rather than high scores indicated strong religious involvement.

TABLE 8 - 5

Correlation between Religious Variables
(Product-Moment Co-efficients) (Girls)

N = 297^a (Those from Roman Catholic Girls' School not included)

	Churchgoing A	Negative Religious Concern B	Christian beliefs at school C	Referring to God's will D	Church Clubs E	Negative Religious Ideals F	Religious Experience G	Prayer H	Bible Reading I	Miracles J	Doctrine K
Churchgoing	*	-.32					.36	.42			.37
Negative Religious Concern ^b	-.32	*					-.40	-.38			-.24
Christian beliefs at school	.41	-.35	*				.53	.47			.44
Referring to God's will	.32	-.30		*			.65	.55			.37
Church Clubs	.42	-.25	.23	.24	*	-.35	.29	.29	.29	.21	.20
Negative Religious Ideals ^b	-.39	.36				*	-.53	-.45			-.35
Religious Experience	.36	-.40					*	.60			.36
Prayer	.42	-.38					.60	*			.34
Bible Reading	.35	-.23					.48	.43	*		.27
Miracles	.35	-.27					.40	.31		*	.54
Doctrine	.37	-.24					.40	.31		.54	*

^a N's are considerably reduced.
See boys' table (Table 8 - 4) for a note explaining format of the table.

Churchgoing and Religious Individualists

The previous analysis suggested that there were few who scored sufficiently high on the tough tests of the importance of religious feelings and beliefs to qualify as enthusiasts who were not in fact weekly churchgoers. It is now proposed to weaken the test slightly to see if there are important differences between those who maintain some form of private religious life yet only a slight or no connection with a church and those who are more frequent in church attendance. If there are very few differences it would suggest that connection with a church is not important at least for sustaining those aspects of religious involvement which have been measured here.

The religious individualists' as they have been labelled here, have some affinities with Demerath's sect type. Demerath believed that the sectlike parishioner would tend to be apathetic towards the formal ritual of a Sunday service but would stress spontaneous participation and an intimate moral community.¹ He defined the pure sect-type as those whose links with the organised church and other organisations were few but who felt they derived many benefits from their church membership, had friends from the local parish, and considered that the minister should not interfere in community affairs or participate in controversies.² The sect-type then was a person whose religious involvement was strong but its focus was not in organised public activities.

Demerath considered that the low involvement in church services coupled with high endorsement of advantages of belonging to church and a concentration of friendships from the parish of the sect-type is indicative of an alienation from the community similar to that of the Troeltsch-Weber sectarian. Church services at least in the

¹ Demerath (1965), p.48.

² Ibid, Chapter 3, wherein the choice of indicators is justified.

mainstream churches, represent an acceptance of the dominant secular values. Thus the association of sectlike religiosity with status which Demerath is able to show.¹ Demerath's presentation implies he thought of the sect-type as very close indeed to the "Dynes" sectarian.² By analogy it will be of interest to see if the religious individualists among the Form Five students share the characteristics of the sectarian.

Some important differences between Demerath's sect-type and the religious individualists must be noted. All of Demerath's respondents were church members of some description.³ This is not true of all the students surveyed, although the vast majority nominated not only a denomination but a specific congregation with which they had some association. A modification in the choice of indicators followed from the wish to discover those whose personal religious commitment was high but whose association with any specific congregation was low. It was considered that their personal religious zeal should be measured in terms not of the benefits of church membership nor in terms of friends going to the same church, as both these measures include the idea of some connection with organised religion.

Any of a number of possible combinations of measures could have been used as indicators of religious individualism. A combination of two indicators (besides churchgoing) was chosen because it made sorting relatively easy. It is doubtful if much more precision could have been gained by using three or more indicators. Those showing high personal religious commitment are defined as those who had prayed within the last three days and whose religious experience index score was 4+. This is a fairly tough test, more likely to exclude some to whom personal religious life was important than to

¹ Ibid, pp.65 ff, and Chapters IV and V.

² Ibid, pp.37-54.

³ Ibid, p.57.

include any to whom it was not. The religious individualists are those who are high on personal religious commitment but infrequent or non-attenders of church.

To avoid denominational comparisons confusing the picture, students from the Catholic schools were again excluded.¹ Of the 67 boys who qualified as high on personal religious commitment 17 were individualistic. Of the girls 18 of the 115 high on personal religious commitment were individualistic. Altogether then there were 36/906 students from eleven schools who could be placed in the extreme low churchgoing high personal religious commitment cell. They are obviously a small category, but they are often ignored completely in studies of religion. Further analysis may be instructive.² The analysis also enables us to divide weekly churchgoers into those high on personal religious commitment and those who are not. Table 8 - 6 sets out the comparisons.

The religious individualists receive from their immediate primary groups far less social support for going to church than those whose churchgoing is more regular (represented by those in columns A, B, D and E) even though some of these (those represented by columns D and E) are lower in personal religious commitment. For instance, only 24 per cent of the boys (compared with A, B, D, E columns 64, 65, 51, 46 per cent) and 42 per cent of the girls (compared with 81, 71, 70, 55 per cent) have three or more of their five best friends who go to church at least once a month (Item K). Likewise not one of the eighteen religious individualists among the girls has either mother

¹ Since nearly all the students of the Catholic schools were frequent churchgoers it is not likely many religious individualists would have been found among them. Of course, the exclusion of Catholics does not eliminate the possibility that Protestant denominational differences have confused the patterns.

² The few religious individualists partly represent a larger category of those who do not qualify as high on personal religious commitment but show evidence of personal religious involvement and assert that churchgoing is not important.

TABLE 8 - 6

Churchgoing and Personal Religious Commitment Related to Other Religious and Social-Context Variables

<u>BOYS</u>	Item	High Personal Commitment			Low-Moderate Personal Commitment		
		Weekly (N = 33)	Churchgoing Moderate (N = 17)	Infrequent Not at all (N = 17)	Weekly (N = 55)	Churchgoing Moderate (N = 80)	Infrequent Not at all (N = 247)
Percentage		Totally Involved A	B	Religious Individualists C	Formalists D	E	F
	A. Concerned about religion	94	88	71	78	63	40
	B. Particularist	68	53	12	31	26	18
	C. Agree Church services helpful to them	85	71	41	45	31	13
	D. Agree there is a heaven or a hell for every person after death	73	76	53	36	23	14
	E. Agree Christian beliefs should guide at school	100	82	76	71	59	41
	F. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do	48	18	29	8	4	2
Very Important Reasons for Christian Belief:							
	G. Salvation and new life	88	65	35	38	29	19
	H. any belief is good for society	27	12	29	24	31	25
	I. serving God and the world	79	41	53	29	33	12
	J. meeting people at church	24	24	29	35	41	21
	K. 3+ of 5 best friends go to church at least once a month	64	65	24	51	46	11
	L. 3+ of 5 best friends go to same church	33	12	-	25	14	1
	M. Mother's churchgoing (weekly +)	70	12	6	56	21	5
	N. Father's churchgoing (weekly +)	73	6	6	38	15	3
	O. Rank religious ideals first or second in Question 19	52	29	6	4	5	1

TABLE 8 - 6 (Contd.)

GIRLS

	High Personal Commitment Churchgoing			Low-Moderate Personal Commitment Churchgoing		
	Weekly (N = 63) Totally Involved A	Moderate (N = 34) B	Infrequent Not at all (N = 18) Religious Individualists C	Weekly (N = 74) Formalists D	Moderate (N = 78) E	Infrequent Not at all (N = 153) F
A. Concerned about religion	87	94	83	93	74	51
B. Particularist	30	32	11	19	18	16
C. Agree church services helpful to them	86	82	22	54	50	16
D. Agree there is a heaven or a hell for every person after death	70	62	22	46	28	20
E. Agree Christian beliefs should guide at school	94	100	56	81	55	39
F. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do	44	32	28	8	5	5
Very Important Reasons for Christian Belief:						
G. Salvation and new life	73	74	33	65	35	38
H. Any belief is good for society	33	35	39	31	27	25
I. serving God and the world	79	53	28	47	21	21
J. meeting people at church	51	44	11	46	33	22
K. 3+ of 5 best friends go to church at least once a month	81	71	39	70	55	22
L. 3+ of 5 best friends go to same church	40	15	-	23	19	1
M. Mother's churchgoing (weekly +)	54	21	-	39	14	5
N. Father's churchgoing (weekly +)	38	15	-	31	9	3
O. Rank religious ideals first or second in Question 19	49	26	17	15	5	3

or father who goes to church weekly. In contrast, of the girls only low or moderate in religious commitment but who are weekly churchgoers, 39 per cent have a mother who goes to church weekly, 31 per cent a father who does so. The boys' figures show the same pattern (Items M and N).

This suggests that social support is required for churchgoing irrespective of the strength of religious involvement in other ways, so that when this support is absent even those who score high on measures of personal religious commitment will not attend church. Once a person attends church, the "fellowship of the church" may then reinforce other aspects of religious orientation, but he needs the encouragement of parents or friends to go there in the first place or to stay there, even if his disposition to religion is generally favourable.

Frequency of going to church does make a substantial difference to the proportion who endorse religious responses, even among those with high personal religious commitment. As would be expected if attitudes and behaviour were consistent, the religious individualists are far less likely to agree that church services are helpful than the "totally involved" (those who go to church weekly and are high on personal commitment).¹ Eighty-five per cent of the boys and eighty-six per cent of the girls who are totally involved agree that church services are helpful, but only 41 per cent and 22 per cent respectively of the religious individualists agree. However differences are also large for other items - belief in heaven and hell, application of Christian beliefs at school and the ranking of religious ideals. Churchgoing as well as personal religious commitment is required for most to sustain a religious involvement in many aspects of behaviour and belief.

¹ A term borrowed from Demerath (1965), p.81.

However one important qualification is that generally speaking the religious individualists score higher on other measures of religiousness than do the "formalists" - those who are weekly churchgoers but low or moderate in personal religious commitment. Columns C and D can be compared. The religious individualists are more likely to consider reasons for Christian belief very important with the obvious and clearcut exception of the reason specifically tied to churchgoing (Item J "Activities in the Church give opportunities to meet other people.") They are also much more likely to often ask themselves what God would want them to do. Formalists and religious individualists do not differ so clearly in other aspects of religious orientation.¹

The religious individualists are not marked by virile hostility to church services. Only 18 per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls definitely disagree that church services are helpful to them. However, there is not much evidence to suggest that the religious individualists are "sectarian". They score the lowest of the six categories on particularism for the boys (12 per cent) and girls (11 per cent). They are more likely than most others to accept the relativist reason for belief:

Religious belief - it doesn't matter exactly what belief - helps to build up character which is good for our society as a whole.

Indeed when this information is added to the relatively poor scores on belief items, it would suggest that high personal commitment without close attachment to a church is accompanied by a vagueness or nonconformity (as against Christian orthodoxy) in content of belief.

¹ The relatively low scores on religious items of the formalists is, no doubt, partly explained by the number of boarders in this group (18 per cent boys, 16 per cent girls). They are regular attenders but their attendance may represent no more than coercion. Perhaps that is why the individualists are not so much lower in agreement than the formalists that church services are helpful to them
 religious individualists: 41 per cent - formalists: 45 per cent (boys)
 religious individualists: 26 per cent - formalists: 54 per cent (girls).

Religious individualists are certainly not usually fundamentalists who find the organised church is too compromising with society.¹

It remains to check some of these impressions against a more intensive study of the thirty-five questionnaires. Of the girls eight of the eighteen proved to come from Greenfall High School although only two nominated each other as friends. The boys were more evenly distributed over schools. Two of the girls were Jewish and at least one, possibly two, of the boys provided unreliable answers.

Answers to the open-ended questions, and marginal comments, confirm the overall impression suggested by the label "religious individualists".² Rationalisations of religion without church are frequent among the questionnaires:

I do not believe in the human church. We can communicate with God without its help. It is but a human enterprise.
(0470 M)

My views about the Christian religion are strong, however, some customs in some churches I strongly object to. I think churches should endeavour to connect the present with the Bible, e.g. Vietnam. (2021 M)

I believe in God but I do think that going to church and other religious activities is a waste of time. My belief is simple but sincere. (2077 F)

As I'm not a churchgoer I feel that religion is not one of the most important things in life. I don't mind it but I can't stand people trying to push their own religion into you. (0509 F)

My relationship with God does not need the church ... I have no time whatever for many hypercritical church leaders, religion being such a personal, sacred, ideal.
(0458 F)

This group stresses that religion is a private matter. A number assert that they made up their own minds or that God himself was the

¹ See also scores on reason for belief - "forgiveness and new life"
- Item G.

² There are a few even among the religious individualists who surprise by nominating church as an influence in some way. For instance, 0564 (goes to church a few times a year) claims, "I think since I started to go to church again about one year ago I have been made more aware and certain that God will help me in time of trouble!"

only influence on them. In reply to the question of religious influence one girl (0458 again) typifies the assertiveness about this point.

No-one, extremely personal, individual, pure coincidence that my father's views are extremely similar, and both grandfathers also. I did not know their views before I formed mine. (0456 F)

The evidence that the religious individualists are far from orthodox is also confirmed. Their questionnaires are remarkable for articulate expressions of doubt, confusion, deviance and searching. One student wrote that he had been "led to believe in God but as yet I am not convinced in Jesus Christ". (0043 M) Another suggested Jesus might be "another Robin Hood type around which legends have grown" (0470 M). A girl wrote, "I am not really convinced of Jesus coming. I would like to believe it and try to" (0556 F). There are a few comments on the nature of God such as, "I know I do believe in something more Divine than anyone in this world but I do not know who it is. It must be a God but who I do not know (0628 F). Another girl believes in reincarnation (1752 F). While most are ready to agree that God seems real, (in response to the question on the extra sheet) they are usually the very antithesis of the sectarian in their outlook.

The religious individualists are not students who have withdrawn from the churches because they do not wish to be indentified with culture-bound organisations, but rather students appealing to the norms of privatism which we have already indicated are quite widespread. Their attitude to the church is not so much one of hostility as of self-righteous defence. There are strands which suggest a feeling of a need to protect one's integrity and identity from what they regard as the imperialistic claims of the church. In raising this banner the category however small, may be assercting highly acceptable Australian religio-cultural norms.

Two implications might be drawn. One is that, as suggested in Chapter 3, churchgoing in Australia, particularly among young people, is not culture-affirming but sectarian in itself. The second is that sectarians (Dynes) or Particularists (as in this survey) may be quite different in many ways from sect-type (Demcrath) or Religious Individualists. Demerath might have been more accurate if he had equated his totally involved with sectarians. The early models of sectarianism - the members of sects such as the Anabaptists, were usually intensely involved in the organisational life of their sect. The study by Glock, Ringer and Babbie suggested that those with low status in the community who sought compensating status in church organisations - even culturally acceptable ones such as the Congregational Church - were highly involved at an organisational level even if proportionately even more highly involved at an intellectual level.¹ Demerath's sect-type also comes from a low status background but perhaps he is quite different from the sectarian in other ways. Perhaps he, like the religious individualist, is the antithesis of a fundamentalist or particularist.

Reverting to Table 6 - 6 it is clear that the combined indicator of prayer and religious experience provides a better predictor of scores on some religious variables than does churchgoing. For instance among the girls there is not much difference in how often respondents ask themselves what God would want them to do (Item F) according to frequency of churchgoing but strong differences between those high and those low and moderate on personal commitment. The same pattern can be observed, but not so clearly, among the boys. In most cases, however, churchgoing and personal commitment are independently related to other religious variables, (e.g. Items A, C and E).

¹ Glock, Ringer and Babbie (1967), pp.86, 94.

In summary, it can be concluded that there are very few religious individualists and that those who show strong personal religious commitment are rather heterodox in belief. Church attendance is not generally sufficient to ensure strong religious involvement in other ways, but it does seem to be a necessary condition. This still leaves room for relatively weak or relatively strong views of the importance of the social support provided by the local church.

Recruits, Steadies and Drifters

It has been already mentioned that it may be possible to obtain, by examining changes in churchgoing, further evidence as to whether churchgoing acts as an important social support for other aspects of religious behavior or is merely an expression of otherwise sustained religious commitment. The argument can be most clearly observed in the following steps:

1. If one measures churchgoing at any point of time and takes churchgoers with the same frequency of attendance at that point, then those who claim that their attendance has increased since point X prior to this point will have had less exposure to church over the intervening time than those who claim their attendance has remained constant or has declined from a greater frequency in the earlier period.
2. If churchgoing reflects a relation to a local church which provides important support for religious behaviour, those with greater exposure to the social relationships and norms of the church over a period of time should reflect the norms of the church more faithfully.
3. On the other hand, if churchgoing is primarily an expression of religious commitment otherwise sustained, an increase in churchgoing should reflect an upsurge in commitment so that those whose churchgoing shows such an increase should be more

religious on other items than those whose churchgoing is steady and those for whom it shows decline. This is the contrary expectation to 2.

Immediately some objections may be suggested to the above. For instance, there is the well-known sociological phenomenon, the "overconformity of the recruit".¹ If those who show increased churchgoing are more religious on other items this could be explained in terms of the first rush of enthusiasm to live up to the standards indicated by the church. Alternatively one could argue that acceptance of the norms of the church comes, if it is to come at all, within a short period of exposure, so length of time of exposure matters little. These alternative interpretations will be considered where necessary.

For the purpose of this analysis students were divided into three categories:

RECRUITS: those who claimed that they went to church more regularly at the time of answering the questionnaire than at the age of 13.

STEADIES: those who claimed that there had been no change.

DRIFTERS: those who claimed that they went to church less often than at the age of 13.²

The three categories will be compared at three levels of churchgoing: weekly +, moderate (less than weekly but at least once a month) and infrequent/non-churchgoers. Tables 8 - 7 and 8 - 8 set out the comparisons.

Inspection of the table for the boys (Table 8 - 7) shows that there is little difference between recruits and steadies among weekly

¹Merton (1957), p. 352.

²The labels could mislead, particularly that of "recruits" These students may have been quite regular in attendance at the age of 13 and in that sense they may not be recruits. Their increase in church attendance might be from going once a fortnight to once a week or even going once on Sunday to going twice on Sunday.

churchgoers, except how frequently they ask themselves what God would want them to do. Recruits are more than twice as likely to respond "often" to this question (Item B, 11/34 versus 8/55). The comparisons are therefore inconclusive. Amongst the moderate churchgoers recruits have a higher proportion endorsing religious responses than the steadies or drifters. The differences are not substantial, being less than 20 per cent for most items.

The girls' table also shows inconclusive results. Amongst weekly churchgoers recruits are more likely to pray regularly. Not surprisingly the recruits are much more likely to have become more religious on other dimensions (Items I - K) but apparently this has merely made up a previous leeway. Other differences are marginal or reversed. Moderate churchgoers who are drifters are less likely to give religious responses than steadies or recruits but the differences between the steadies and recruits are not consistent.

The data do not point clearly either to confirmation or denial of the hypothesis that the local church supports religious involvement. The relatively low scores of the drifters among the moderate churchgoers suggests that more churchgoing will not sustain other aspects of religious orientation and the existence of 76 drifters among the moderate churchgoers indicates a lack of holding power in many churches. Indeed the relatively few steady moderate churchgoers (57) compared with drifters (76) and recruits (65) seems indicative of a mobile marginal membership. The recruits in this process are not complete outsiders but those with some connection with churches who begin to go to church more often. Only 11 per cent of the moderate churchgoing recruits among boys and girls come from homes where parental churchgoing is very low.¹

¹ The picture could well fit in with the hypothesis that adolescents are "experimenting" with churchgoing.

TABLE 8 - 7

Churchgoing, Changes in Churchgoing and other Characteristics (Boys)

Percentage who:	Weekly Churchgoers		a	Moderate Churchgoers		Weekly Monthly	Irregular/Non Churchgoers		
	Recruits (N = 34)	Steadies (N = 55)		Recruits (N = 28)	Steadies (N = 20)	Drifters (N = 43)	a	Steadies (N = 89)	Drifters (N = 149)
A. had prayed within previous 24 hours	41	38		36	25	23		11	11
B. often/sometimes ask themselves what God would want them to do	32/47	15/60		4/54	5/70	5/37		4/28	3/23
C. are concerned about religious matters	86	85		79	70	53		37	40
D. believe in a heaven or a hell for every person after death	47	55		36	30	33		15	15
E. agree that church services are helpful to them	65	60		57	25	30		11	12
F. agree that Jesus Christ is Son of God ... Saviour , Lord	79	78		61	45	47		33	37
G. rank religious ideals first in question on goals (Question 19)	21	15		11	-	-		-	-
H. rank having strong religious convictions first or second in question on aspirations (Question 39)	32	27		4	-	2		3	-

TABLE 8 - 7 (Contd.)

Percentage who:	Weekly Churchgoers		a	Moderate Churchgoers		Weekly Monthly	Irregular/Non Churchgoers	
	Recruits (N = 34)	Steadies (N = 55)		Recruits (N = 28)	Steadies (N = 20)	Drifters (N = 43)	a Steadies (N = 89)	Drifters (N = 149)
I. claim to be more/less regular in prayer and devotions (cf. age 13)	47/15	27/31		25/29	10/35	16/53	9/18	16/61
J. claim religious ideas and feeling more/less important (cf. age 13)	62/12	47/20		36/7	20/10	19/49	12/18	12/66
K. claim to be more/less in agreement with ideas of church (cf. age 13)	47/12	25/20		50/14	15/30	23/53	10/30	9/56
L. have 3+ friends who go to church at least once a month	79	45		61	40	44	7	12
M. have 3+ friends who go to church <u>with them</u> at least once a month	35	24		25	5	7	1	1
N. parents churchgoing: both weekly+/ one weekly+ one sometimes/both never or one never, one rarely	29-15/3 ^b	55-13/2		0-14/11	20-5/5	9-9/21	0-1/54	3-1/46
O. meeting people at church a very important reason for Christian belief	35	31		32	40	37	20	21

^a Insufficient cases.

^b 15 per cent one parent deceased.

TABLE 8 - 8

Churchgoing, Changes in Churchgoing and Other Characteristics (Girls)

Percentage who:	Weekly Churchgoers		a	Moderate Churchgoers		Weekly Monthly	Irregular/Non Churchgoers		
	Recruits (N = 65)	Steadies (N = 68)		Recruits (N = 37)	Steadies (N = 37)	Drifters (N = 33)	a	Steadies (N = 48)	Drifters (N = 98)
A. had prayed within previous 24 hours	46	68		30	43	30		21	16
B. often/sometimes asked themselves what God wanted them to do	28/57	25/60		14/57	14/59	12/33		6/50	5/35
C. are concerned about religious matters	89	93		69	76	57		56	51
D. believe in a heaven or a hell for every person after death	58	57		41	43	24		23	21
E. agree that church services are helpful to them	69	65		70	68	45		19	11
F. agree that Jesus Christ is Son of God ... Saviour, Lord	80	74		70	62	55		33	41
G. rank religious ideals first in question on goals (Question 19)	20	18		10	5	6		6	2
H. rank having strong religious conviction first or second on aspirations question (Question 39)	25	26		19	8	6		13	6

TABLE 8 - 8 (Contd.)

Percentage who:	Weekly Churchgoers			Moderate Churchgoers			Weekly Monthly	Irregular/Non Churchgoers	
	Recruits (N = 65)	Steadies (N = 68)	^a	Recruits (N = 37)	Steadies (N = 37)	Drifters (N = 33)	^a	Steadies (N = 48)	Drifters (N = 98)
I. claim to be more/less regular in prayer and devotions (cf. age 13)	49/9	35/21		51/19	22/16	21/39		15/17	17/53
J. claim religious ideas and feelings more/less important (cf. age 13)	72/3	66/3		73/5	46/14	27/18		31/15	11/47
K. claim to be more/less in agreement with ideas of the church (cf. age 13)	57/14	34/18		54/5	24/22	15/39		13/27	12/59
L. have 3+ friends who go to church at least once a month	74	74		57	70	52		31	21
M. have 3+ friends who go to church with them, at least once a month	37	24		19	24	6		2	1
N. parents' churchgoing: both weekly - one weekly, one sometimes/both never or one never, one rarely	14-8/5	44-12/10		3-8/11	11-8/11	6-6/18		0-0/52	3-1/35
O. meeting other people at church a very important reason for Christian belief	52	44		41	38	36		19	22

^a Insufficient cases.

If the scores on other aspects of religious orientation reveal little difference between steadies and recruits, there is one difference that is very marked for the boys. Items L - N would suggest that among weekly churchgoers the steadies are those who are following the pattern set by parents (68 per cent receive strong parental support by example compared with 44 per cent of recruits) while the recruits are more in accord with the pattern set by their friends. Seventy-nine per cent of the recruits as against 45 per cent of the steadies have at least 3/5 of best friends who go to church at least monthly; 35 per cent of recruits as against 24 per cent steadies have friends who attend church with them at least once a month. The figures for the moderate churchgoers provide further evidence for this difference between the steadies and the recruits.

Since there is no marked difference between the religious orientation of recruits and steadies the difference in friendship patterns is unlikely to be the result of the recruits wishing to associate with others of similar religious characteristics (i.e. the steadies should show this disposition to the same extent). It is also unlikely that the friendship patterns are a result of the new surge of enthusiasm for churchgoing. While it was agreed that this surge of enthusiasm could lead to a rapid adoption of church norms, it is less likely that it could alter choice of friends so quickly.¹

The interpretation that does seem sensible is that the increased churchgoing is partly a function of the support of churchgoing friends. The steadies, presumably established in churchgoing habits earlier and with strong parental support, are less dependent on the support of friends. The evidence suggests that it is not likely that boys will go to church more often between the ages of 13 and 16-17 unless they have friends who are churchgoers also.²

¹ In Chapter VII evidence of the comparative longevity of adolescent friendships is noted.

² It remains an open question whether or not these friends are also recruits - i.e. a group has been recruited.

However convincing this explanation, it must take into account that the identical pattern is not shown by the girls. Friends are again relatively much more important (compared with parents) for recruits than for steadies. However this is principally because the steadies are much more likely to have parents who are regular churchgoers, as there is little difference between the categories in the support they receive from friends. Amongst weekly churchgoers 74 per cent of recruits and steadies claim that at least three of their five closest friends go to church. Recruits do not seem to require more social support from friends than steadies, as was the case for boys.

One possible explanation is that the girls who lack parental support are less in need of specific social support of friends as it is more culturally acceptable for girls to go to church. This general argument has already received some mention and will be taken up again in the final chapter. It is consistent with this interpretation that weekly churchgoers - recruits and steadies - among the girls more often lack parental social support than the boys who are weekly churchgoers. The relatively few boys (89/468) who are weekly churchgoers seem to need a lot more social support from either parents or friends or both to maintain the frequency of their attendance at church.

Once again we have begun by seeking evidence for and against the church providing social support for other aspects of religious involvement found the evidence ambiguous, but also found other pointers which suggest the need for social support for churchgoing.

Church Clubs

Local churches have attached to them a vast number of organisations which have youth participants. They range from Bible classes to socially-oriented youth clubs; from service

organisations to football teams.¹ Because of the range of types of organisations, motivations to join them can be expected to vary considerably. However, theoretically at least, all these clubs and organisations represent a link of an individual to a church - in some cases the only link with a church.

Alternative hypotheses can be formulated concerning the importance of this link. Church club membership might be a correlate of other aspects of religious involvement. However, some adolescents may be involved in clubs for social rather than religious reasons,² so that there is little association between participation in church clubs and strength of religious involvement.

Those attending Catholic schools will not be considered here.³ Of those attending non-Catholic schools about 160/468 (34 per cent) of the boys and 204/447 (46 per cent) of the girls participate in some church sponsored club or organisation. The figures between schools vary among the boys' groups from 15 per cent at Woodville High School and Centreburn Technical School to 46 per cent at Burnham High School. Among the girls' groups the lowest percentage of participants is 20 per cent at Woodville High School, the highest is 62 per cent at Greenfall High School.

Attendance at church clubs is related to churchgoing but not very strongly.

¹ An examination of clubs mentioned by boys at Inberg High School showed that sports teams were mentioned eleven times, social groups for both sexes seven times, boys' clubs four times and other miscellaneous groups five times.

² For instance Hollingshead found that social motivation was dominant at Elmtown. A. B. Hollingshead, 'Elmtown's Youth' (1949), p.257.

³ For the same reasons as before - Catholics are a special group because of the greater emphasis they place on the church.

Table 8 - 9

Churchgoing and Participation in Church Sponsored Clubs.

Percentage who participate in Church Clubs.

Frequency of churchgoing	Number of Church Clubs participated in			
	<u>2+</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N.</u>
<u>BOYS</u>				
Weekly +	34	34	= 68	94
Moderate (< Weekly > Monthly)	18	37	= 55	99
Less regularly than monthly	3	12	= 15	$\frac{271}{464}^a$
<u>GIRLS</u>				
Weekly +	30	42	= 72	175
Moderate (< Weekly > Monthly)	19	39	= 52	116
Less regularly than monthly	3	17	= 20	$\frac{142}{433}^a$

^a Four boys and seven girls did not answer churchgoing question.

There are a substantial number of students linked with church clubs who are not regular in church attendance. Church clubs do succeed, (if such is their attention) in attracting to their activities, students other than the regular Sunday service clientele.

Patterns of Church Club Involvement of Boys. Why do boys become involved in church clubs? Are those who are regular churchgoers and involved in church clubs different in any identifiable way from those who go less frequently but are involved in church clubs, or those who go weekly but are not involved in church clubs? Much, of course, will depend on the purpose of the club and the theological/social orientation of the church to which it is attached. Dent, in a study of twenty church youth groups in Canberra, was able to show significant differences in the orientation of the members from group to group,¹ which could be partially attributed to denominational differences. However, irrespective of the particular local church, there may be differences in religious outlook and

¹Dent (1968), pp. 191-194

TABLE 8 - 10

Churchgoing, Church Club Participation and Selected Characteristics of Respondents (Boys)

Percentage who:	Weekly Churchgoers			Moderate Churchgoers			Irregular/Non Churchgoers	
	2+ Clubs	1 Club	0 Clubs	2+ Clubs	1 Club	0 Clubs	1+ Clubs	0 Clubs
A. Definitely agree they enjoy social gatherings just to be with people	34	25	37	22	22	20	32	26
B. Have at least one of five best friends who attends church or church activities <u>with</u> respondent	75	63	63	78	76	27	2	3
C. Consider as a very important reason for Christian belief "Activities in the church give opportunities to meet other people"	44	41	10	67	41	23	32	20
D. Consider very important that "Christianity offers forgiveness and new life to a person who believes"	78	63	30	39	38	32	27	19
E. Disagree "religious matters do not concern me"	88	96	70	78	59	57	56	39
F. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do	19	25	17	-	8	5	2	3
G. Score 4+ on religious experience index	59	53	23	33	16	30	12	17
H. Agree "most church services are helpful to me"	59	78	40	50	43	30	20	14
I. Religious feelings and ideas: more important	<u>53</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>10</u>	13
less important	16	9	30	28	16	32	49	
J. Attitudes towards views of church:								
more in agreement	<u>44</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
less in agreement	9	19	27	28	27	41	49	43
K. Mean of school clubs per respondent	1.88	1.28	0.90	2.22	1.41	1.45	1.51	1.25
L. Mean of other clubs per respondent	0.56	0.47	0.53	0.50	0.78	0.84	0.72	0.92
N.	(32)	(32)	(30)	(18)	(37)	(44)	(41)	(230)

other factors according to the extent of club involvement and church attendance. Either clubs may be a social context which influences orientation or clubs may attract those of a certain orientation (or both).

With numbers so small it would not be wise to place much emphasis on differences unless these are large (a difference of 20 per cent among weekly churchgoing groups represents six people) and consistent over a number of items.

Taking these precautions, a few points emerge from Table 8 - 10 Assessment of "activities in the church giving opportunities to meet other people" as an important reason for Christian belief varies according to the extent of club involvement for moderate and weekly churchgoers. The differences are large. For moderate churchgoers this is marked contrast with assessment of "forgiveness and new life for believers" as a reason for Christian belief. Club involvement makes little difference to the response to this item. For weekly churchgoers approval of both reasons changes to a similar extent according to the extent of club involvement.

This evidence is supported by Item B where having at least one of one's five best friends at the same church¹ is strongly related to club participation for moderate churchgoers, but not for weekly churchgoers. There is a slight tendency for moderate churchgoers who participate in church clubs to be more likely to have one of their five best friends in the same church than for the equivalent group of weekly churchgoers - the club participation of the former provides sufficient opportunities for the development of friendship to compensate for the greater frequency of churchgoing of the latter. Evidently clubs offer more opportunities for

¹ At the same church is not strictly a correct summary of what the question asks (how many of your five closest friends attend church or church activities with you at least once a month). However, it will be used as a convenient short term in this and ensuing sections unless the specific wording is considered especially relevant.

making friends than do church services. This supports evidence reported at the beginning of this chapter indicating that friendships do not often develop in the churches unless other interests are shared.

These responses build up a picture which suggests that club involvement among moderate churchgoers tends to be social-oriented whereas club involvement among weekly churchgoers is religion-oriented. In other words it can be predicted from the extent of church club involvement how religious a respondent will be on other items for weekly churchgoers but not for moderate churchgoers. Most items which measure religious involvement confirm this hypothesis - for instance Items G, I, J. In all these cases among weekly churchgoers the proportion of responses indicating strong religious involvement rises in linear fashion according to club participation, with a difference in percentages of at least 16 per cent between those who participate in 2+ clubs and those who do not participate in clubs. Among moderate churchgoers the association is negative or inconsistent and negligible.¹

Those involved in church clubs have a higher mean of involvement in school clubs than those who are not, for each category

¹ The only puzzle to this interpretation is the response to the item, "I enjoy social gatherings just to be with people" (Item A). Contrary to what might be anticipated from the social-type involvement of the moderate churchgoers less of them than weekly churchgoers are likely to definitely agree with the statement. I suspect that this may be due to the large number of boys among the moderate churchgoers whose club involvement is a sports team. While the sports team is a centre for friendships it has not the explicit sociability function suggested by the statement above. Such explicit statements would not appeal to boys attracted to these church clubs. Further it is not argued that those with strong religious involvement are less sociable in general terms - only that their orientation to the local church will not be primarily social.

of churchgoers (Item K). At least for the population as a whole school clubs and church clubs do not seem to be competing alternatives. Among moderate and lower churchgoers however, church clubs and other clubs may be competitive to an extent (Item L), although the participation in other clubs is so low that not much weight should be attached to the figures.

Patterns of Church Club Involvement of Girls. An analysis of the girls involvement in church clubs and its correlates (Table 8 - 11) confirm some of the impressions given by the boys' data (Table 8 - 10). There is again a marked difference in the number who have at least one of their five closest friends going to the same church or church activities between those who participate in a church club and those who do not (Item C). This difference shows too if we consider the average number of five closest friends who attend the same church. The mean number of closest friends who go to the same church among weekly churchgoers is 1.15 for those not involved in church clubs, 2.02 for those involved in clubs. Among moderate churchgoers the mean number rises from 0.65 to 1.61. Again church club involvement seems to be a more important factor in friendship associations in a local church than does regularity of church attendance, provided church attendance is at least once a month.

It is not so clear that this pattern of friendships reflects social-orientation to the church. The relationship between club attendance and a high estimate of meeting others as a reason for Christian belief (Item C) among moderate churchgoers is neither linear nor strong. The association this time is stronger among weekly churchgoers.

Among both weekly churchgoers and moderate churchgoers a greater percentage of those who participate in church clubs than those who do not score "high" on the religious items. The differences are stronger

TABLE 8 - 11

Churchgoing, Church Club Participation and Selected Characteristics (Girls)

Percentage who:	Weekly Churchgoers			Moderate Churchgoers			Irregular Churchgoers	
	2	Clubs 1	0	2	Clubs 1	0	Clubs 1+	0
A. Agree they enjoy social gatherings just to be with people	88	93	88	77	84	73	89	77
B. Have at least one of five best friends who attends church or church activities <u>with</u> respondent	79	81	54	73	73	39	31	4
C. Consider as a very important reason for Christian belief "Activities in the church give opportunities to meet other people"	62	51	34	45	29	39	42	17
D. Consider very important that Christianity offers forgiveness and new life to a person who believes	71	69	66	59	38	47	42	35
E. Disagree "religious matters do not concern me"	94	93	85	86	84	69	53	54
F. Often ask themselves what God would want them to do	29	31	15	18	7	16	22	5
G. Score 4+ on religious experience index	71	47	41	41	42	31	25	22
H. Consider Jesus as Son of God, Saviour, Lord	81	86	59	73	56	67	58	37
I. Agree "most church services are helpful to me"	74	71	54	50	67	57	22	16
J. Religious feeling and ideas: more important	<u>83</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>19</u>
less important	2	3	10	18	11	10	31	31
K. Attitude to views of church: more in agreement	<u>50</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>
less in agreement	24	14	15	14	20	27	39	44
L. Mean number of school clubs per respondent	1.93	1.29	1.07	1.95	1.1	1.27	1.39	.83
M. Mean number of other clubs per respondent	.64	.47	.41	.82	.49	.53	.80	.65
N.	(42)	(59)	(41)	(22)	(45)	(49)	(36)	(139)

for weekly churchgoers. However, the importance of the differences should not be stressed as they are not large ones. The associations are marginal ones. For the girls it is not possible to be as conclusive about the correlates of participation in church clubs and motivation of club participants does not so obviously vary according to the frequency of church attendance.

As for boys, school club involvement tends to vary in the same direction as church club involvement so that at the extremes those who participate in more than two church clubs, whether they go to church about monthly or weekly have a mean of 1.9 of school club involvements, while those who rarely go to church and have no church club involvements have a mean of 0.8 school clubs involvements. Again other club participation is low but this time, in contrast to the boys' results, those who participate in church clubs are more likely to participate in other clubs too.

Conclusions. The proportion of the close friends of students who attend church or church activities with them is associated with the students' involvements in church clubs. Church club attendance seems to be a more important factor than regularity of church attendance. Potentially this strengthens the normative control of the churches by increasing their attractiveness as centres of friendship. However, for many students, particularly boys who go to church at least monthly but less than weekly, club involvement has primarily an entertainment-orientation. There is not a consistently strong association between the extent of church club involvement and religious involvement.

Church Friendships

In the previous section it was noted that the proportion of close friends at the same church was more a function of church club participation than church attendance. It remains to be discovered

if having a high proportion of close friends at the same church is associated with choosing religious responses.

Such a hypothesis has a basis in small group theory. Cartwright and Zander noted that friendships were an important source of attraction to a group.¹ It is argued that increased attractiveness of a group to its members will in turn increase normative cohesion as the group is more likely to be a reference group. Gerard found greater convergence of opinion among high attraction than low attraction groups.² Zubrzycki noted that in the Latrobe Valley, Victoria, the Reformed Church showed the greatest clannishness of any church group and also had the lowest proportion of adherents who had never attended church.³ Glock and Stark found most evidence of religious experience among those who had a high proportion of their close friends in the same congregation.⁴

The measure of friendships in the church is the response to the question as to how many of five best friends "attend church or church activities with you at least once a month". While this misses out on a number who may have good friends at their local church though they are not in the first five, it appears a reasonable measure of friends going to the same church. To apply the hypothesis above, those for whom church provides a satisfying centre for social relationships shown by a relatively high proportion of close friends at the same church should be more attached to the church and show stronger commitment to its norms.

¹ D. Cartwright and Z. Zander (ed), Group Dynamics : Research and Theory (1954), pp.78-79. Also friendships would be related to feeling of acceptance by others in the group which H. H. Kelley and M. Shapiro, "An Experiment on Conformity to Group Norms where Conformity is Detrimental to Group Achievement", (1954), pp.672-674 showed was associated with attractiveness of the group.

² H. B. Gerard, "The Anchorage of Opinions in Face-to-Face Groups" (1954), p.32.

³ J. Zubrzycki, Settlers of the Latrobe Valley (1964), p.173.

⁴ Glock and Stark (1965), p.163.

As so often before, the results of boys and girls point in different directions. Among boys who are weekly churchgoers there is no consistent relationship between scores on various religious variables and the number of friends who go to church or church activities with them at least once a month.¹ The numbers are, of course, small but this has not prevented observation of consistent results in other tables. Boys who go to church at least once a month but less than weekly more often show strong religious involvement if they have at least one friend who goes to the same church. Only on a few items are differences large, but there is consistency in the direction of the results.

Among the girls who are weekly churchgoers, those with three or more of their closest friends at the same church more often endorse responses indicating strong religious involvement. The association is consistent but marginal, as only on two items (F and I) is there a difference between the percentages of the extreme categories of more than 20 per cent. Among moderate churchgoers there is no consistent pattern. It seems as if having close friends in the same church is sometimes a correlate of more religious behaviour and attitudes, but it is such a marginal factor that the results are not consistent.

Where the association between having friends at the same church and strong religious involvement is most consistent (among girls who go to church weekly or more often) having friends at the same church is also associated with the perceived religious concern and orthodoxy of friends (Items K and L). On the other hand, there is only weak or inconsistent association between having friends at the same church and perceived religious concern and orthodoxy among girls who are moderate churchgoers and boys who are weekly churchgoers.

¹ If there is any recurring element in the results it is that those with one or two friends who go to church with them (the middle category) have the lowest proportion endorsing religious responses. There is certainly no linear relationship.

TABLE 8 - 12

Religious characteristics according to frequency of churchgoing
and number of friends who go to the same church.

Characteristics	<u>B O Y S</u>					<u>G I R L S</u>					
	Weekly Churchgoers			Moderate Churchgoers		Weekly Churchgoers			Moderate Churchgoers		
	3-5 N=26	1-2 N=34	None N=31	1-5 ^a N=51	None N=45	3-5 N=42	1-2 N=61	None N=37	3-5 N=20	1-2 N=48	None N=46
A. Concerned about religion	88	88	77	73	65	95	90	86	85	81	72
B. Agree church services helpful to them	65	50	65	42	33	76	64	59	70	54	61
C. Ask themselves what God would want them to do often/sometimes.	31/50	6/65	23/55	20/70	9/44	33/55	26/59	14/62	9/75	19/42	11/50
D. Consider Jesus Christ as Son of God ... Saviour, Lord	73	68	84	63	42	83	75	70	65	65	63
E. Accept miracles of Jesus without qualification	54	47	58	36	29	64	59	59	35	27	24
F. Religious Experience Score 4+	58	32	45	28	24	71	46	41	30	40	37
G. Rank having religious convictions first or second among aspirations	35	24	26	4	2	38	15	24	5	13	17
H. Prayed within previous 24 hours	38	29	42	26	33	64	59	49	20	40	35
I. Meeting other people at church regarded as an important reason for Christian belief.	23	41	32	56	20	64	52	30	55	31	33
J. Forgiveness and new life regarded as an important reason for Christian belief.	31	24	42	38	36	74	64	73	40	46	48
K. Perceived religious concern of friends strong	77	82	81	79	71	98	95	81	60	88	80
L. Perceived belief of friends orthodox	77	55	48	67	60	93	80	68	70	67	67
M. Both parents go to church weekly	46	44	39	8	11	33	25	27	5	8	7

^a Dichotomised to increase numbers.

This may point to an intervening variable in the association between having friends at the same church and religious involvement. It is incorrect to assume that church friends will always support religious behaviour. After all it has already been pointed out that many who attend church or church clubs do not do so primarily for religious reasons.

The analysis of the association between having friends at the same church and aspects of religious orientation does not indicate that there are large numbers of the students in this survey who draw on the fellowship of close friends in the church to sustain their religious outlook. A small number of girls who go to church weekly are an exception to this. Even here it is quite possible that the main base for the friendships is the school that the girls share in common rather than the church. The sociometric analysis in previous chapter pointed to some of these groups - for instance, the enthusiastically religious group from Greenfall High School.¹

Evidence from Open-Ended Responses

So far we have suggested that churchgoing is an almost invariable accompaniment of consistently strong religious involvement on other dimensions. However, the evidence has neither confirmed nor refuted the proposition that the local church acts as an important reference group for religious behaviour and attitudes. What has been more apparent is the need for social support from parents or friends to maintain churchgoing. Type of involvement in church does seem to make some difference but the association is marginal.

There is other evidence of a descriptive kind which suggests that church may be important in encouraging religious behaviour and

¹ Chapter VII, p.341.

attitudes to at least a small group. The evidence below is not treated quantitatively (in the sense of reporting correlations and comparison of percentages) because not all students answered the questions.

In response to the question, "Who are the people (if any) who have helped you feel the way you do about religion?" many students mentioned ministers, priests or pastors,¹ 28 girls and 15 boys mentioned Bible Class teachers and Sunday School teachers and 33 girls and 22 boys mentioned groups such as "people at church", church youth group, friends at church or just "church". Leaving aside the clergy, at least a small number of students feel that they have been guided in some way by the people who they know through the church. The most enthusiastic response of this nature is given by a girl who attributes the importance religion has for her principally to her parents, but also refers to a weekend church camp:

"Having just returned from a weekend away at a Fellowship camp where about 25 of us enjoyed some lively and beneficial discussions, I am feeling quite spiritually uplifted at the moment I spend the weekends at [a country town] about 30 miles from Melbourne, and go to church and church social activities with my friends there. If all young people were as thoughtful and as interested in religion ... as these are, a lot of the so called "problems of growing up" ... would be solved or at least lightened. (1640 F)

Question students were asked, "When (if at all) does God seem most real to you".² Church or some aspect of church is among the most frequent responses to this question. In most schools it is among the two most favoured responses.

Answers in terms of church may be divided broadly into four categories:

¹ This point will be taken up in a later section of this chapter.

² It should be remembered only a minority of students answered this question.

The first is the simple response "at church" which could be in some cases the perfunctory and conventional answer by the student who has little interest in the question.

The second response specifies some aspect of the church services which makes God seem real. The most frequently mentioned are praying in church, participating in the mass and taking communion.¹

A third class of responses come from students who elaborate on their simple response "at church" but conclude with a vague unspecified impression:

I think God seems most real also in a Church service when you can sense the presence of God. (0610 F)

The atmosphere of the church gives me the impression that God may be present. (0353 F)

The final category stress the importance of feeling that others at church believe in God:²

When I'm in church seeing people in earnest belief of him. (6727 M)

At Mass ... I say why do all these people believe in this Mass and Jesus Christ, etc. Then I say in my mind it must be the true religion because of the belief of all those other people. (4813 M)

God only feels real to me when I am at church and surrounded by people who have strong but not pious religious beliefs. (0555 M)

These comments point to one function of the local church - providing an opportunity for the observation of the religious life of others to assure its participants that their religious feelings and ideas are shared. However, if the definition of the situation given at church is not reinforced sufficiently elsewhere there may not be adequate support for a religious interpretation of life outside church. This seems to be the case for 0555, who notes "God only feels real to me when I am at church"³

¹ To Catholics this response may arise simply from the principle of belief in transubstantiation.

² The reader will recognise some of these quotations cited earlier in a different context.

³ Underlining mine.

A Typology of Orientation to the Church

This section tries to present a picture of the types of orientation to the local church which emerge from a consideration of a respondent's total set of answers. The approach is simply to delineate the types. No attempt is made to categorise all respondents, count the number in each category and correlate the categories with other characteristics. Most questionnaires do not contain enough information to categorise with any reliability. However, the typology does indicate the limits of the importance of the church and may assist future research by suggesting the dimensions along which orientation to the local church may vary.

As the typology is outlined it will be obvious that many other distinctions could be made within the classifications presented here. However, from the point of view of open-ness to the influence of the church, these classifications seemed to me to be the most relevant.

The types presented approximate to "ideal types". The respondents who illustrate the types were chosen from about sixty questionnaires studied in detail for this purpose because they were extremes or near-extremes (although even they do not fit perfectly) and because their attitudes are more explicit than others. Most respondents would be more difficult to classify.

A. Church-Dependent Religious Commitment. 0504(F)¹ (age 16.7)

Julie names as people who have helped her feel the way she does about religion her minister, the members of the Youth Club (a church one) and a new Sunday School teacher. Thus all her nominations are people from her church which is Baptist.

Three of Julie's five best friends attend church or church activities with her at least once a month. This may be compared

¹ Julie.

with the fact that only one of her five best friends goes to the same school - Greenfall High School. In response to one of the optional questions she notes:

I think I hold common interests and outlook with a few of my friends from school and most of the (church) Youth Club to a great extent.

Church rather than school seems to be the base of her most important friendships.¹

Julie's responses show a moderate to high level of religious commitment. She scores only 3 on the religious experience index but agrees that religious ideas and feelings have become a more important part of her life since the age of thirteen. She also considers that she goes to church more frequently than when aged 13. She at present attends church weekly or more often. She definitely agrees that church services are helpful to her and would very much like the minister she knows best to agree with her religious views.

Even in this case Julie's religious commitment has another source of support. Julie's mother attends church weekly and is perceived as moderately religious. However, her father attends church only rarely. Although Julie claims she would very much like her parents to agree with her views, her father and mother have different views. The church seems to be crucial in maintaining her religious commitment.

In the case of 0523(F) church and national identity dovetail. She is secretary of a Lutheran youth group. Although she attends only about once a month (her church is six miles from her home) she must attend the youth group more frequently as all five of her best friends go to the same church. Her attachment to the church group is reflected in her high estimate of the importance of her pastor's views and of the helpfulness of church services.

¹ Surprisingly, she ranks the social reason for belief only "important".

The church-dependant commitment type then is marked by a strong attachment to the church and nomination of church people or groups as religious influentials. Were those who fall in this classification removed from their church one would expect they would feel a great sense of loss and some confusion as to where to turn for religious norms. Other influences including parents are present, but are not decisive or the most salient.

B. Church-Support-Secondary. 6873(M) (Barry) from Eastwood Boys' College shows some of the characteristics of those in the last classification. He is Secretary of Christian Endeavour at his Baptist church. He attends church weekly and definitely agrees that church services are helpful to him. He also attends Bible class.

However, not one of his five best friends is from the same church. He is explicit about the reason for this:

The reason for having few friends at church is that my ideas of music, poetry, etc., are much older. My religious ideals tend to be stricter, especially over things like dancing, the movies, etc.

Instead of close identification with the local church there is social distancing, even alienation, from those of his own age-group in it. Barry manages to find more suitable friends elsewhere. Four of his five best friends do go to church (elsewhere) at least once a month and he considers them to be very concerned about religion. Barry perceives both his parents to be strongly religious on all dimensions on which there were questions. He does not need the social support of church and can select his religious influences in an eclectic manner.

My parents, my minister (past and present), my Sunday School teachers, teachers at school, but most important my own reasoning and reading.

The students in this classification are quite loyal to the church but their religious behaviour is dependent principally on other sources. Their association with a church is an expression of their religious feelings.

C. Segmental Church Commitment. Those in this class are indeed a mixed bundle. Although for entirely different reasons, they maintain some connection with churches but without any strong feeling of loyalty, affection or dependence. The type can be inferred from the previous sections which pointed to a group of those students whose involvement was "social" in nature. These students did not reflect strongly religious norms of the church but were active in church clubs or had many friends with whom they went to church at least once a month. At least part of the motivation for their church attendance is to meet friends or play in the allied sporting clubs.¹ One boy is quite frank about his motivation, "I go to see my girl friend." (2064M)

There is another type of involvement which may also be placed under the label of segmental church commitment. It reflects a segmental and sometimes ambivalent religious commitment.

0009(M)² expresses this ambivalence - the feeling that a certain homage is due to the church even if one is not really enthusiastic about religion. Perhaps one ought to keep up one's religious life a little.

My views on religion are simple. I am not a fanatic but I do attend church occasionally although I don't like it. I sometimes feel the need for it. But a lot of the church's doings drive me up the wall.

Terry is active in school appeals and a musical production as well as a district football club, two ski clubs and a yacht club - so he states that he has no time "to participate in many church activities". His attendance at an Anglican church is about once a month. He is undecided whether church services are helpful and goes less often than at the age of thirteen. His association with the church is almost a residue of the past arising out of some feeling of need or duty.

¹ Many churches set church attendance qualifications for playing in church cricket teams, etc., although often these are not observed.

² Terry.

The social-involvement type and the religious-duty type, as widely as they differ, share the characteristic that they define their commitment to the churches in fairly narrow terms. Churches, among many other social institutions, have a function but one should not be too serious about them. This viewpoint enables those who hold it to be fairly impervious to attempts of others in the church to influence them.

D. Reactive Alienation from the Church. Some students see the churches as a threat to their independence. They see churches as making claims on them which they feel are incompatible with developing their own identity. They may or may not be religious on other dimensions. If they are, then we have the class of people termed "religious individualists" in an earlier section. It was noted there how they often asserted the right to determine their own religious views.

Barbara (0501 F) does not go to church at all but she did go at the age of 13. In the column for church clubs she wrote the names of two groups in which she had been involved but added after one: "I never go any more though" and after the other: "I never go there either much".

The question on religious influentials makes her reaction explicit:

Nobody in particular. Some ministers have made me disagree with them very strongly, and made me hold very strong views on some religious beliefs...

In response to the question on when God seems real Barbara explains that she does not think about God when she is in trouble:

I try to work it out by myself, usually not even turning to parents, and never to teachers, for help.

0458(F)¹ has also given up involvement in a church group (Young People's Union at a Church of England). Her wish to

¹ Quoted earlier p.365.

distance herself from the social relationships of a church is revealed clearly in her comment:

God seems most real to me when I talk to him in prayer, minus any formalities. I feel also very near to him when I enter church without a minister or anyone else there ...¹

E. Non-Involvement. The previous category shades off into a category of respondents who have a negative image of churches but who do not feel the need to protect themselves against its claims. Churches are put at a distance, sometimes with hostility but more often with apathy. Churches may be negative reference groups:

Views are divided, things which have guided me against religion are the way God and Jesus are being sold and promoted like "pop" artists. Further Christian bigotry and intolerance. Decadence of Catholic church and churches in general. (2069 F)

Those who ignore the churches by definition do not make specific comments about them. From the previous figures it can be inferred that there are many who have gone to church only on rare occasions and who have not had to defend their non-involvement against parents or friends who go to church. 0303(M) for instance, did not go to church at all, nor did he at the age of 13. Neither of his parents went to church at all. He was able to specify a denomination to which he belonged but not a particular congregation. He notes that his father and a distant uncle had influenced his religious views. Churches do not even appear on the horizon.

The types we have considered vary along two dimensions - involvement and dependence. The extremes on the dependence axis are positively those who have church-dependent commitment and negatively those who feel they must proclaim their independence of churches.

The typology is not complete, but it may suggest something of the range of orientations to the churches.

¹ Emphasis is 0458's.

The Clergy

The evidence presented so far suggests that while churchgoing almost invariably accompanies religious behaviour and attitudes on other dimensions of religious orientation, the student's relation to his church is not of great importance in supporting the behaviour and attitudes of most of those with strong religious involvement. Indeed churchgoing itself often seems to depend on support from parents or friends, even for those who are religious in other ways.

What attitudes might be expected toward those who are publicly identified with the churches - the clergy? Are they regarded as irrelevant, kept at a psychological distance because they are different, revered because they are holy, or respected because they are professional authorities in religious matters?

The question which asked students to indicate how much they would like certain people to agree with the most important of their views about religion (Question 40) included among those listed "the pastor, minister or priest you know best". The response to this item compared with that of parents is listed for various groups below. Responses: "I would reconsider my views if they disagreed" and "I would very much like them to agree" will be regarded as nomination of the person, group or category as religious referents.

Parents are only slightly more likely than clergy to be nominated as religious referents. The strong tradition of clerical authority in the Catholic church (in spite of recent moves toward lay involvement) shows clearly in the endorsement of the response, "I would reconsider my views if they disagreed". This is particularly so in the two Catholic schools, but the difference between Catholics in the state secondary schools and non-Catholics is also clear.

Overall the non-Catholic boys are more likely to give the response "I wouldn't care at all" both in respect to clergy and

TABLE 8 - 13

Clergy compared with parents as nominated as religious referents

<u>Group</u>	Percentage responding					NA
	I would reconsider my views if they disagreed	I would very much like them to agree	I would like to feel they agreed	I wouldn't care at all		
	A	B	C	D		
Catholic B.C. (N = 156)	31(15) ^a	29(47)	19(25)	17(11)	3	
Catholic Boys at State Secondary Schools (N = 25)	20(4)	32(48)	12(24)	32(24)	4	
Non-Catholic Boys (N = 443)	14(12)	18(20)	23(37)	40(29)	5	
R.C.G.S. (N = 47)	30(40)	28(28)	26(26)	13(4)	4	
Catholic Girls at State Secondary Schools (N = 27)	26(22)	26(22)	22(41)	19(15)	7	
Non-Catholic Girls (N = 413)	16(12)	23(33)	31(40)	25(12)	5	

^a Figures in brackets indicate nomination of parents.

parents, and correspondingly less likely to give the middle responses. However, the clergy relative to parents are rated more important by the non-Catholic boys than by the non-Catholic girls. Columns A and B combined show clergy and parents matched for boys (32 per cent - 32 per cent) but parents more important for girls (39 per cent - 45 per cent). On the other hand, it is easier for both boys and girls to dismiss clergy completely from their calculations than it is to so dismiss parents. This is not a surprising finding, as it is not possible for students to distance themselves from their parents in as it is to ignore the clergy.

The comparatively high endorsement of clergy as religious referents is consistent in nearly all schools.¹

There is quite a strong association between churchgoing and considering it important to be in agreement with the clergy. (Gamma = 0.51 for boys and 0.44 for girls) However, 51/259 boys and 38/166 girls who go to church less than once a month nominate the clergyman they know best as a religious referent. The agreement of pastor, minister and priest is valued by many students who do not belong to regular flock, of any church.

The testing has not yet been rigorous enough. Is the statement of so many that they would very much like the minister, pastor or priest they know best to agree with the most important of their views about religion merely a pious or respectful sentiment without any actual impact on attitudes or behaviour?

There are strong associations between how important agreement with the clergy is regarded and the various dimensions of religious orientation.

¹ In the majority of schools parental agreement is regarded as more important but the difference between clergy and parents in frequency of nomination as religious referents is never more than 10 per cent.

TABLE 8 - 14

Associations between Rating of the Importance of
Clergy as Religious Referents and
Aspects of Religious Orientation (Non-Catholics)
(Gamma Co-efficients)

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Estimate of Church Services as helpful	.61	.48
Belief in Miracles	.45	.38
Referring to the will of God	.60	.47
Belief in Christ (Doctrine)	.46	.46
Application Christian belief to School	.50	.42
Religious Experience	.49	.45

As expected from the comparatively high (compared with parents) assessment of the clergy as religious referents, the associations are stronger for boys.

To complete the test, a check should be made to see if the association between the nomination of clergy as religious referents and aspects of religious involvement can be explained by frequency of churchgoing.

This proves not to be the case. Particularly among boys who are moderate churchgoers, but also to some extent in all other categories, endorsement of the responses favourable to religion does vary with the value placed on being in agreement with the clergy. For instance - to take an extreme case - the proportion of boys (moderate churchgoers) who agree that Christian belief should affect behaviour and decisions at school varies from 93 per cent to 32 per cent in linear fashion according to the value placed upon the agreement with the clergyman known best (Table 8 - 15). The findings of Table 8 - 15 were supported by findings when other items were considered and also when the girls' results were inspected. The variations in religious involvement seem to be independent of the churchgoing of parents (Item G).

TABLE 8 - 15

Correlates of Estimate of Clergy as Religious Referents (Churchgoing Controlled) - Boys - Non-Catholic

	<u>Weekly Churchgoers</u>				<u>Moderate Churchgoers</u>				<u>Infrequent/Non-Churchgoers</u>			
	A Recon- sider (N=22)	B Very much like agreement (N=30)	C Like agrec- ment (N=22)	D Would not care (N=17)	A Recon- sider (N=15)	B Very much like agreement (N=30)	C Like agree- ment (N=25)	D Would not care (N=25)	A Recon- sider (N=30)	B Very much like agreement (N=27)	C Like agree- ment (N=38)	D Would not care (N=140)
A. Concerned about religious matters.	100	87	86	59	73	73	64	56	53	59	53	31
B. Believe in a heaven or a hell for every person after death.	68	57	50	12	53	50	16	8	17	37	24	7
C. Agree Christian belief should affect behaviour and decisions at school.	91	93	82	41	93	77	56	32	63	59	50	34
D. Score on religious experience index 4+	68	50	40	12	53	37	12	4	37	19	22	9
E. Had prayed in the previous 24 hours.	50	50	36	-	47	37	20	16	23	19	14	6
F. Accept Miracles of Jesus without qualification	55	63	59	29	40	43	32	8	30	15	21	11
G. Parents Churchgoing: One parent weekly(+) other sometimes or both weekly(+)	55	53	68	53	27	3	28	24	-	4	2	4
H. Parents considered important religious referents.	64	70	45	6	53	53	36	12	73	44	21	14
I. Definitely agree that it is wise to stick to regulations and rules because they all have a purpose.	50	43	45	18	40	43	20	28	37	26	28	27

Of course, it is not possible to be confident about the direction of any causal association. Those who take religion seriously for reasons other than the influence of a pastor, priest or minister, may feel their religious viewpoint obliges them to respect the opinions of the clergy.

One other finding supports the latter interpretation. The strongest association reported in Table 8 - 15 is between the rating of parents and the rating of clergy as religious referents (Item H).¹

For instance, of the 30 boys who would reconsider their views if the pastor/priest/minister they knew best disagreed with them, 73 per cent nominated parents as important religious referents; of the 140 boys who would not care at all about the opinion of the pastor/priest/minister only 14 per cent nominated parents as important religious referents.

This finding could be partly explained by a "response set" to an inventory-type question. However, it almost certainly shows a general predisposition of those who are strongly religious to be open to religious influences from many sources.² Further, students probably conceived of religious attitudes only in terms of positive attitudes toward religion, so that views hostile or apathetic to religion were not regarded as attitudes toward religion at all. The question concerning referents should have been in terms of "outlook on life" or "ideas most important to you". So it is, the response to the referent question is not independent of religious commitment.

Put in another way, the religious referent question implicitly assumed a continuum of religious involvement on which each person would place himself. He would then answer in terms of how much he

¹ A similar association is evident when teachers as religious referents are considered, a finding not reported in Table 8 - 15.

² See also Appendix on teachers as religious referents.

wanted various others to agree with his position on the continuum. Not caring about religion is regarded as merely one extreme end of the continuum, and is assumed to be an attitude towards religion for which approval of others is sought. Given these assumptions, the irreligious should be just as concerned as the enthusiastically religious that others agree with his views. However, many students did not have this mental picture of a continuum. Apart from a few trivia they may have considered that they did not have an attitude toward religion.

In spite of these comments it would be unwise to dismiss completely the possible influence of the clergy. In response to the open-ended question about religious influences, clergy were more often nominated than any other category except parents. A few wrote of ministers, priests or pastors they knew well in warm terms. In these cases the clergy acted as role-models; in other cases they may have been distant experts. There is also a marginal tendency for students whose parents show low religious involvement to show stronger religious involvement themselves when the agreement of the clergyman known best is valued more than that of parents. There is cumulative evidence that the clergy influence at least a small group of students.

C o n c l u s i o n

Except for a small minority, there is little evidence that the local church plays a vital role in sustaining the religious outlook of students. Churchgoing is associated with other aspects of religious involvement, and religion is salient to very few non-churchgoers. However, churchgoing itself depends on the social support of parents and friends and does not in itself lead to the formation of close friendships. Friends and parents seem to be more important in determining the religious orientation.

CHAPTER IXASSESSMENT AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter the major findings of the survey will be reviewed briefly and compared to assess the extent to which differences in social context provide an adequate explanation of religious differences.

In the second section of the chapter some implications of the findings of this study will be discussed.

A. Review of the Major Findings.

The religious orientation of the Form Five students varied according to their religious environment. Differences existed not only between church schools and state schools, but also between the state schools themselves. The religious involvement of the students was positively associated with perceived religious involvement of parents, of friends and of those of their own age. Sociometric analysis showed that students were more often similar in religious orientation to their close friends than would have been the case if religious orientation was irrelevant to friendships.

The associations between perceived orientation of others and personal orientation were often stronger even than the association between various aspects of religious orientation. For instance to predict which of two students went to church more frequently, it would be usually more helpful to know about the relative frequency of churchgoing of their friends or parents than to know about the relative orthodoxy of their beliefs or the relative frequency with which they prayed.

In most instances the perceived belief of parents, friends and age-category had a cumulative effect on the orientation of students. When parents and friends were perceived as in agreement in their attitudes or behaviour, students nearly always were in accord with them.

Most of these associations could be found in all schools, although the association between the perceived orientation of those of the same age and personal orientation was inconsistent in girls' groups.

Girls generally showed stronger religious involvement than boys. Boys required more social support from parents and friends to reach the same level of religious involvement. Some girls were conservative in religious attitudes and attended church even when parents and friends did not do so. This was extremely rare for the boys. Girls were also more likely than boys to follow the perceived behavior and attitudes of their parents rather than the perceived orientation of those of their own age. The results fit what is known of the different cultural expectations of boys and girls.

The many internal differences among the Form Five students prevented the calculation of a statistic to give a single overall measure of the relative strength of association in students' orientations with those of parents, friends and those of the same age.

Even regular churchgoers and those who thought differences in religious belief were important usually did not have most of their five closest friends from the same church. When close friends did attend the same church, it was also likely that they attended the same school or that they were involved in church clubs or teams. Few students attended church more frequently than at the age of thirteen unless most of their close friends also went to church regularly (not necessarily the same church). A small minority of

students considered that the local church had been important in the development of their religious views. A much larger number maintained a respect for the religious views of the clergy.

Not many students belonged to religious "ghettos". As a general rule neither particularists nor those who showed considerable enthusiasm about religious beliefs and feelings had established exclusive religious groups. Particularists were only slightly more likely than others to have a high proportion of their friends who went to the same church. Nearly all students had one close friend who did not share their religious viewpoint. Cliques showed relatively little religious homogeneity in the four groups examined.

Many students insisted that no-one had influenced their views about religion. The point was made in answers to queries about influences and in marginal comments. A few students meant no more than that they had no interest in religion, but others appealed to the view that religion was "personal", and others had no right to interfere. Some students, particularly boys, considered an acknowledgment that they would like others to agree with their religions would be an admission of failure to achieve independence. The same concern about independence explains the resentment of some students about the claims of churches and the teaching of religion in schools.

Generally the approach of explaining religious orientation in terms of the social content of the students has proved adequate. Differences in social content were associated with religious differences. Of course other explanations of the religious differences cannot be ruled out. In only a few cases could confident assertions about causation be made.¹ However, in broader terms,

¹ H.M. Blalock Jr., Social Statistics (1960), pp. 92-93, discusses the problems of testing a theory by finding if there is evidence of the implied consequences of the theory. "If B is true, we can say that A may be true, but there could be any number of alternative theories which also predict B".

the vindication of the social context approach does not depend on one study. It can be said that an approach which has proved useful in a variety of studies, and is consistent with other theory, has proved useful in explaining the religious orientation of Form Five students in some schools in Melbourne.¹

B. Some Implications of the Survey Findings.

The Relationship between Value Orientations and Social Relationships.

One way of looking at the survey results is to see them in terms of the way in which the social relationships of the students and their religious orientation affect each other. The degree of variety or consistency of religious viewpoints in subgroups of society raises important issues concerning the bases of social cohesion in pluralist societies.

Polar Situations. Theoretically there are two extreme possibilities regarding the religious orientation of subgroups in a society with religious pluralism. One is that subgroups do not correspond in any way with religious differences. Apart from random differences, members of society would each experience much the same kind of religious environment. This religious environment would reflect the differences in society-at-large. The individual would be aware of a number of options in religious outlook. There would be role models among people he knew well for most of these options.

A step removed from this situation is that in which subgroups correspond with religious differences but any individual, because of his participation in many subgroups, is exposed to the full range of religious viewpoints. This assumes there is no more than chance

¹ I believe that the term "explanation" is justified here. It is broadly in line with the meaning given to explanation by A. Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry (1964), Chapter IX.

likelihood of the various subgroups in which an individual participates being in agreement with each other. School policy may favour one viewpoint, family a second, school peer group a third and youth club acquaintances a fourth.

The other extreme is that a perfect cleavage exists among subgroups according to differences in religious orientation. Further, the subgroups in which an individual participates are consistent among themselves. In such circumstances each individual would experience a completely consistent religious environment. His friends, his parents, his teachers and his acquaintances would represent an imposing consensus. While such an individual in theory would be living in a pluralist society, the degree of segregation implied would probably mitigate substantially the consequences of such pluralism.

A slight modification of this situation would exist if a diversity of religious viewpoints existed within social categories and large organisations but within these cleavage existed along religious lines.

We will examine the conclusions of this survey to find out how far the situation of the Form Five students departs from the models above. We shall attempt to assess the reasons for such departures and raise questions as to the implications of such departures.

The Forces toward Consistency. The survey findings categorically indicate a substantial departure from the first model. On one hand there are clear differences between schools - each school does not represent a random cross-section of religious viewpoints. There is the tendency for friends to be alike in religious orientation and there is evidence of similarities in religious orientation within families. On the other hand associations have been reported

between perceived orientation of parents and friends, between perceived orientation of friends and most of those of the same age and so on.¹ There is a tendency for the various subgroups in which an individual is involved to be consistent in orientation.

Another way of pointing to the same phenomenon is to note that there were twenty-five girls whose religious environment was almost completely non-religious. Parents and friends were not regular churchgoers and were perceived as not concerned about religion² while most of those of the same age were perceived as not accepting traditional Christian beliefs. Another forty-seven would find little in their environment to disturb a non-religious interpretation of life.³ In addition there is a larger group of girls whose environment is consistently pro-religious.

There is a tendency for students to find for themselves (or for others to find for them) an interpersonal environment consistent in religious orientation. This is accomplished by a variety of processes - selection of friends according to religious criteria, selective perception of others, influencing others and accepting the influence of others. While all these processes have a place, it has not been possible to decide what weight should be given to each in explaining the congruence between the students' viewpoint and his social environment.

Theoretically all the students still live in a society with religious pluralism but if those who are different are only a

¹ Not all the findings relevant to the last have been reported. The associations between personal orientation and parental orientation have been reported at a number of points. Contingency tables also showed associations between orientation of mother and father.

² The response category allowed one friend to be moderately concerned about religion.

³ The second group indicated that friends and/or age-category were divided in beliefs.

socially and psychologically distant minority, this may not matter much. This depends on the comparative importance of the immediate inter-personal environment as against society-wide influences.¹

Berger has asserted that minority religious groups whose norms differ radically from the majority cultural norms are committed "to construct some sort of sub-society within which there can be a viable plausibility structure" - such as certain sects which build up "deviant reality-enclaves within the surrounding social world with which they maintain only the minimal relations required for economic and political survival".² The qualification which should be made to Berger's assessment is that it seems possible for some to construct their enclaves by choice of friends and selective perception, without actually withdrawing from the community or using their local church as a ghetto.

The Catholic school comes nearest to creating a sub-community reinforcing religious values. For instance 76 per cent of the boys who go to the Catholic Boys' College (N = 156) come from homes in which the mother goes to church weekly and 58 per cent come from homes where the father goes to church weekly, so in the majority of cases it would seem that home and school are likely to reinforce each other. However there is evidence that the fellow-students, at least as they are perceived, provide far from unanimous support for a strongly religious viewpoint. Only 44 per cent claim that

¹ Aspects of the question have been studied by Rosen (1965) Chapter IV, Rosenberg (1965) and N. Kaplan "Reference Groups and Interest Group Theories of Voting", (1968) Kaplan is doubtful of the importance of social categories as a direct reference point (pp.464, 470). Rosen showed an association between the perceived religious expectations of the community and personal religious involvement (p.134).

² Berger (1967), p. 12: Compare Martin (1967), p.128, who maintains that the survival of the minority group "depends on developing separate institutions and the kind of ghetto psychology which also serves to inhibit mobility."

it is true that most of Form Five would "firmly hold traditional Christian beliefs",¹ while only 61 per cent considered that it was not true that most of Form Five "are not concerned about religious matters".² Only 4 per cent of the students claimed that all of their five best friends were very concerned about religion while 11 per cent considered that all of their five best friends were not at all concerned about religion.

As elsewhere students seem to be able to find and/or perceive their religious environment to suit themselves to a considerable extent.³ These results tend to confirm the impression that, apart from total community withdrawal of a very select group, it is impossible to guarantee a consistently pro-religious environment, but some students will approximate to creating such a situation simply by selective perception and selective involvements.

Forces Toward Diversity. The other extreme model - the model of perfect cleavage between sub-groups according to religious orientation - also fails to convey an accurate picture of the social context of the students. Consistency of religious environment is by no means complete. It should be remembered that the most popular classification of age-category in matters of belief was "evenly divided". Over 20 per cent of the girls in every school surveyed considered that their friends ranged "from very concerned to not at all concerned about religious matters" (in three schools over 40 per cent chose that response). Frequently father showed much less religious involvement than mother. The analysis of friendships in the Form Five groups showed that although close friends were usually alike in orientation, sets of friends and cliques usually showed variety in orientation.

¹ 26 per cent claimed this was not true; 29 per cent did not know.

² 23 per cent claimed the statement was true; 15 per cent replied "don't know".

³ See also Chapter VI, p. 276.

This is not surprising. Studies of adolescents have shown that friendships are chosen according to a variety of criteria. Unless religious orientation was the sole criterion of choice, or unless religious differences corresponded with other differences on which friendship choice was based, adolescent friendship groups are likely to be mixed in composition according to religious classifications. The differences within the family could be deduced from the established differences between the sexes in religious matters.

Only a few of the many students who find a diversity of religious orientation among their parents, friends, teachers, clergy and acquaintances show signs of experience of conflict.¹ Some examples of felt conflict are included here to establish a point of reference.

A sixteen years old girl whose mother is perceived as very religious and whose personal involvement in church is strong, wrote:

At the moment I am rather mixed up about my religious feelings, as after a talk with my minister a few weeks ago he tried to convince me my boyfriend was not a Christian as he is a He is definitely very religious and he is trying to sway my religious feelings to the same as his. (1662 F)

In this case the cross-pressures are between two religious interpretations. More frequently they are between a religious interpretation and a non-religious one. A case in point is a boy who attends a Catholic school and still accepts the religious definition of his behaviour ("I have changed a little for the worse") but has been attracted to other viewpoints:

¹ As there was no direct question about conflict, evidence must be inconclusive. However if concerns about conflicting demands of friends, parents, etc. had been as great as about independence, many more comments would have appeared in margins and in spaces for response to open-ended questions.

I think my views on religion have changed a bit in the last few years because I have started to meet a lot of different people and although I have changed a little for the worse I think I enjoy life more and understand everything a bit better.¹

Such experiences of even mild conflict are an exception.

Though many students perceive friends, parents, school and age-mates generally, as having contrasting religious viewpoints - less than would be expected by chance but often enough - this usually does not lead to experiences of conflict or disruption of friendship groups. How can we explain the persistence of social relationship when there are differences in orientation?

In an article which examined the question of religious conflict Williams noted that:

Obviously, all religious differences do not have the same potency in producing conflict, and a given difference in value orientations is likely to have varying consequences in different social contexts. Hence, the problem for social science is that of specifying the variables that help to account for varying prevalence and intensity of conflict as a function of variations in religious value orientations.²

The question will be pursued specifically in relationship to another: Why do friendship groups persist when their members have differing religious outlooks?

One line of explanation would place the emphasis on the degree of importance attached to religious values. The argument would run that the religious differences matter little in social relationships as long as the students agree about the values that are most important to them. Social systems persist on the basis of some

¹ For similar analysis of a case study, see Cuber (1940), pp.60-61. The situation described is that of the "marginal man". Another way of analysing the situation would be to say that the boy has a different normative reference group (his new friends) to his evaluation reference group (those who maintain religious standards he had previously internalised).

² R.M. Williams Jnr, "Religion, Value Orientations, and Intergroup Conflict", (1958), p. 648.

ultimate value consensus. Where there is disagreement about religious values, other values must be more important.¹

Unless religious values are defined as a person's ultimate values and therefore by definition are the most important², this explanation may have much to commend it. Religious values do not seem paramount to most of the students in this survey. This point has already been argued in Chapter III in which it was noted that religious goals were ranked "high" in priority by very few students.³ Further, most students agreed with the statement, "It doesn't matter what religious beliefs you have as long as you are sincere".

Low salience of religion is not merely indicated by the absence of a large number who show very strong commitment to a religious viewpoint. It is significant that those who do not accept the Christian religion or hold heterodox positions are generally not interested rather than antagonistic and anti-clerical.⁴ The less religious (by conservative Christian standards) do not think there are more important differences between serious Christians and themselves. There is a defensiveness on the part of many about religion and the church but little outright hostility and atheism.

Newcomb maintained that if persons A and B did not agree in their attitudes about an object (X) strain would be created only if (X) was important to both A and B. If X is not salient to A and B

¹ Eister has argued against the traditional view that consensus about religious values is important in maintaining commitment to society. He considers this analysis inappropriate to pluralist societies. A. W. Eister, "Religious Institutions in Complex Societies: Difficulties in the Theoretic Specification of Functions" (1957).

² The definition accepted for this study - see pp.31-32.

³ Table 3 - 4, p.90.

⁴ If all specifically antagonist comments were totalled - including those of derisive scorn, about thirty to forty of the 1,111 students could be classified as involved anti-Christian.

there is no reason why the difference should lead to social cleavage.¹ Those who show weak religious involvement generally may not consider religion important enough for disagreement to create strain.

However, there are two overlapping categories of respondents for whom the simple "value consensus" explanation is inadequate. There are the students who defined other religious views as illegitimate and there are those to whom religious goals seemed to be the most important consideration in decisions and choices. Even these students usually had some among their five best friends who did not share their religious viewpoint.

Certainly the students who strongly endorsed religious goals did not generally show signs of rejecting other goals such as academic achievement, adjustment, sociability or sporting achievement. It is a question of value priority more often than value conflict. But it is still important to explore the mechanisms by which the friendships are maintained in a situation of discrepancy in regard to matters which at least one of the pair considers as fundamental and important to him. The comments to follow, although they can be linked at points to evidence from the survey, are primarily hypotheses which require more direct testing.

1. Segregation of Extremes. Although students with comparatively high religious involvement may belong to the same cliques as those with moderately low religious involvement, it is an exception to find polar opposites in the same clique. For instance, at Eastwood Boys' College those who scored at opposite extremes of the religious experience index rarely exchanged friendship choices, although those at the extremes frequently exchange choices with those who obtained moderate scores on the index.² Religious "conflict" with consequent

¹ Chapter VII, p.286.

² Table 7 - 11, p.321.

disruption of the social relationship is presumably less likely to occur if extreme views on either side are not involved.¹

2. Value Discrepancy with Consensus about Norms. Bidwell has pointed out that conflicting value orientations can validate the same set of norms (prescriptions for behaviour in specific situations).² To take an example relevant to adolescent groups : conservative attitudes toward sex could be derived from some religious perspectives, some humanistic perspectives, simple moral traditionalism or even some forms of calculating utilitarianism ("the young should concentrate on getting a good job and good reputation").

Particularly in school situations, where all but very close friendships are segmental,³ the situations which arise are probably primarily those in which there is agreement about norms. School situations do not often directly raise questions of fundamental religious values - even at most church schools. Another way of saying this is to refer to another of Newcomb's principles concerning the creation of "strain". Strain is created between persons A and B about differences in attitudes toward (X) only if (X) is relevant to their common activity.

It is important not to confuse agreement about norms in spite of value differences and the compartmentalisation of religious considerations. Compartmentalisation refers to the process of making religion irrelevant to activities previously influenced by religious considerations. Religion has not become irrelevant to an activity merely because a religious viewpoint ratifies the same set

¹ This is not proposed as a general law irrespective of the circumstances - Williams (1958), p.649, pointed out that apparently minor differences can result in total conflict - The "family argument" can be the most bitter of all.

² C. E. Bidwell, "Values, Norms, and the Integration of Complex Social Systems" (1966), pp.119-136.

³ i.e. The friends do not share more than a rather limited range of common activities in relation to each friend's total range of activities.

of norms as secular viewpoints. Compartmentalisation may also be a partial explanation of the maintenance of friendship groups of students with contrasting religious viewpoints, but it is not the one being emphasised here.

3. Privatism. Attention has already been given to the assertion that religion is a personal matter about which attempts to influence others are defined as illegitimate. It has been argued already that those who make such comments are in fact influenced by others and probably exert influence too. However, the widespread belief that religion should be kept out of social discourse probably does permit greater religious diversity in groups than would be otherwise the case. It reduces the number of occasions in which religious differences become overt, although it may increase embarrassment about such differences.

4. The Role of "Personal Evangelist". Where students with strong religious involvement have friends whose religious involvement is weak, the former may cope with the situation by redefining their role vis à vis the latter. The situation is legitimised if the former defines his role as "personal evangelist" i.e. seeking to convince his friend of the value of a religious viewpoint.¹

Theoretically such attempts to influence might seem to lead to those embarrassing situations of misunderstanding, conflict and references to a "taboo" subject which would disrupt the social relationship. This probably does occur, so that much will depend on how securely the friendship is based in other ways. However, the role of the personal evangelist in many student Christian circles is

¹ In theory the sceptic could also define his role in a similar way vis à vis the religious person, although I suspect this less often happens.

defined with sophistication. There is an emphasis on winning confidence and personal example rather than attempts to gain converts quickly.

To summarise, there are variety of social mechanisms which permit those of differing religious orientation to preserve their respective viewpoints yet maintain a social relationship, even if the viewpoints are of great importance to those who hold them.

Form Five Students and Secularisation

The findings of the survey also have relevance to the discussion of the extent and processes of secularisation. This discussion has become intertwined with the question of whether there has been a religious revival or religious decline in various countries.¹ Assessment of trends have usually depended upon the weight given to various indicators of religious involvement and interpretations of the persistence of religious ritual.

Secularisation, for purposes of this discussion is a change in outlook in which a religious interpretation of life (one with supernatural referents) is abandoned or modified in favour of an interpretation which is explicitly or implicitly non-religious.²

Any implications regarding secularisation drawn from this study must be qualified. There are no measures specifically designed to

¹ For instance: Lenski (1963), pp.359-366,
Glock and Stark (1965), pp.65-85,
Wilson (1966), pp.1-18,
Martin (1967), pp.34-76.

² A concluding chapter is not the time for a debate on terms. However, the use of secularisation here is similar to that of O'Dea (1966), pp.80-81, who defined it as absence of religion providing "the over-all point of view ... context human experience in general is understood" and of Herberg (1968), pp.80-81, who defined it as "thinking and living in terms of a framework of reality and value remote from the religious beliefs simultaneously professed".

indicate a religious interpretation of life. The only possibility is to draw tentative conclusions on the basis of the whole range of measures of religious orientation, drawing distinctions between various dimensions when possible. Also students aged between 15 and 18 may not be the ideal group to study secularisation. Late adolescence seems to be an age of increased consciousness about religion - of decision and doubt but it is later in the life cycle - in the twenties - that the drift from religious involvement is most pronounced.¹ University life, occupational life and a wider social life are likely to bring wider contacts and certainly bring new role expectations which may prove to be secularising forces. Finally it must be remembered that the students surveyed are not even a sample of Form Five students in Melbourne schools.

Assessment as to how secularised are the Form Five students depends entirely on which aspects of religious orientation are considered as crucial. There is food for thought for both secular and conservative theologians.

Only a small minority of the Form Five students frequently and consciously invoked religious considerations in the decision-making process. Conventional beliefs abounded but these beliefs did not seem central to the students who were for the most part ready to accept statements playing down the importance of the content of belief. Weekly churchgoing is an exception to the rule for Protestants while very few of the students read the Bible frequently.

On the other hand secular theologians are faced with the persistence of religious phenomena which cannot be interpreted easily in social or ethical terms. About half the weekly churchgoers apart from those at Catholic schools and over one quarter of moderate

¹ Argyle (1958), p.65.

churchgoers were sure that they had had at least one of the three religious experiences listed in the questionnaire. These experiences are stated in forms which at least imply a God "out there". Response to the open-ended questions of at least a significant minority indicated their acceptance of the supernatural as part of reality.

Of course, these findings do not indicate that a "religious outlook is some form of permanent irreducible aspect of human nature. However, those who wish to abolish religion - whether simply humanists or advocates of "religionless Christianity" are faced with the problem that a large segment of each succeeding generation has in some way and to some degree been socialised to accept a religious interpretation of life.

So far the analysis has been a static one. To show trends that could be established with reliability would require measurement of religious behaviour and attitudes over time. However, some tentative suggestions can be made on the basis of students' perceptions of their own changes over time.

In most schools there was a "net" move away from attendance at church, regularity of prayer and devotions and agreement with the beliefs of the church. However, students were evenly divided as to whether religious feelings had become more important or less important to them. If the students' impressions of their changes are correct, there has been a move away from "organised religion" between the ages of 13 and 16. However, in the longer time perspective this may not represent a decline even in organised religion. Most students who went to church less often than they did at the age of 13 came from homes in which their parents were not regular churchgoers.¹ The

¹ Analysis of the drifters as defined in Chapter VIII showed that of those who were moderate churchgoers at the time of the survey only 18 per cent of the boys and 12 per cent of the girls had much parental support for churchgoing. Of the drifters who at the time of the survey rarely or never attended church, only 4 per cent of the boys and the girls had parents who went to church regularly.

decline in churchgoing in mid-adolescence can be explained simply by each younger generation being "sent" to church as children but later returning to the pattern of their parents. There is no evidence of a trend toward secularisation.

There has been little scientific analysis of the processes of secularisation but a great deal has been written in popular theology which assumes certain processes. Religious interpretations of life have declined, according to the "secular theologians" because these interpretations are incompatible with or irrelevant to aspects of the twentieth century culture - the scientific approach to aspects of life, the prevailing mood of pragmatism and the temper of the life of the modern metropolis.¹

This interpretation of society emphasises the inter-relatedness of various aspects of culture. In regard to religion the interpretation has been most explicitly stated by Hoult in his discussion of "sociocultural compatability":

The values upheld by particular religious groupings are reflected in the behaviour of group members, and therefore have an impact on social structure, to the extent that the values involved are compatible with other important cultural and social emphases.²

One extreme form of the argument is that man in the "scientific age" finds religious explanations intellectually unsatisfactory. This

¹ H. Cox, The Secular City (1965) Perhaps typifies best this school of thought "Secularization ... marks a change in the way men grasp and understand their life together, and it occurred only when the cosmopolitan confrontations of city living exposed the relativity of myths and traditions men once thought were unquestionable" (p.1). "In the age of the secular city, the questions with which we concern ourselves tend to be mostly functional and operational ... we are pragmatic men whose interest in religion is at best peripheral" (p.81). Also see Williams (1966) particularly the Introduction and Chapter I. C. Williams, Faith in a Secular Age (1966)

² Hoult (1958), pp.18-19.

interpretation has been attacked sharply by Martin who argued that, "Scientific learning is so specific that there is little carry-over outside the narrow sphere of immediate concern."¹ However secularisation as a result of the impact of other aspects of culture need not occur through conscious intellectual processes.² Wilson has argued that scientific operations which provide confirmation in terms of practical (= material and observable) results, have placed the churches in "sharp and increasingly disadvantageous contrast".³

A more general criticism of some explanations of secularisation is that they over-estimate the degree of cultural consistency. The "spirit of the age" is generally mediated by subgroups - at least such has been the view supported by this study. Basic "social changes" may not be equally evident to all members of a society. The subgroups may interpret, insulate and distort. Millions may experience cosmopolitan city life, but their perceptions and reactions to it may differ vastly.

Berger and Martin take more account of the existence of subgroups in society with the consequent diverse constructions of reality. Berger saw as the farce undermining religious certitudes the very existence of the pluralist situation.⁴ While Martin noted the tendency

¹ Martin (1967), pp.114-115.

² There is some evidence in the survey relevant to secularisation through intellectual questioning of beliefs. Over fifty per cent of the students thought that there was no connection between classroom learning and religious beliefs or had never thought about it. It was extremely rare for students to indicate change in religious beliefs arising from such learning. These comments are made in reference to responses to Question 49. Also the persistence of belief in Christian doctrine (including belief in the supernatural) when religious practice is minimal, and the rarity of the reverse situation, would indicate secularisation via disbelief is not very frequent. There is more evidence to be analysed in regard to this issue (responses to Questions 5J, 9, 40E and 49). Limitations of time and space prevented extension of the analysis here.

³ Wilson (1966), pp.37-38.

⁴ Berger (1967), p.9.

in a mobile society for erosion of the belief of smaller groups by the impact of larger groups.¹

The evidence of this survey gives some support for these views. Chapter IV showed the tendency for the orientation of students to be like the perceived majority viewpoint of those their own age. Those who had strong religious feelings often felt some inhibitions about expressing them. The widespread adoption of the relativist position which legitimises quite different religious beliefs can be seen as an attempt to cope with the pluralist situation.

However, the view again requires qualification. There are some cases of effective reality-enclaves - those who, without withdrawing from the community, find or perceive an environment which consistently supports religious commitment. Others with strong religious commitment make a virtue of their minority position. They regard the views and perhaps the life-style of the majority as radically different and wrong.

If an individual categorises the views of others and consciously defines these views as illegitimate their influence on him may be minimised. The differences between particularists and relativists among the Form Five students provide some confirmation of this argument.

This raises the wider issue of the conditions under which groups can maintain normative cohesion, particularly small groups in a community where the majority hold a different viewpoint. While the argument that the majority viewpoint attenuates the position of the minority is persuasive, there are counter-forces which should not be dismissed too readily.

Rosen showed that a "guardian group" of a minority could have an influence out of proportion to its numbers.² Also a group which

¹ Martin (1967), p.128.

² Rosen (1965), p.113.

sharply differentiates itself from the rest of the community may have certain attractive features:

The tendency to perceive a new group as a unique entity, differentiated by certain qualities from a general population, is likely to be associated with the tendency to accept that group as a reference group.¹

Mol considered that the "greyish vagueness of the conforming institution ... appears to have some unattractive features to the very people it wants to communicate with".² In another paper Mol referred to evidence in the United States and Canada that "some of the least secularised religious bodies tend to increase and the more secularised ones decrease in strength".³ The case for "sociocultural compatibility" is not as overwhelming as Houlst believes.

Another point about which further research is needed is, "How much social support is required to give people confidence in their beliefs?" It did not seem to make much difference to the Form Five students whether they perceived most of their age-category as in agreement with them or whether they thought their age-category was evenly divided, provided most friends were in agreement with them. Also some enthusiastically religious students referred to the importance of a few friends as religious influences, even though their five closest friends were far from unanimous in supporting their religious commitment. Adequate support for many people may be the knowledge that their outlook is shared by enough people whom they respect to avoid the feeling of being unusual.

In weighing the forces toward secularisation, it must be remembered that the majority of students accepted doctrines involving belief in the supernatural. If majority beliefs have an impact, in this regard they may delay secularisation.

¹ Hartley (1956) Volume III, pp.22-23.

² J. J. Mol, "The Church as a Community" (1965), p.35.

³ J. J. Mol, "Secularisation and Cohesion" (1966), p.3.

Finally it is necessary to refer again to the doctrine of "privatism". It has been argued already that "privatism" may permit diversity of religious viewpoints to exist among friends. The corollary is that minority definitions of religious reality may be rarely challenged. Students to whom religious beliefs are not of central importance could maintain "strange" views - innovatory or obscurantist, without social pressures to change them.

There is one way in which privatism may assist secularisation. The norm that religious beliefs and feelings should seldom be expressed means that religious involvement of others becomes less visible than it would otherwise. This may lead to under-estimation of how important religion is to other people. Social confirmation of religious reality will not be provided.

By the same process scepticism may be also less visible. The result is not that religious beliefs are undermined, but that each person assumes religious factors are irrelevant to most other people. Such "pluralistic ignorance" may persist except for short periods when events such as a Billy Graham Crusade, temporarily removes some of the cultural barriers against discussion of religious ideas and feelings.

In broad terms Berger and Martin may be right about the forces undermining minority convictions, but this section has drawn attention to some of the compensatory mechanisms. At least in their impact on the Form Five students in this study the forces of secularisation are far from simple and far from overwhelming.

Interpretations of the Adolescent Experience

It was not possible to reach a final conclusion as to the relative importance of parents, friends and age-category in determining the religious orientation of students. However, a few

comments can be made which are relevant to discussions of the adolescent experience and which may provide cues for further research.

1. Only a small minority of students were faced with serious discrepancies between the viewpoints of friends and parents. Similarly perceived orientation of most of those of the same age tended to be like the perceived orientation of parents. Although we are not able to make any assessment of the overall discrepancy between the orientations of youth and parents, it does seem that religion is not a frequent occasion of parent-youth conflict.

2. In the course of the study it has been necessary to draw a distinction between the influences of very close friends, of peer group, of student social systems and age-category acting as a reference category. Evidence suggested that close friends were the most important.

In the theoretical section of Chapter IV the weight of evidence suggested that parents and age-mates had their respective "spheres of influence" on most adolescents, although minorities more persistently followed one or the other. It may be possible to extend this "spheres of influence" interpretation to the distinctions made between friends, peer group, student social system and age-category. Religious matters, because they are so often defined as "personal", may belong to sphere of influence of close friends, but in matters of dress or custom the larger groupings of adolescents may be more important.

Studies of social influences on adolescents have usually focused around the importance of peer groups and student social systems. There may be much profit in paying more attention to friends and age-category identification.

Discovering Social Influences. Attempts to discover whose opinion of them the students considered most important, or how much they valued the agreement of particular groups or persons, were not uniformly successful. A student's nomination of referents was not always a useful indicator of actual congruence of attitudes or behaviour.

There are factors which confuse attempts to identify social influences. One is that those who are interested in religious matters are far more likely to perceive religious influences than those who are not. Consequently, a question designed to discover if certain people are religious referents may partly measure religious involvement. Those who are not interested in religion will not often perceive that their non-involvement is also an attitude toward religion which may be the result of social influences:

I do not think or feel about religion so therefore nobody has helped me. (6813 M)

A way of partially overcoming the problem has been suggested already.¹ However, the confusion points to a distinction which should be made in types of social influence. Some influences on the religious orientation of students help to determine whether religion is important, trivial or ignored. Other influences determine specific attitudes: the beliefs that one should hold to be a Christian, or specific aspects of behaviour. Of course the types of influence are closely related - for instance certain beliefs carry implications regarding the centrality or otherwise of religious considerations.

Almost as many students nominated the pastor, priest or minister they knew best as a religious referent as nominated parents.

¹ Chapter VIII, p.402.

My suspicion is that students nominated the clergy so frequently because they understood "views about religion" in terms of specific attitudes rather than the salience or otherwise of religion. In the field of specific attitudes and beliefs the clergy are acknowledged as expert, but they probably play a much more minor role in determining the importance of religious factors in the students' value orientation.¹

The other confusing factor in the identification of referents is the wish of some students to assert independence by denying social influences. It would be possible to give a psychological interpretation of this phenomenon. Assertiveness of independence may be associated with other personality factors but it does have a sociological aspect for it affects how a person perceives himself within his interpersonal environment.

No direct test was made but evidence by inference would indicate that those who asserted independence were no less congruent in orientation with others than were those who did not make such assertions. However, there may be important differences in other respects. For instance it has been noted that assertions of independence caused some students to be defensive in the reactions to the organised church and formal religious education. Perhaps there will be a generalised tendency for the "independents" to be less open to explicit attempts to influence. On the other hand, being less aware of their social embeddedness, the "independents" may be more inclined to accept the definition of reality given by groups of which they are members. Perhaps the causal direction runs the other way: those who have less exposure to discrepant views may be less able to recognise the influence of others, and

¹ Rosen (1965) noted that Rabbis were often nominated as religious referents but not at all as general significant others, p.70.

thus more inclined to assert their independence - and to try to defend it when challenges to previous views do arise. There is a need for research to provide specific tests of these hypotheses.

While responses to direct questions about influence and desiring the approval of others were difficult to interpret, questions about perceptions of others were informative.¹ The way in which an individual perceives his environment may provide valuable clues to his major identifications and value orientations. The questions concerning perception which have been reported in this study have been forced choice questions.

Even more valuable information might be gained from the systematic use of a few questions which were given to students at four schools on an extra sheet for those who finished early.² The questions asked for classification of differences in the attitudes of students toward religion and self-placement in one of the classes (among other things). The answers often showed how students conceptualised religion, (i.e. whether differences were defined in terms of religious practice, denomination, etc.) and indicated the strength of identification with particular classes or groups.

This minor excursion does illustrate a theme of this study - that students should pay more attention to precisely how their subjects perceive and structure the religious orientation of themselves and others: the religious world as they experience it.

¹ For instance Chapter V - social constructions of the religious world.

² See Appendix A, Extra Sheet No. 2.

A P P E N D I X ADEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITYSURVEY OF RELIGION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

This survey is part of a study being undertaken at the Australian National University to learn something of the feelings and attitudes of young people towards religion.

Please do not place your name on this questionnaire, your answers are confidential. Make your answers as accurate as possible. Please be frank.

While you are free not to answer any questions to which you object, you can be most helpful by answering every question. Extra comments in the margin would be welcome.

The results of this survey will be presented in statistical form with discussion, and will be available when the research is completed.¹

¹ Further instructions were given orally. For instance, students were instructed to ignore the numbers in the right-hand margin which were used for coding (not reproduced here)

1. What was your age on March 1st, 1967? ___ yrs ___ months
2. Sex: Male ___ Female ___
3. In what country were you born? _____
4. If you were born outside Australia, how many years have you been in Australia?

5. Would you agree or disagree with the following statements?
(Place a tick in the square which best gives your opinion)

	Defin- itely agree	Tend to agree	Can't decide	Tend to dis- agree	Defin- itely dis- agree	Don't know
A. I enjoy social gatherings just to be with people.	___	___	___	___	___	___ ¹
B. Religious matters do not concern me.	___	___	___	___	___	___
C. It is wise to stick to regulations and rules because they all have a purpose.	___	___	___	___	___	___
D. It doesn't matter what religious views you have as long as you are sincere.	___	___	___	___	___	___
E. Most students in Form Five at this school do <u>not</u> consider that the teaching of religion in school is worth serious attention.	___	___	___	___	___	___
F. Most church services are helpful to me.	___	___	___	___	___	___
G. Church leaders should give more guidance to young people about relations with the opposite sex.	___	___	___	___	___	___
H. There is a heaven or a hell for every person after death.	___	___	___	___	___	___
I. Christian beliefs should help to guide my behavior and decisions at school.	___	___	___	___	___	___

¹ The questionnaire had square brackets thus [] in all places where a ___ is placed in this reproduction.

	Defin- itely agree	Tend to agree	Can't decide	Tend to dis- agree	Defin- itely dis- agree	Don't know
--	--------------------------	---------------------	-----------------	-----------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------

J. Most well-educated people come to doubt traditional Christian beliefs.

6. If you are a school student are you a boarder? _____

7. Have you been attending this secondary school for more than a year? _____

8. What kind of primary school did you attend? (Place a beside the type of school you attended. If you attended more than one type place a beside both types)

State school Other private school

Catholic or Parish school

9. What kind of subjects are you studying this year?

Mainly science subjects Mainly commercial subjects

Mainly humanities Mainly practical subjects

Other _____

10. Consider who are your five closest friends of about the same age as yourself (not including brothers and sisters). Please answer the following questions about these five closest friends. Circle the number which gives the correct answer in each case.

How many attend this school? 5 4 3 2 1 0

How many are of the opposite sex? 5 4 3 2 1 0

How many attend a church or church activities at least once a month? 5 4 3 2 1 0

How many attend church or church activities with you at least once a month? 5 4 3 2 1 0

11. On the whole would you say that your five closest friends are: (Place a tick in the square beside the statement which fits best)

very concerned about religious matters

moderately concerned about religious matters

not-at-all concerned about religious matters

range from very concerned to not at all concerned about religious matters

Other _____

OTHER CLUBS, TEAMS, ORGANISATIONS, etc.

19. What matters, from the list below, are you most concerned about at present? (Place 1 in the ___ beside your first preference and so on to 5)

Getting on with friends _____

Obtaining qualifications for a worthwhile occupation _____

Becoming a well-adjusted person _____

Working out and living up to religious ideals _____

Enjoying leisure interests _____

20. How much time (if any) would you spend per week listening to music on the radio, T.V. or on records? _____

21. Do you read "Go-Set"?

Yes - Regularly _____ Once or twice _____

Yes - Occasionally _____ Not at all _____

22. Listed below are a number of experiences of a religious nature which some people have reported having. Have you ever had any of these experiences since the age of 13?

	I'm sure	I think	
	I have	I have	No

A. A feeling that somehow God is particularly close to you at a certain time _____

B. A sense or conviction of being forgiven by God _____

C. A sense of being guided by God to do some particular action _____

23. Do you go to a voluntary religious group at your school? (A group which meets at lunch time or before or after school)

Regularly _____ Not at all _____

Occasionally _____ There is no group _____

Previously but not any longer _____

24. Generally, would your five closest friends, when faced with decisions in everyday life, ask themselves what God wanted them to do?

They would often do so. _____

They would sometimes do so. _____

Only a few would sometimes do so. _____

They would never do so. _____

Other _____

25. How often do you see friends from your school (not just your five closest friends) out of school hours? (Boarders should answer this for their holidays)
- Quite a lot _____
- Sometimes _____
- Never _____
26. Which is more important to you?
- A. To be up-to-date with the tastes and ideas of those of your own age _____
- B. To be well thought of by adults whom you respect _____
27. Which of the following statements would most nearly describe your opinion of Jesus?
- A. Jesus is the Son of God who came to earth as a man. He is now Saviour and Lord. _____
- B. Jesus was a man specially sent by God with gifts of healing and teaching. _____
- C. Jesus was an ordinary man but a very good one whose teachings we should heed. _____
- D. Jesus was a good man who lived a long while ago but is not important today. _____
- E. Most of what we know about Jesus is just a myth. _____
28. When something happens which places your school in a favourable light (e.g. winning an athletics carnival or debating contest) how do you usually feel about it?
- A. Glad that the school has done well but without feeling much personal pride about it _____
- B. Disgusted about the waste of time and the fuss about school spirit _____
- C. Very pleased with a feeling of personal pride in the school's success _____
- D. Not very interested one way or the other _____
29. How important would you consider each of the following were, or will be, in your choice of career? (Place (1) beside your first preference and so on to 6)
- A. Opportunities to serve God _____
- B. Being among friendly and interesting people _____
- C. Pay and conditions of work _____

- D. Opportunities for doing a helpful task in the community _____
- E. Opportunities for advancement _____
- F. Finding interest in the work itself _____
30. Generally, do you think that students who go to this school would be different in their religious outlook from most other students?
- Quite different _____ Not different at all _____
- A little different _____ Don't know _____
31. How often do you go to church now?
- Not at all _____ About once a month _____
- Less than twice a year _____ More frequently than once a month but less than weekly _____
- A few times a year _____
- Weekly or more often _____
32. When did you last pray when by yourself?
- Within the last 24 hours _____
- Within the last three days _____
- Within the last week _____
- Within the last month _____
- Within the last year _____
- Over a year ago or never _____
33. How often do you read the Bible, either by yourself or in a family group (NOT including Bible reading at school or for school work nor at Church, youth group, etc.)
- Usually every day _____
- At least a few times a week _____
- Occasionally _____
- Rarely _____
- Never _____
34. What do you feel most people of your own age would feel about the following statements?
- | | | | | |
|--|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | | | They would | |
| | Most would agree | Most would disagree | be evenly divided | I don't know |
- It pays to sacrifice present enjoyments if it helps you to get ahead in the future _____

- B. A person who likes to examine new ideas and theories and test their truth by looking at the evidence. —
- C. A person who judges new ideas by his (her) feelings about them rather than by abstract reasoning. —

16. Do you think that there would be much difference in attitude and action between those young people who take Christian beliefs very seriously and those who don't, on the following matters?

	Quite a lot	Some	Little or None	Don't know
Playing sport on Sunday	—	—	—	—
Belief in the Old Testament miracles	—	—	—	—
Behavior when dating with the opposite sex	—	—	—	—
Dealing with problems of society such as poverty	—	—	—	—
Drinking alcohol at parties	—	—	—	—

17. Outside school hours, how much time did you spend in the last week doing the following?

	More than 6 hours	3 - 6 hours	1 - 3 hours	Less than an hour
Working at a part-time job	—	—	—	—
Playing unorganised sport (sport which is not playing or practising for some official team)	—	—	—	—
Pursuing hobbies alone	—	—	—	—
Talking with friends (not in family)	—	—	—	—
At organised social activities (parties, dances, etc.)	—	—	—	—
Going out with parents	—	—	—	—

18. What organisations, clubs or teams do you belong to or participate in? List under the headings and please give the full name of the club and team. (Do not include house teams)

SCHOOL CLUBS, TEAMS, etc.

CHURCH CLUBS, TEAMS, etc.

- | | Most
would
agree | Most
would
disagree | They
would
be even-
ly div-
ided | I
don't
know |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Most traditional Christian beliefs can still be trusted. | — | — | — | — |
| There is serious misunderstanding between most young people and most adults. | — | — | — | — |
| Religious questions are <u>not</u> amongst the important questions about life. | — | — | — | — |
35. List any position of responsibility or leadership which you hold in the church or its organisations (e.g. Secretary Youth Group, Sunday School Teacher)
-
36. With what denomination (e.g. Baptist, Greek Orthodox, Presbyterian) are you most closely connected? (Even if you haven't taken any part in church activities, please give your denomination if you have one.)
- Denomination: _____
- Suburb of Church (if connected with a church): _____
37. Do you discuss the following with your friends at school?
- | | Quite
a lot | Some-
times | Hardly
ever | Never |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| A. God - whether He exists and what He is like | — | — | — | — |
| B. The religious views of your teachers | — | — | — | — |
| C. Christian teaching on moral questions | — | — | — | — |
| D. Whether it is worth going to church | — | — | — | — |
38. From your experience of the teaching of religion in this school, what is your opinion of the interest, importance and value of this teaching _____
39. How much would you like to be the following: (Place (1) beside your first preference, and so on to number 5)
- An outstanding performer in sport
 - A person who is easy to get on with
 - A person who has strong religious convictions
 - A very capable and successful student
 - A popular leader in school life

40. How much would you like the following people to be in agreement with the most important of your views about religion?

	I wouldn't care at all	I would like to feel they agreed	I would very much like them to agree	I would reconsider my views if they disagreed
A. Your parents	—	—	—	—
B. Most teachers at your school	—	—	—	—
C. Your close friends at school	—	—	—	—
D. The Pastor, Minister or Priest you know best	—	—	—	—
E. A panel of young and old chosen for their intellectual reputation	—	—	—	—
F. A majority of people of your own age	—	—	—	—

41. Which statement is nearest to your opinion of the miracles performed by Jesus which are described in the Bible?

A. I have no opinion at all	—
B. They are stories made up by later writers	—
C. Jesus did some wonderful things but most of the stories of miracles are exaggerations or mistakes in reporting	—
D. Jesus did the things described but they all had perfectly natural explanations	—
E. Jesus performed most of the miracles which Bible said He performed but it doesn't matter if we doubt some of them	—
F. Jesus performed all the miracles which the Bible says he performed	—

42. Please indicate which of the following you would consider are true of most of Form V at this school.

MOST OF FORM V

	<u>True</u>	<u>Not true</u>	<u>Have no idea</u>
A. Firmly hold traditional Christian beliefs	—	—	—
B. Are <u>not</u> concerned about religious matters	—	—	—

- | | True | Not true | Have no idea |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------|--------------|
| C. Don't feel Christian belief should play any part in everyday decisions | — | — | — |
| D. Are <u>very</u> concerned about religious matters | — | — | — |
| E. Don't believe there is a personal God | — | — | — |
| F. Feel Christian beliefs should often play a part in everyday decisions | — | — | — |
| G. Know each other very well | — | — | — |
| H. Are people whose company I enjoy very much | — | — | — |
43. Please indicate which of the following statements you would consider are true of your parents. (If either or both of your parents are deceased please indicate this).

- | | True | Not true | Have no idea |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------|--------------|
| <u>MY FATHER</u> | | | |
| A. Firmly holds traditional Christian beliefs | — | — | — |
| B. Is <u>not</u> concerned about religious matters | — | — | — |
| C. Doesn't feel Christian belief should play any part in everyday decisions | — | — | — |
| D. Is <u>very</u> concerned about religious matters | — | — | — |
| E. Doesn't believe there is a personal God | — | — | — |
| F. Feels Christian beliefs should <u>often</u> play a part in everyday decisions | — | — | — |

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| <u>MY MOTHER</u> | | | |
| A. Firmly holds traditional Christian beliefs | — | — | — |
| B. Is <u>not</u> concerned about religious matters | — | — | — |
| C. Doesn't feel Christian belief should play any part in everyday decisions | — | — | — |
| D. Is <u>very</u> concerned about religious matters | — | — | — |

- | | Not
True | True | Have no
idea |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|-----------------|
| E. Doesn't believe there is a personal God | — | — | — |
| F. Feels Christian beliefs should <u>often</u> play a part in everyday decisions | — | — | — |
| 44. In what suburb (or town) do you live? Please give the full name, e.g. East Kew, not just Kew. Boarders please give your home suburb or town. _____ | | | |
| 45. How many brothers and sisters have you? _____ | | | |
| 46. Do you have any older brothers or sisters? _____ | | | |
| 47. <u>BOYS</u> According to your plans for occupation what do you expect to be doing about fifteen years from now? (If you can't name one occupation then write down the <u>kind</u> of job you expect to be in) | | | |
| _____ | | | |
| 48. <u>GIRLS</u> What occupation do you think you will take up either as a life-time career or until marriage? | | | |
| _____ | | | |
| 49. Do you think that what you have learned in subjects other than direct religious teaching (R.I., Scripture, etc.) has any importance for your Christian beliefs? Place a <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> beside the statement which you feel is closest to your own view. | | | |
| A. There is no connection between ordinary school subjects and Christian beliefs | | | — |
| B. On the whole what I have learned in ordinary school subjects has strengthened my Christian beliefs | | | — |
| C. On the whole what I have learned in ordinary school subjects contradicts Christian beliefs at some points | | | — |
| D. I have never thought about it | | | — |
| 50. <u>If you answered C.</u> What effect has this had on your Christian beliefs? | | | |
| I still hold these beliefs | | | — |
| I no longer hold these beliefs | | | — |
| There has been some change in these beliefs | | | — |
| 51. Suppose the circles shown stood for the activities that go on at this school. How far out from the centre of things are you? Place an X where you think you would be | | | |



52. Consider your religious practices and views as they were when you were 13, then consider whether or not you agree with the following statements:

	No Agree	change	The opposite is true	Uncertain
I attend Church more frequently now	—	—	—	—
I am <u>less</u> regular in devotions and prayer now	—	—	—	—
I am <u>less</u> in agreement with the beliefs of the Church now	—	—	—	—
Religious ideas and feelings have become a <u>more</u> important part of my life	—	—	—	—

53. Who are the people (if any) who have helped you feel the way you do about religion?
-

54. How would you describe the religious beliefs of your five closest friends? (Place a beside the statement that fits best)

- A. Traditional Christian beliefs are held by all —
- B. Traditional Christian beliefs are held by most but not by at least one friend. —
- C. Most hold some traditional Christian beliefs while doubting some (such as about the miracles). —
- D. Most would not hold traditional Christian beliefs but a few hold at least some of them. —
- E. None would hold traditional Christian beliefs. —

Other _____

55. Do your mother and father attend church?

	Weekly or more often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Deceased
MOTHER	—	—	—	—	—
FATHER	—	—	—	—	—

56. Have you an older brother or sister who regularly attends a church?

Yes — No —

57. Have you an older brother or sister who used to attend Church but no longer does so?

Yes ___ No ___

58. Describe the present or last main occupation of your father. Please be as detailed as possible, stating both the grade and nature of occupation, e.g., head teacher in a primary school, motor mechanic in a garage, owner of a grocery shop, sales manager in a large importing firm.

59. Using the numbers only (not names) please answer the following questions with the aid of the code supplied. Place each number in the square brackets below

A. What is your code number? ___

B. Which students in Form V would you most like to feel had a high opinion of you? Give the code number of two or less.

___ ___

C. Which students from Form V at this school (if any) are among your five closest friends?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___

D. Which two students in Form V would you say are most generally recognised by other students as leaders among them?

___ ___

60. Add any other comments regarding your views about religion at present and the things which you consider have been important in developing these views. Did you enjoy filling in the questionnaire? Are there any questions you enjoyed answering very much or that you disliked answering very much?

The following extra sheet was provided for those who finished the main questionnaire before the scheduled time -

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY - AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
SURVEY OF RELIGION AND YOUNG PEOPLE

The extra questions on this sheet are intended as talking points to give you an opportunity to make any further comments you wish.

1. When (if at all) does God seem most real to you?

2. One young person has commented, 'to be a Christian seems to give a feeling of being different and not "with-it". At a different school, another young person said that, 'a lot of people at this school are just too scared to admit that they have some religious feelings'. What do you think about these comments?

3. Young people are often classed together and talked about as if they were much the same in outlook and interests. Do you object to this? With what people do you feel you hold common interests and outlook?

As your answers to these questions may help in the understanding of your earlier answers, could you please place your code number in the square provided so that the two sheets can be put together.

EXTRA SHEET NO. 1

The extra questions on this sheet are intended as talking points to give you an opportunity to make any further comments you wish.

1. When (if at all) does God seem most real to you?

2. One young person has commented, "To be a Christian seems to give a feeling of being different and not 'with-it'". At a different school, another young person said that, "a lot of people at this school are just too scared to admit that they have some religious feelings". What do you think about these comments?

3. Young people are often classed together and talked about as if they were much the same in outlook and interests. Do you object to this? With what people do you feel you hold common interests and outlook?

EXTRA SHEET NO. 2

Here are a few extra questions which may give you an opportunity to express some of your opinions more fully.

1. Do you think that students at this school differ much in their attitudes toward religion?

2. If you think that there are differences, could you please describe briefly the various groups with different attitudes.

3. In which group, if any, would you place yourself?

4. Can you recall anything that has recently brought the matter of different attitudes toward religion among students to your notice?

Students were asked to give their code number on each sheet.

A P P E N D I X BDifferent Reference Points and Responses to Questions
about the Religious Orientation of Others.

Questions concerning the perceived orientation of others included requests for estimates of the degree of religious concern and of acceptance of traditional Christian beliefs. Such questions are open to varying interpretations according to different standards for concepts such as "very concerned" and "traditional".

An instance of the operation of different reference points for such judgments was uncovered by the group interviews. Most students interviewed were asked specifically what they understood by the term "traditional beliefs". Some Catholics gave the term a technical meaning. Traditional beliefs were those based on tradition (as opposed to Scripture). Most students mentioned the miracles and the Resurrection. Some, who showed little interest in religion, mentioned going to church as the traditional belief which came most readily to mind.

I do not consider that the different reference points invalidated the questions. The consistently strong associations between the perceived orientation of parents and personal orientation indicate that any tendency of more religious students to judge their parents by stricter standards is outweighed by other factors such as projection of personal orientation onto others.

Further, there are strong associations between the perceived orthodoxy and religious concern of parents and the perceived frequency of their church attendance. The latter is a more specific, visible aspect of behaviour to report and so less open to judgments based on varying reference points.

A P P E N D I X C

The following table illustrates the value of the multi-dimensional when determining influences on religious orientation.

TABLE B - 1

Net Partial Associations between Predictor Attributes
and Religious Behavior¹

Sacramental index:	
Religiousness of parents	.34 ^a
Educational level	.28
Sex (female)	.20
Catholic School	.17
Church-as-teacher index:	
Educational level	.20
Catholic school	.12
Religiousness of parents	.06
Sex (female)	.04
Religious knowledge index:	
Educational level	.30
Catholic school	.27
Sex	.09
Religiousness of parents	.07
Doctrinal orthodoxy index:	
Educational level	.22
Religiousness of parents	.19
Catholic school	.14
Sex	.06
Ethical orthodoxy index:	
Educational level	.26
Sex	.17
Religiousness of parents	.14
Catholic school	.06
Organizational membership:	
Religiousness of parents	.39
Educational level	.18
Sex	.15
Catholic school	.04

^a Coefficient represents degree of association, with influence of other three predictor variables held constant.

¹ Greeley and Rossi (1966), p.105.

A P P E N D I X D

Cross-Tabulation of Responses to Questions
about Religious Belief

TABLE D - 1

Attitude toward Miracles ("Miracles" Question)
and Beliefs about Jesus ("Doctrine") Question

(Numbers are given)

(BOYS)

<u>Beliefs about Miracles</u>	<u>Beliefs about Jesus</u>				
	Jesus Son of God ... Lord and Saviour	Sent by God	Good man, teacher	Good man but not important	Myth
Accept without qualification:	199	12	15	-	-
Accept, some doubts:	66	10	17	-	2
Have natural explanations:	26	2	13	6	8
Most are exaggerations:	22	9	31	7	14
Stories made up:	2	0	3	5	19
No opinion at all:	24	6	9	8	20
N	339	39	88	26	63

(Incomplete responses omitted but otherwise
the full table is given to show the range
of responses.)

(GIRLS)

<u>Beliefs about Miracles</u>	<u>Beliefs about Jesus</u>		N
	Jesus Son of God, ... Lord and Saviour	Other responses	
Accept without qualification:	86%	14%	(192)
Other responses:	50%	50%	(255)

(Incomplete responses omitted.)

TABLE D - 2

Belief in Heaven and Hell and
Attitude toward Miracles

		"There is a Heaven or a Hell for every person after death."		
Percentage		Agree	Disagree	Don't know
who:				
<u>BOYS</u>				
Who accept miracles without qualification	(N = 232)	72	18	9
Who give other responses on miracles questions	(N = 366)	23	54	22
<u>GIRLS</u>				
Who accept miracles without qualification	(N = 193)	66	22	11
Who give other responses on miracles question	(N = 271)	25	52	21

A P P E N D I X EAn Occupational Classification of the
Australian Workforce

The classification of Broom, Lancaster Jones and Zubrzycki was used in coding responses to the question about occupation of father and personal occupational aspirations (Questions 58 and 47, 48 respectively). Occupations were classified into sixteen categories.

1. Upper professional: architects, university teachers, dentists, doctors, etc.
2. Graziers and wheat and sheep farmers.
3. Lower professional: nurses, teachers, writers, social workers, etc.
4. Managerial.
5. Self-employed shop proprietors.
6. Other farmers.
7. Clerical and related workers: clerks, bookkeepers, postal officers, insurance salesmen.
8. Members of armed service and police force.
9. Craftsmen and foremen.
10. Shop assistants.
11. Operatives and process workers: textile and clothing production workers, food and beverage production workers, etc.
12. Drivers.
13. Personal, domestic and other service workers: gardeners, photographers, bar attenders, etc.
14. Miners.
15. Farm and rural workers.
16. Labourers: building and construction workers, waterside workers.

A P P E N D I X F

The following table shows a marginal tendency for particularists to be more likely to accept the "intellectual" description of the kind of person they would rather be:

TABLE F - 1

Approach to Ideas and Position on the
Particularism/Relativism Scale (Weekly Churchgoers)

Percentage of each category on the particularism/
relativism scale who endorse various approaches

Approach to Ideas:	Extreme Particu- larist	Moderate Par- ticularists and "Can't Decide"	Moderate Relativists	Extreme Relativists
Practical	11	19	17	16
Intellectual	62	64	53	54
Expressive	23 ^a	15	25	30
N.	(47)	(80)	(116)	(161)

^a Percentages do not add up to 100 because of those who could not select between alternatives or who did not answer the question.

A P P E N D I X G

TABLE G - 1

Product-moment Correlations of some Variables
relevant to Chapter V

BOYS (N = 350)^a

	Frequency of church attendance	Particularism	Proportion of close friends going to same church	"perceived socio-cultural distance" index score	Rating of relativist reason of belief	Religious experience index score
Frequency of church attendance	..	.23	.53	.08	.06	.50
Particularism	.23	..	.11 ^b	.29	- .25	.28
Proportion of close friends going to the same church	.53	.11 ^b	..	.03	.02	.26
"Perceived socio-cultural distance" index score	.08	.29	.03	..	- .12	.20
Rating of relativist reason for belief	.06	- .25	.02	- .12	..	.00
Religious experience index score	.50	.28	.26	.20	.00	..

TABLE G - 1 (Contd.)

GIRLS (N = 358)^a

	Frequency of church attendance	Particularism	Proportion of close friends going to same church	"perceived socio-cultural distance" index score	Rating of relativist reason of belief	Religious experience index score
Frequency of church attendance	..	.15	.48	.19	.02	.38
Particularism	.15	..	.13 ^b	.07	-.14	.14
Proportion of close friends going to the same church	.48	.13 ^b	..	.19	-.01	.27
"Perceived socio-cultural distance" index score	.19	.07	.19	..	.05	.29
Rating of relativist reason for belief	.02	-.14	-.01	.05	..	.04
Religious experience index score	.38	.14	.27	.29	.04	..

^a N is considerably below 624 because the Catholic College was excluded and so were respondents who gave no answer or a don't know response on any of the ten variables for which the calculation was made.

^b The particularism - friends going to the same church association is evident only because level of churchgoing is not controlled. The table is duplicated on both sides of the diagonal for ease in comparing the correlates of any one item.

For the boys the strongest correlation of any item with particularism is score on the "perceived socio-cultural distance" index. The correlation is still not a very strong one. It is certainly not argued that the two items measure the same basic phenomenon. It is clear that the particularism question does not work as well for the girls.

A P P E N D I X HThe Victorian Schools and Religion -A Brief Historical Background

Schools in Victoria are commonly classified into three categories: State, Catholic and Other Independent.¹

The control of state schools is vested in the State Education Department. Control is centralised through the appointment of staff (and indirectly their promotion and transfer, through the Teachers' Tribunal), the inspectorial system, curriculum committees and the multiplicity of regulations covering school routine.

At the secondary level (Forms 1 - 6) most high schools are co-educational. Technical schools and a few other secondary schools which give more explicitly vocational training are usually single sex schools. Not all high schools teach senior students, but most suburban high schools which have been established for six years or more do so.

The Education Act of 1872 stipulated that in every State school, "secular instruction only shall be given and no teacher shall give any other than secular instruction in any State school building" The State school buildings could be used for purposes other than secular instruction outside school hours. The Act also abolished all aid to non-State schools.²

¹ W.G. Walker "Educational Administration" (1964), pp. 193-207.

² A.G. Austin, Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900 (1963), pp. 237-238.

For a time the term "secular instruction" was interpreted strictly, to the extent of expunging from school readers passages which referred to Christianity or Christ.¹ Religious education could be carried out only on a voluntary basis after school hours.

A slow change in temper took place in the last decades of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. "Secular" came to be interpreted as "non-sectarian", and arrangements were modified to permit religious education by voluntary instructors under more favourable conditions. The provisions of the Education Act of 1872 were finally amended in 1950.² The present arrangements are described in the section of Chapter VI analysing formal religious education in the schools.

The reaction of the Catholics to the 1872 Act was to reinforce the Catholic educational system and to ignore the state system. The philosophical basis for this stance has been (and still is for many Catholic educationists) summed up in the following sentiments:

.....through the Education Acts Australia generally implemented a philosophy which allows for, even if it does not actively promote, agnostic evolutionary materialism The Education Acts also implemented a theology, based on the "unitary hypothesis", which rejects the Church as a structural unit of the free society and the guardian of man's sacredness".³

¹ D. C. Hickman "Opposition to the Victorian Education Act of 1872", (1966) p. 11.

² R. Fogarty Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950 (1959) (in 2 Vol's), Vol. 11, p. 463.

³ M. R. Leavey "The Relevance of St. Thomas Aquinas for Australian Education", (1964), p. 193. - for a comparable statement see Fogarty (1959) Vol. 11, p. 479.

Leavey argues that "the Catholic school was established as a protest against the secular state school".¹

After the 1872 Act, Catholics were instructed not to send their children to state schools where there was an alternative. Sacraments could be refused to the parent whose refusal to obey was "wilful and persistent".² Resources were mobilised and Catholic schools were able to cope with the majority of Catholic children.

However, it has not been possible at any point of time for the Catholic educational system to cope with all the Catholic children of school age.³ In recent years there has been a slight decline in the percentage of Catholic children attending Catholic schools. This is in spite of assistance from State and Federal governments as the "no state aid" principle has been relaxed in the last ten years.

The Protestant Independent schools were not a protest against the alleged secularism of the State schools. Most have provided education for the social elite and a small number of scholarship winners. The schools do profess religious aims, and efforts are made to implement these aims, but spacious grounds, extra-curricular activities, high fees and in some cases, boarding houses, have been their most distinctive characteristics. In Victoria many of the schools have had a continued run of academic success.

¹ Leavey (1964), p.199.

² From evidence of Archbishop Slattery before the Rogers and Templeton Report 1884 - Hickman (1966), p.11.

³ Fogarty (1959) Volume II, pp.453-454.

A P P E N D I X I

Supplementary Evidence of the Perceived
Religious Aims of the Schools

Comments by students generally supported the view that at three church schools - the two Catholic schools and Arbour Girls' College - religious aims were perceived as relatively more important than at Edgevale Grammar, Eastwood College or Plenbern Girls' College.

Students were asked, "From your experience of the teaching of religion in this school, what is your opinion of the interest, importance and value of this teaching?" A few students interpreted this question as applying to the whole orientation of the school, not merely formal instruction. In the three schools where religious aims were ranked high these comments and other unsolicited comments were unanimous in their assessment of religious aims as important to the school. Typical comments were:

there is a lot of emphasis on religion in this school(1930)

Religion seems to dominate a small majority of pupils but amongst teachers it has a great bearing. (1984)

In this school it (religion) plays quite an important role in our growing up and our maturity. (1642)

At Edgevale Grammar the importance of religious aims is not so clear as to be apparent to all. Contrasting opinions are evident:

This school seems to be very Christian minded. (6712)

This school is supposed to be a Church School, but religion plays a very minor role in the course. I think Mr. X is too concerned with turning out good academics, than providing strong foundations of Christian belief for his students. (6711)

very little emphasis is placed on religion at (6715)

A P P E N D I X JPerceived Religious Orientation of Form FiveTABLE J - 1Perceived Belief of Form Five

Students' response to the statement
that most of Form Five
"firmly hold traditional Christian beliefs".

Percentage giving responses:

		N	True	Not True	Have No Idea
Woodville H.S.	boys	(48)	8	63	25
	girls	(51)	8	45	45
Burnham H.S.	boys	(41)	10	63	27
	girls	(26)	8	46	46
Inberg H.S.	boys	(59)	12	49	39
	girls	(23)	4	48	48
Newscape H.S.	boys	(64)	3	61	34
	girls	(51)	22	33	41
Southdown H.S.	boys	(24)	8	54	38
	girls	(24)	21	54	25
Greenfall H.S.	girls	(108)	29	31	40
Centreburn T.S.	boys	(37)	-	33	63
Catholic B.C.		(156)	44	26	29
Edgevale B.G.		(70)	14	59	26
Eastwood B.C.		(135)	10	64	25
Plenbern G.C.		(87)	18	28	53
Arbour G.C.		(70)	10	47	37
R.C.G.S.		(47)	70	15	15

Percentages do not always add up to 100
because of non-response.

TABLE J - 2

Perceived Religious Concern of Form Five

Students' response to the statement
that most of Form Five
"are not concerned about religious matters"

Percentage giving responses:

		N,	True	Not True	Have No Idea
Woodville H.S.	boys	(48)	63	19	17
	girls	(51)	39	29	27
Burnham H.S.	boys	(41)	46	22	32
	girls	(26)	35	38	27
Inberg H.S.	boys	(59)	53	20	25
	girls	(23)	43	30	26
Newscape H.S.	boys	(64)	52	16	33
	girls	(51)	22	41	33
Southdown H.S.	boys	(24)	38	25	38
	girls	(24)	33	46	21
Greenfall H.S.	girls	(108)	23	50	25
Centreburn T.S.	boys	(37)	30	30	37
Catholic B.C.		(156)	23	61	15
Edgevale B.G.		(70)	47	27	24
Eastwood B.C.		(135)	46	34	19
Plenbern G.C.		(87)	26	45	28
Arbour G.C.		(70)	36	43	19
R.C.G.S.		(47)	17	76	6

Percentages do not always add up to 100
because of non-response.

A P P E N D I X KTeachers as Religious Influentials

Another way of looking at the possible influence of the schools on the religious orientation of students is to find out whether the students were concerned about agreement between their teachers and themselves about the most important of their views about religion.

The question was phrased in terms of "most teachers at your school." A student who was concerned with the approval of one particular teacher or even a few teachers would not necessarily respond positively to the question. He may care nothing about what the majority of teachers think.

Table K - 1 shows an overwhelming consistency. To the majority of students in all except Catholic schools, the religious views of the majority of teachers are claimed to be irrelevant, being given the response, "I wouldn't care at all".

In all schools less students are concerned about their teachers' opinion of their religious views than the opinion of their parents, the clergyman known best and their close friends at school. In all except in two Catholic schools, less are concerned about agreement with most teachers than agreement with the majority of people of their own age. In the case of the Catholic schools there may be relatively more concern about agreement with teachers not because of their role as teachers but because many are members of religious orders. There is only a slight tendency for more students in Protestant church schools to say they would like their teachers to agree with the most important of their religious views than students in state secondary schools to say this.

TABLE K - 1
TEACHERS AS RELIGIOUS REFERENTS

"How much would you like 'most teachers at your school'
to be in agreement with the most important of your
views about religion?"

per cent responding SCHOOL	I would reconsider my views if they disagreed	I would very much like them to agree	I would like to feel they agreed	I wouldn't care at all	N
Woodville H.S.					
Boys	4	2	13	79	(48)
Girls	-	12	18	71	(51)
Burnham H.S.					
Boys	2	5	24	66	(41)
Girls	8	4	23	65	(26)
Inberg H.S.					
Boys	5	7	20	66	(59)
Girls	-	8	13	74	(23)
Newscape H.S.					
Boys	6	8	11	72	(64)
Girls	-	6	39	53	(51)
Southdown H.S.					
Boys	-	8	8	83	(24)
Girls	-	-	17	83	(24)
Greenfall H.S.					
Girls	4	6	27	61	(108)
Centreburn T.S.					
Boys ^a	11	-	11	67	(27)
Plenbern G.C.	6	2	32	57	(87)
Arbour G.C.	2	7	31	56	(70)
R.C.G.S.	9	11	49	30	(47)
Catholic B.C.	16	13	37	33	(156)
Edgevale B.G.	3	14	19	64	(70)
Eastwood B.C.	5	7	30	55	(135)

^a 11 per cent Non-Response at Centreburn T.S.

The results as described are probably not surprising to many people. Indeed some might be surprised that in so many schools over a quarter of the students expressed some kind of concern that most teachers should agree with their religious views. Of course, for many this may be no more than a polite response, as "I wouldn't care at all" does not sound very gracious.

Table K - 2 shows some of the characteristics of those for whom teachers are potential religious referents (they will be actual religious referents only if the religious views of the majority of teachers is thought to be known). Items A-D indicate that those who give religious responses are more likely to consider the religious views of their teachers as important to them. Other items tested supported this conclusion. Teachers are not obvious religious referents in the sense that parents are (by their closeness) and clergy are (by role definition). It could be expected then that only those to whom religion was reasonably central would consider whether or not teachers agreed with them mattered very much to them. Further, it is likely that those who give the less religious responses find religion less central (that is they are apathetic rather than hostile) and, therefore, they will be less concerned whether or not others agree with them.¹

Those who show greater loyalty to and identification with school are more likely to care what teachers think about their religious views (Items F-G). It is not surprising that there is an association between high evaluation and teachers' views and orientation to school: this provides partial confirmation of the suggestion in the theoretical framework that alienation from school would impede religious socialisation in the school. For instance, in the boys' church schools 62/108 (57 per cent) of the boys who expressed very strong loyalty to the school cared what teachers

¹ This theme is developed when clergy are considered as religious referents and also in the final chapter.

TABLE K - 2

Some Characteristics of those who value agreement by most teachers at their school with the most important of their views about Religion.

Characteristic	<u>BOYS</u>			<u>GIRLS</u>		
	Would recon- sider views or would very much like agreement	Would like to feel they agreed	Would not care at all	Would recon- sider views or would very much like agreement	Would like to feel they agreed	Would not care at all
A. Often or sometimes ask themselves what God would want them to do.	74	65	37	83	79	55
B. Disagree that religious matters do not concern them	80	79	49	85	81	67
C. Agree Jesus Christ is Son of God ... Saviour, Lord.	72	73	46	80	72	54
D. Go to Church weekly or more often	63	51	22	57	53	27
E. Agree that it is wise to stick to regulations and rules because they all have a purpose	79	86	77	83	85	71
F. Feel strong loyalty to their school (Question 72)	71	73	52	72	80	58
G. Feel strong identification with the school in its successes (Question 28)	58	65	46	70	66	55
N	(102)	(150)	(358)	(46)	(145)	(286)

very strong loyalty to the school cared what teachers thought of their religious views, but only 25/67 (37 per cent) of those who expressed little loyalty cared.

Finally there is a more modest association between accepting teachers as religious referents and acceptance of the wisdom of regulations and rules. This association is more difficult to interpret but carries overtones of some generalised "acceptance of authority".

The associations reported here are consistent across nearly all schools.¹ Other possible characteristics explored, such as approach to ideas (Question 15) and importance of being a very capable and successful student (Question 39) did not show these consistent associations. It would be wise, however, to remember that those who asserted that they wouldn't care at all what teachers thought included many who gave a blanket "wouldn't care" response to the set of questions on religious referents so that the associations reported above must be influenced by this class of respondents.² It may be that this independence-asserting group also assert less concern about religion, more alienation from school and less respect for rules and regulations as part of a general reaction to apparent limitations to their freedom.

¹ There was one exception among the nine boys' groups on four questions, one exception among the nine girls' groups on four questions and two exceptions on another question.

² See Chapter 5.

A P P E N D I X L

Nomination of Friends as Religious Referents compared with
Actual Associations between Orientation of
Students and their Friends.

The following tables indicate that the strength of association between the perceived religious orientation of friends and the student's own orientation was not consistently stronger for those who valued more highly the approval of their views by friends.

TABLE L - 1

Association Perceived Religious Orientation of Friends
and Personal Religious Orientation according to
Nomination of Friends as Religious Referents

Evaluation friends as religious referents:

Gamma Co-efficients	Reconsider/very much like agreement	Like agree- ment	Wouldn't care at all
<u>BOYS</u>			
Religious Concern	.67	.58	.44
Doctrine	.49	.61	.51
Miracles	.41	.61	.48
<u>GIRLS</u>			
Religious Concern	a	.54	.59
Doctrine	.46	.47	.45
Miracles	.41	.36	.34

^a Insufficient Ns for reliable calculation.

Inconsistent results again occur when students are classified according to whether the agreement of parents or close school friends is valued more.

TABLE L - 2

Association between Personal Religious Orientation
and the Perceived Religious Orientation
of Friends (Gamma Co-efficients).

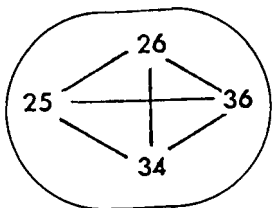
Religious Orientation Item:	<u>BOYS</u>		<u>GIRLS</u>	
	Friend- Oriented	Parent- Oriented	Friend- Oriented	Parent- Oriented
Doctrine:	.39	.69	.26	.79
Churchgoing:	.83	.67	.75	.73
Religious Concern:	.65	.57	.62	.70

SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

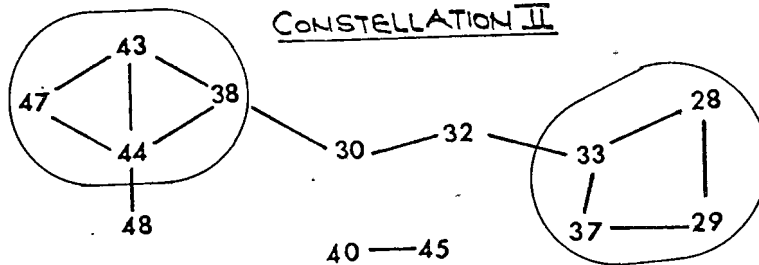
SOCIOGRAM I.

CLIQUE STRUCTURE (CLIQUE ARE CIRCLED)

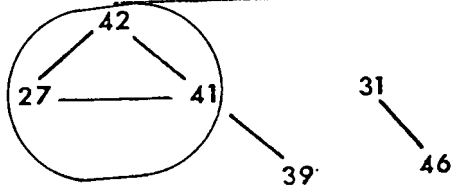
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



35

SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 2.

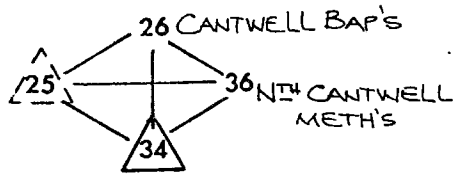
LOCAL CHURCH AFFILIATION OF STUDENTS

CODE

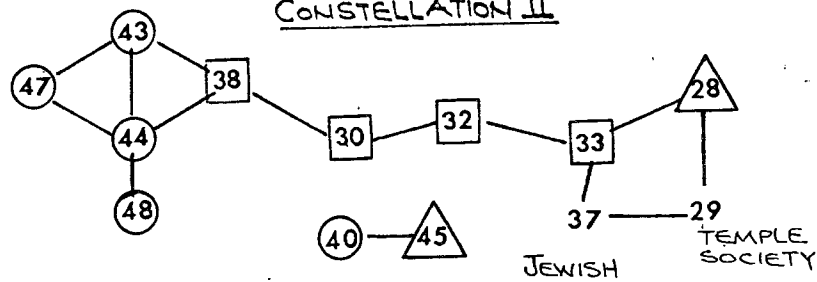
- : SOUTHDOWN ANGLICAN
- : SOUTHDOWN PRESBYTERIAN
- △ : NORTH CANTWELL ANGLICAN.

DOTTED LINES INDICATES NOT
REGULAR ATTENDER AT CHURCH.

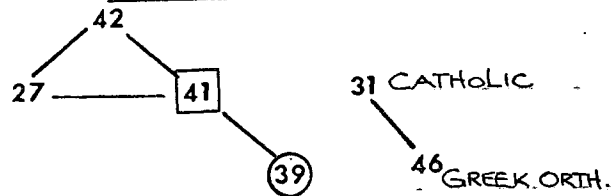
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



35
NONE GIVEN

SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 3.

CHURCHGOING OF STUDENTS.

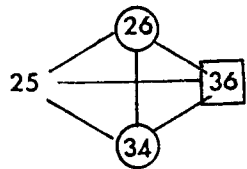
CODE

○ : WEEKLY +

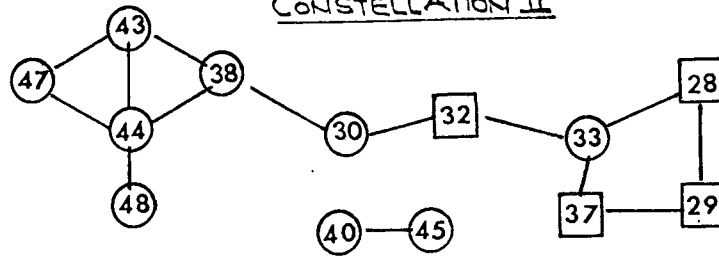
□ : ABOUT ONCE A MONTH

UNMARKED: LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH.

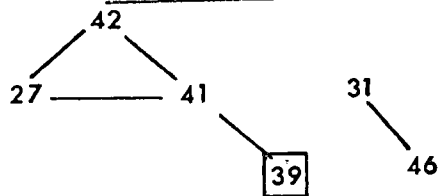
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



35

SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 4.

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE INDEX SCORES (QUESTION)

CODE

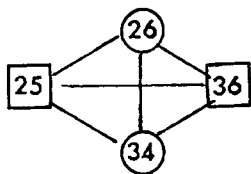
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ON INDEX

○ .. 4+

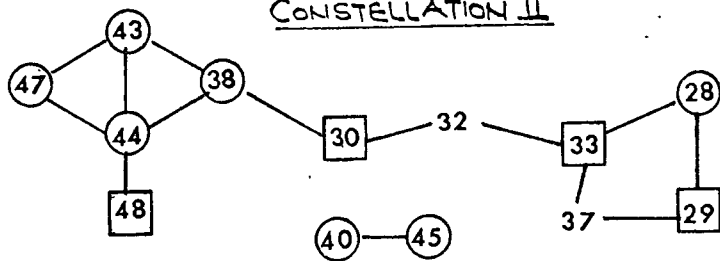
□ .. 2-3

UNMARKED .. < 2

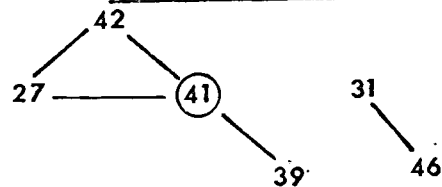
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

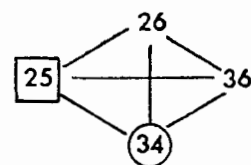
SOCIOGRAM 5.

FREQUENCY OF REFERRING TO THE WILL OF GOD (QUESTION 13)

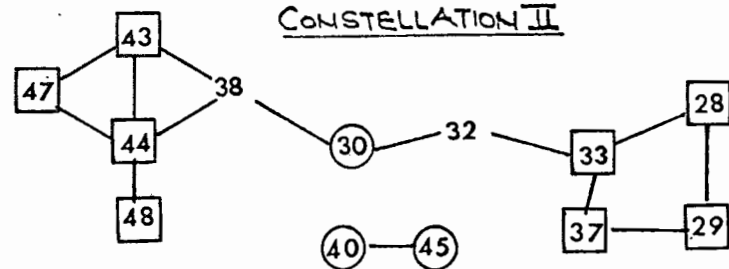
CODE

SYMBOL : RESPONSE
 ○ : OFTEN
 □ : SOMETIMES
 UNMARKED : NEVER

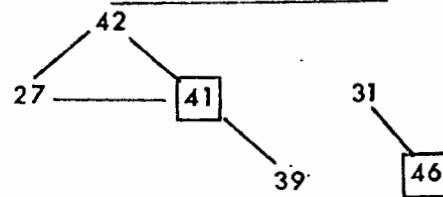
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



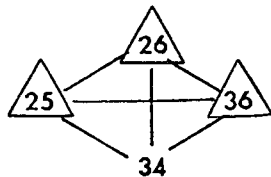
35

SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

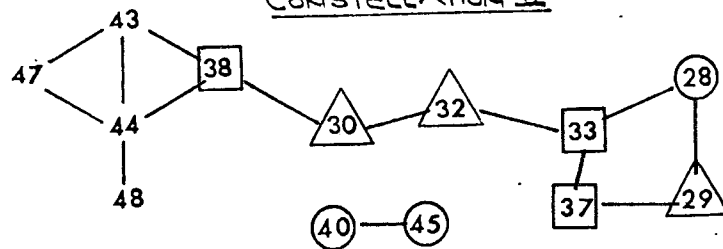
SOCIOGRAM 6.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS GOALS OF STUDENTS (QUESTION 19)

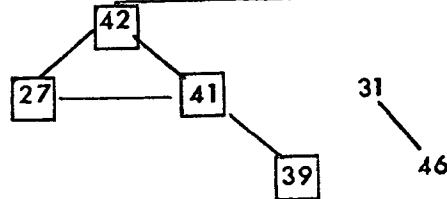
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



35

CODE

SYMBOL : CONSIDERED AS MOST IMPORTANT



: WORKING OUT AND LIVING UP TO RELIGIOUS IDEALS.



: QUALIFICATIONS..



: GETTING ON WITH FRIENDS

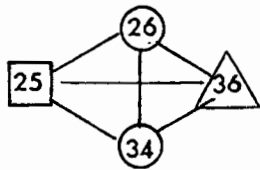
UNMARKED : OTHER GOALS.

SOUTHDOWN HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS)
(24 STUDENTS)

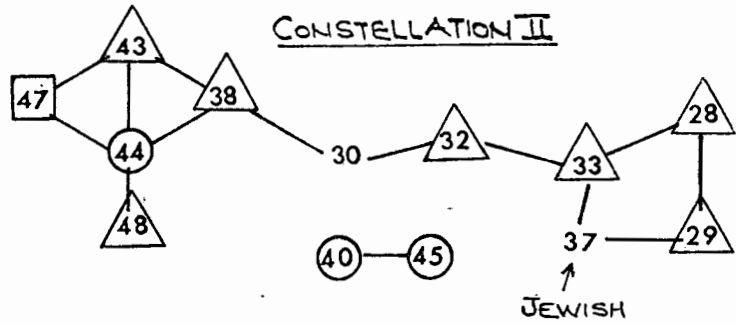
SOCIOGRAM 7.

BELIEF IN MIRACLES WHICH THE BIBLE CLAIMS THAT JESUS PERFORMED.

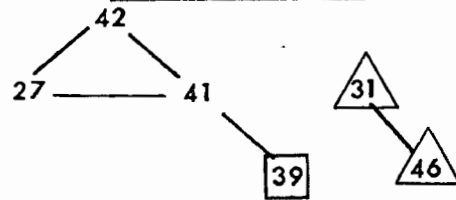
CONSTELLATION I



CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



CODE

- : UNQUALIFIED BELIEF
- : SOME DOUBTS.
- △ : NATURAL EXPLANATION

UNMARKED : EXAGGERATED OR MYTH
OR NO OPINION AT ALL.

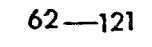
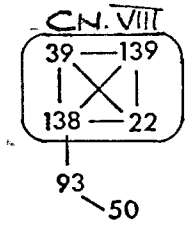
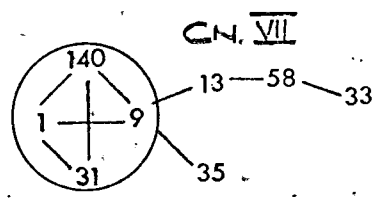
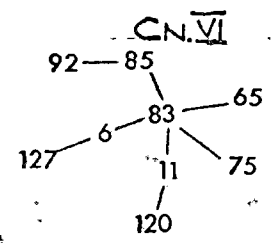
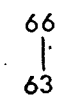
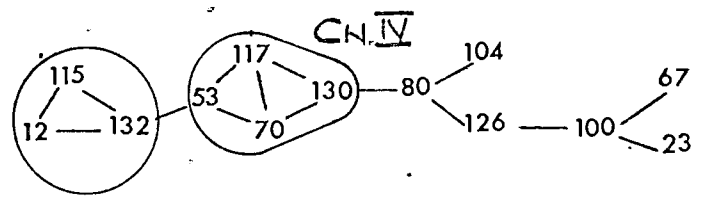
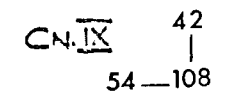
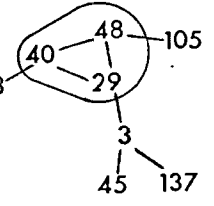
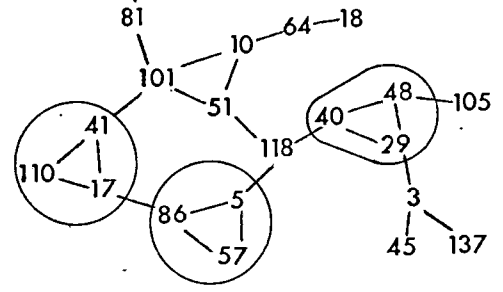
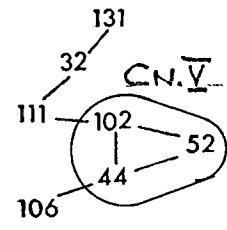
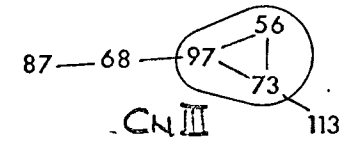
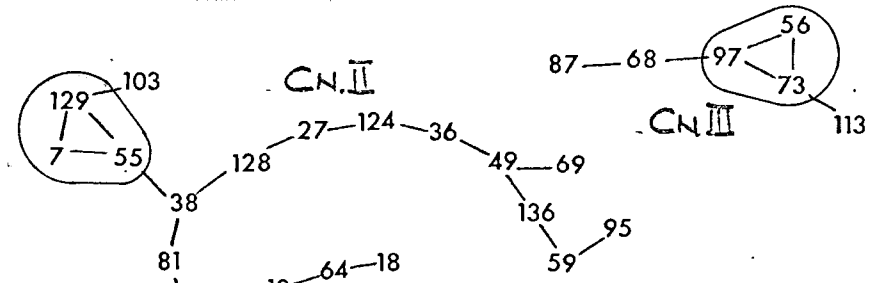
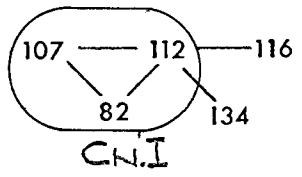
EASTWOOD COLLEGE (135 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 8

CLIQUE STRUCTURE

(CLIQUEES ARE CIRCLED)

THOSE NOT INVOLVED IN
RECIPROCATED CHOICE
HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED.

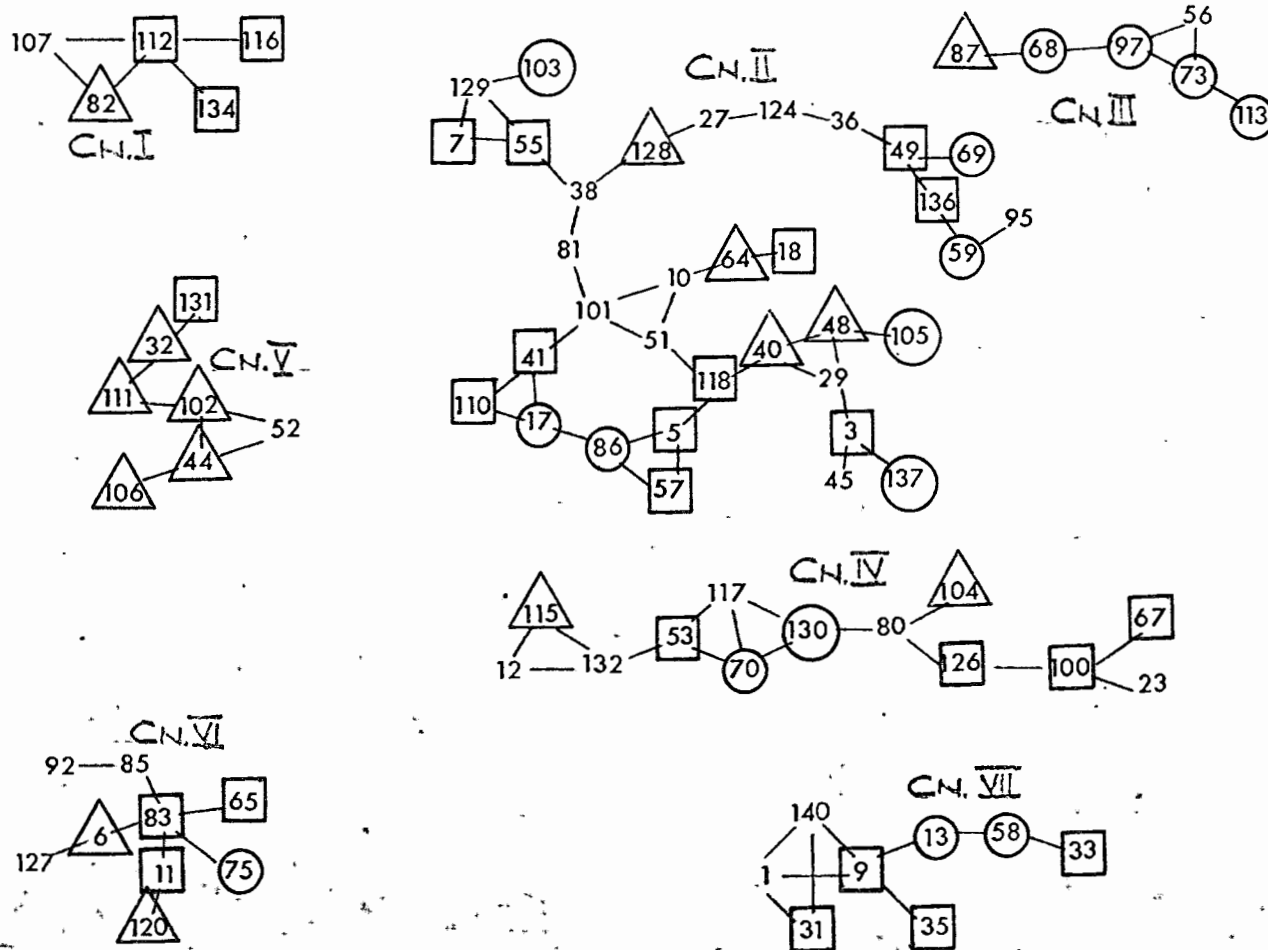


CN = CONSTELLATION.

EASTWOOD COLLEGE (135 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 9.

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE



CODE

○ : WEEKLY +

□ : < WEEKLY BUT AT LEAST MONTHLY.

△ : NOT AT ALL.

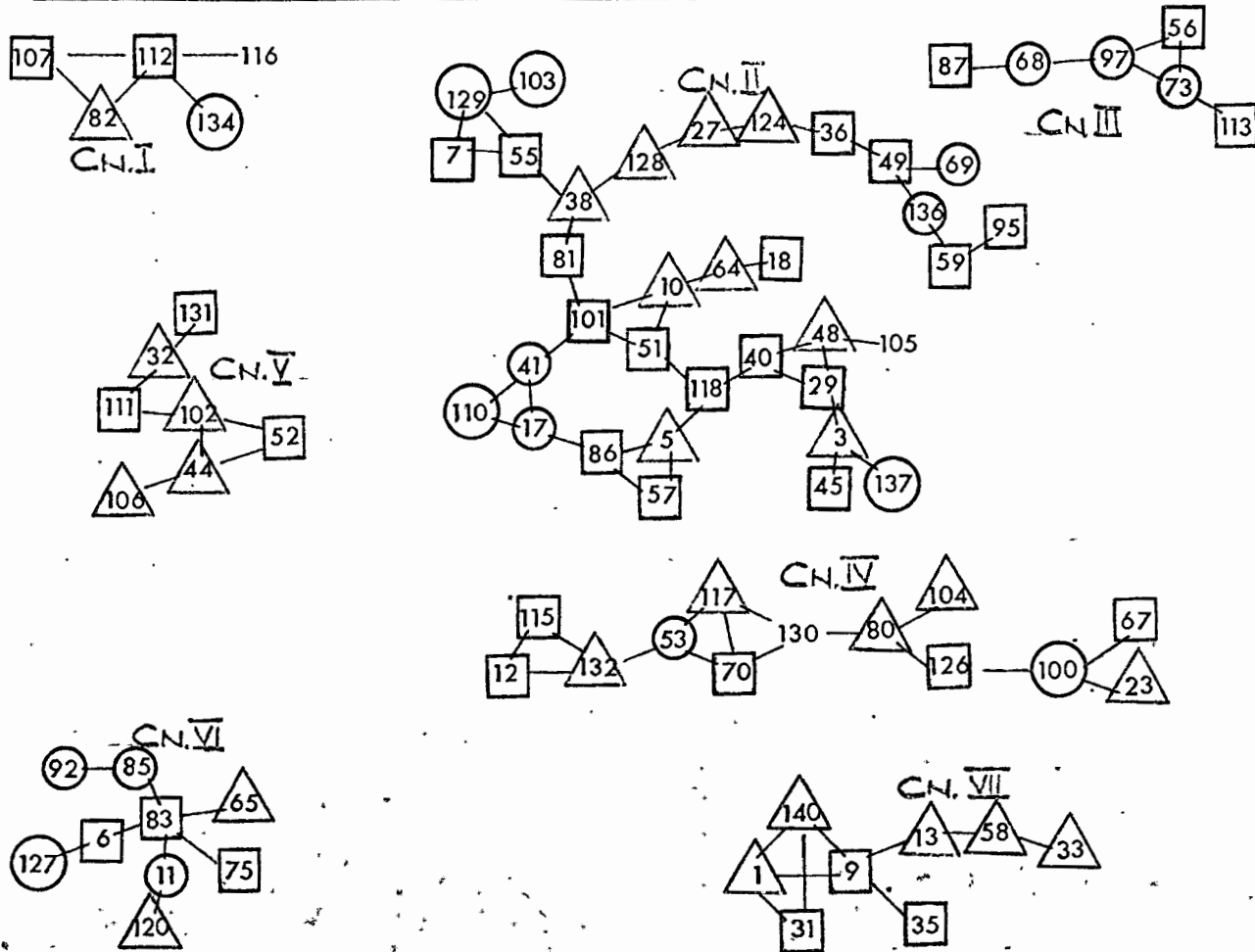
UNMARKED : BETWEEN NOT AT ALL AND MONTHLY.

CN = CONSTELLATION.

EASTWOOD COLLEGE (125 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 10

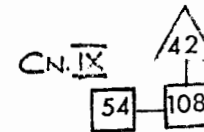
RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE INDEX SCORE



CODE

- . 4-6 INDEX SCORE
- . 1-3 . . .)
- △ . 0

UNMARKED . INCOMPLETE RESPONSE

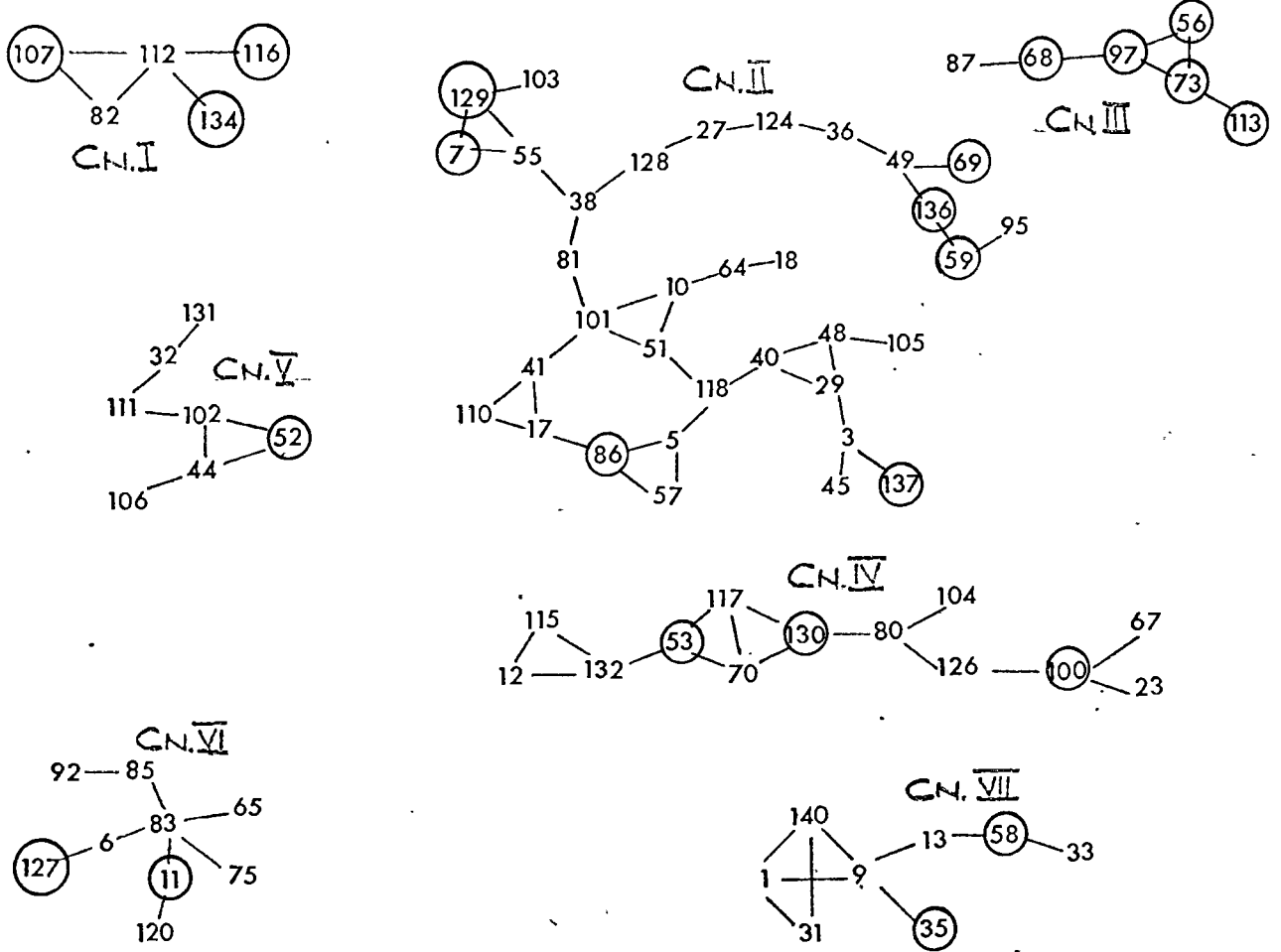


.. CN = CONSTELLATION.

EASTWOOD COLLEGE (135 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM II

ATTENDANCE AT VOLUNTARY RELIGIOUS GROUPS AT SCHOOL.



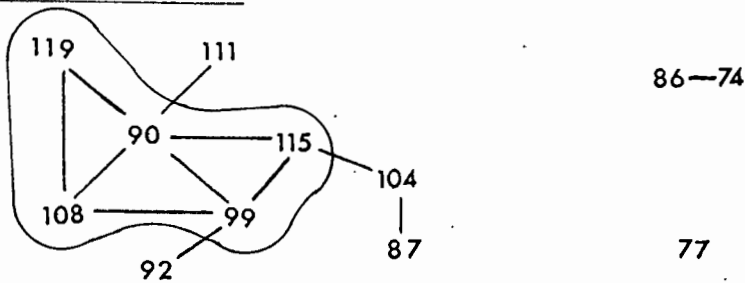
CODE
 ○ ATTEND REGULARLY OR SOMETIMES.
 UNMARKED .. DO NOT ATTEND AT PRESENT.

CN = CONSTELLATION.

NEWSCAPE HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS). SOCIOGRAM 12.
(51 STUDENTS)

CLIQUE STRUCTURE (CLIQUE CIRCLED)

CONSTELLATION I

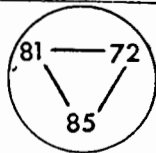


86—74

77

78 93

CONSTELLATION II

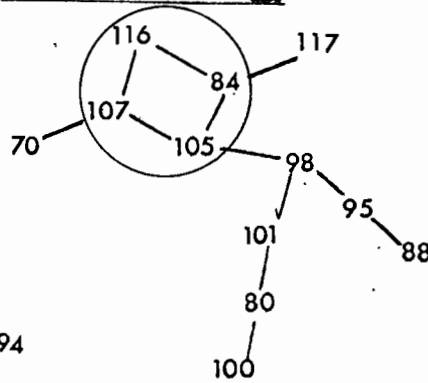


82—89

118

71

CONSTELLATION III



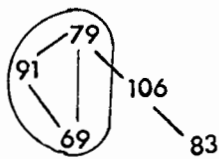
76—110

114

96
73

109—94

CONSTELLATION IV



102

103

97

75 112

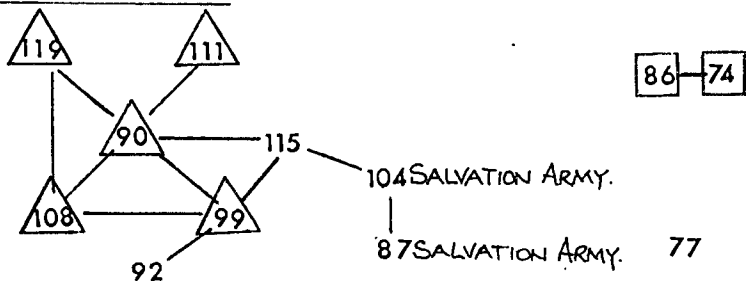
113

NOTE. NUMBERS WITH A LINE ABOVE THEM DENOTE STUDENTS WHO DID NOT RETURN AN IDENTIFIABLE QUESTIONNAIRE.

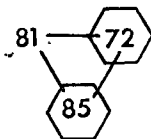
NEWSCAPE HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS). SOCIOGRAM 13.
(51 STUDENTS)

LOCAL CHURCH AFFILIATION OF STUDENTS.

CONSTELLATION I

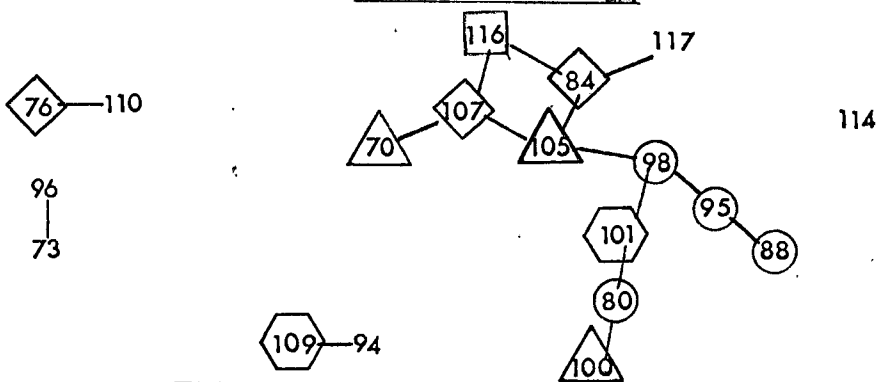


CONSTELLATION II

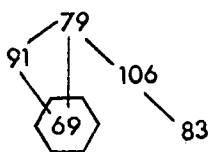


82—89

CONSTELLATION III



CONSTELLATION IV



NOTE. NUMBERS WITH A LINE ABOVE THEM DENOTE STUDENTS WHO DID NOT RETURN AN IDENTIFIABLE QUESTIONNAIRE.

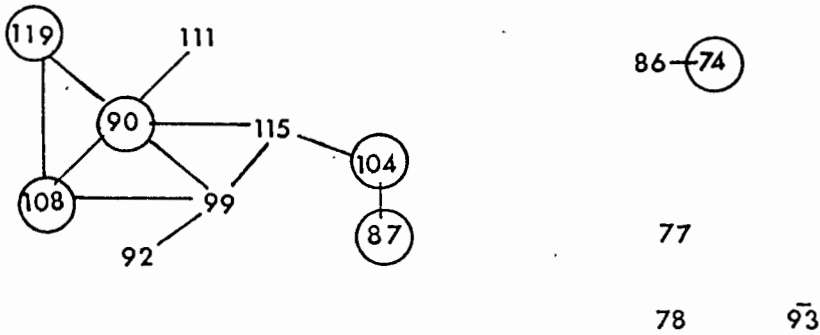
CODE.

- : NEWSCAPE PRESBYTERIAN
- ◻ : HILLBORO PRESBYTERIAN
- △ : HILLBORO METHODIST
- ◇ : HILLBORO ANGLICAN
- ⬡ : CATHOLICS (IRRESPECTIVE OF PARISH)

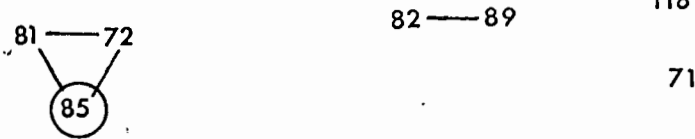
NEWSCAPE HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS). SOCIOGRAM 14.
(51 STUDENTS)

FREQUENCY OF CHURCHGOING OF STUDENTS.

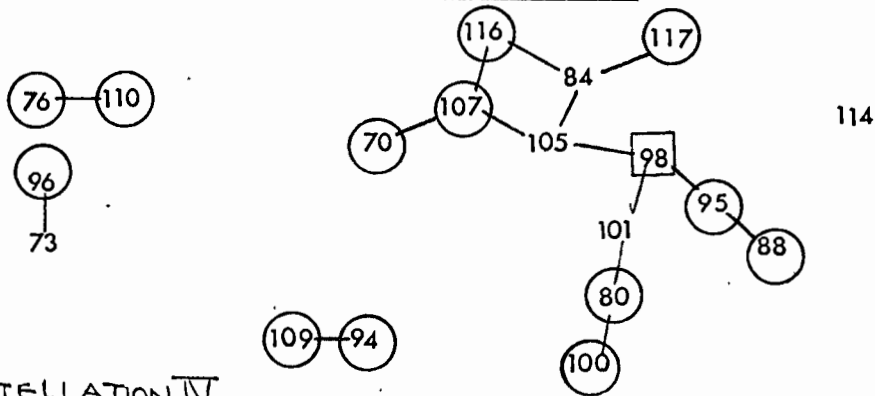
CONSTELLATION I



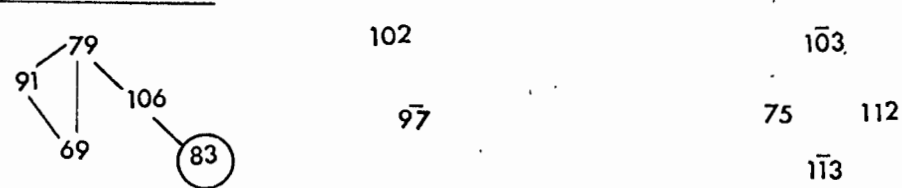
CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



CONSTELLATION IV



NOTE. NUMBERS WITH A LINE ABOVE THEM DENOTE STUDENTS WHO DID NOT RETURN AN IDENTIFIABLE QUESTIONNAIRE.

CODE.

○ : GO TO CHURCH WEEKLY +

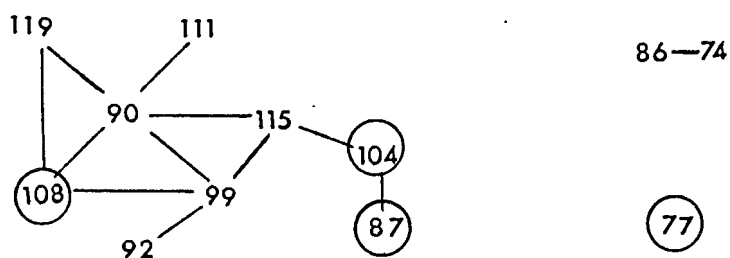
□ : NO ANSWER

UNMARKED : GO TO CHURCH LESS THAN WEEKLY.

NEWSCAPE HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS). SOCIOGRAM 15
(51 STUDENTS)

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE INDEX SCORE

CONSTELLATION I



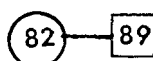
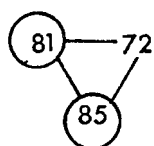
86-74

77

78

93

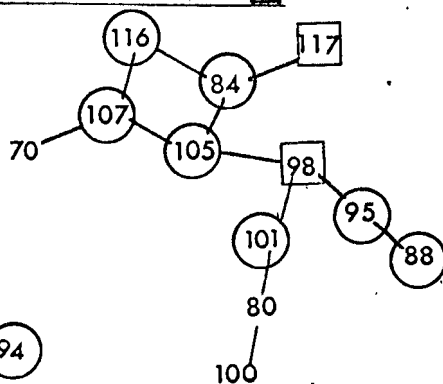
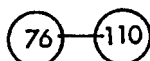
CONSTELLATION II



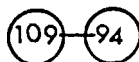
118

71

CONSTELLATION III

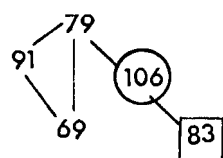


114



100

CONSTELLATION IV



102

103

97

75

112

113

NOTE. NUMBERS WITH A LINE ABOVE THEM DENOTE STUDENTS WHO DID NOT RETURN AN IDENTIFIABLE QUESTIONNAIRE.

CODE

○ : 4+ INDEX SCORE

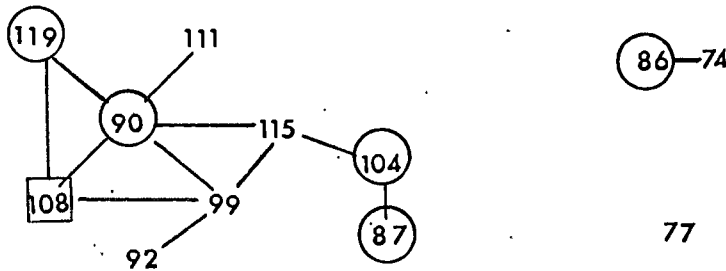
□ : NO ANSWER

UNMARKED : < 4 INDEX SCORE

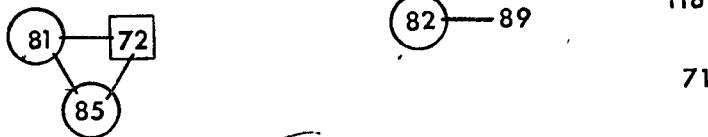
NEWSCAPE HIGH SCHOOL (GIRLS), SOCIOGRAM 16.
(51 STUDENTS)

BELIEF THAT THERE IS A HEAVEN OR A HELL
FOR EVERY PERSON AFTER DEATH.

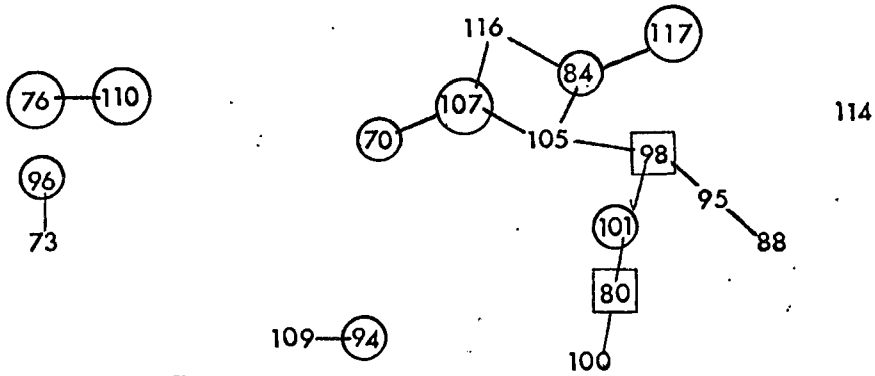
CONSTELLATION I



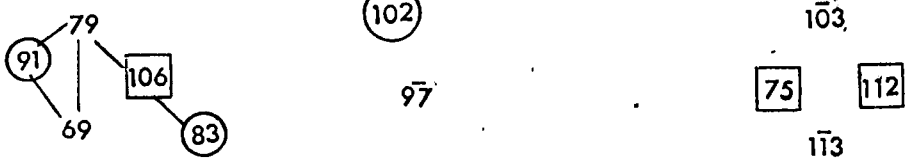
CONSTELLATION II



CONSTELLATION III



CONSTELLATION IV



NOTE. NUMBERS WITH A LINE ABOVE THEM DENOTE STUDENTS
WHO DID NOT RETURN AN IDENTIFIABLE QUESTIONNAIRE.

CODE

○ : AGREE

□ : DON'T KNOW

UNMARKED: DISAGREE OR CAN'T DECIDE.

EDGEVALE GRAMMAR (70 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 17.

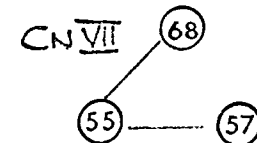
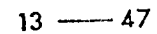
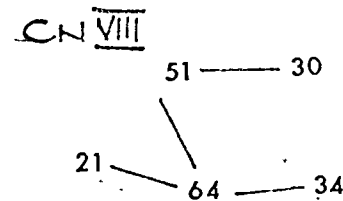
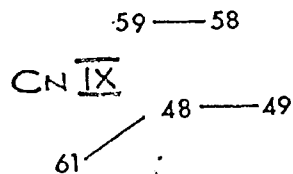
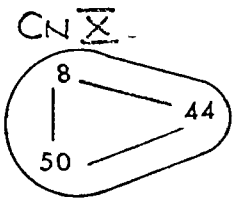
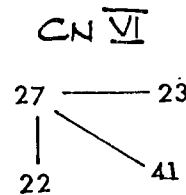
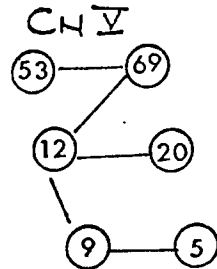
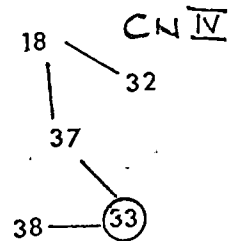
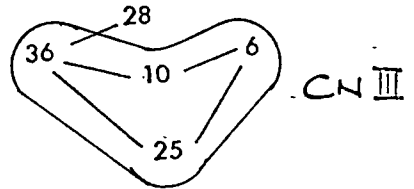
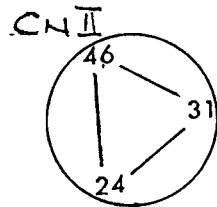
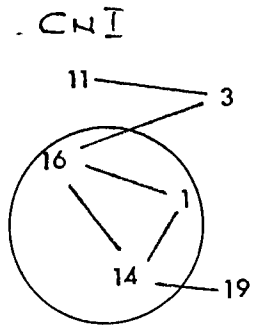
CLIQUEES, WITH BORDERS SHOWN.

CODE

○ : BORDERS.

CLIQUEES ARE CIRCLED.

THOSE NOT INVOLVED IN
RECIPROCATED CHOICE
HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED.



CN = CONSTELLATION.

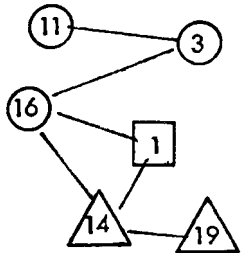
EDGEVALE GRAMMAR (70 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 18

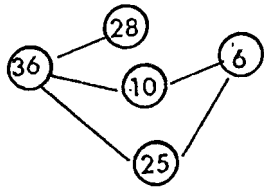
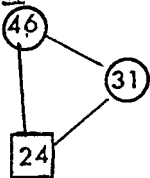
COURSES TAKEN BY STUDENTS.

CODE : COURSES
 ○ : SCIENCE
 △ : COMMERCIAL
 □ : HUMANITIES
 UNMARKED : MIXED COURSES.

CN I

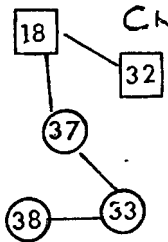


CN II

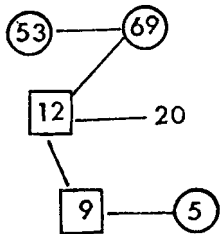


CN III

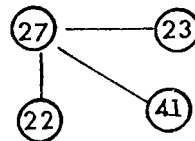
CN IV



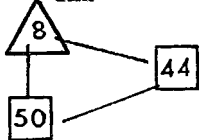
CN V



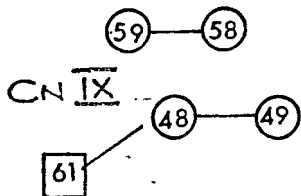
CN VI



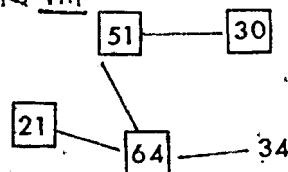
CN X



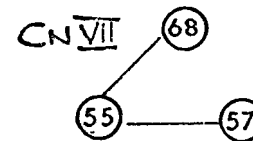
CN IX



CN VIII



CN VII



CN = CONSTELLATION.

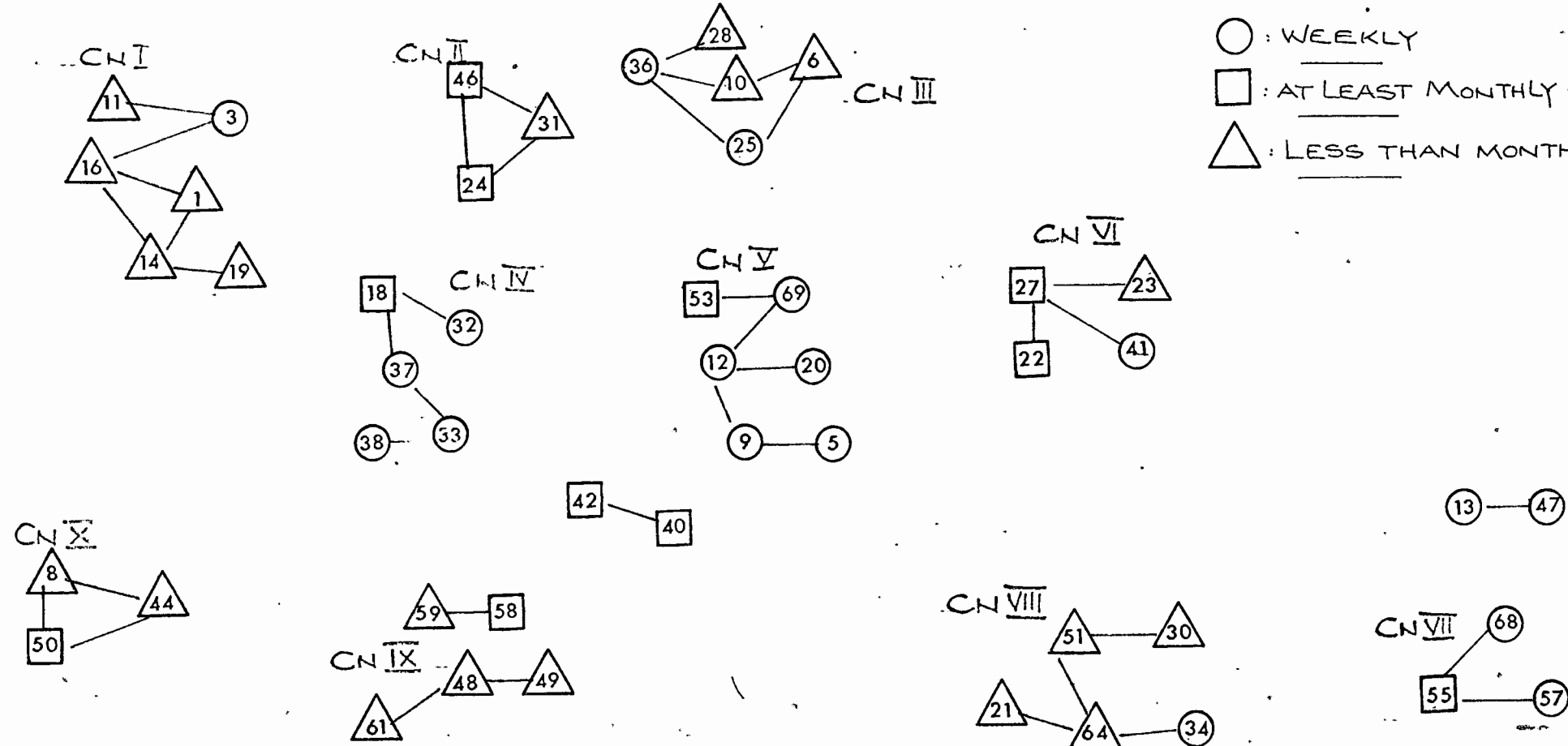
EDGEVALE GRAMMAR (70 STUDENTS)

SOCIOGRAM 19

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF STUDENTS.

CODE

- : WEEKLY
- : AT LEAST MONTHLY < WEEKLY
- △ : LESS THAN MONTHLY.



CN = CONSTELLATION.

A P P E N D I X NProcedure for Calculating Gamma Co-efficient and
Chi-Square from the Tables showing Associations
between the Orientation of Friends

Various problems arose in the computing of co-efficients and significance tests from the contingency tables showing the association between the students' own orientation and the orientation of their school friends.

The principal difficulty arose because of the category "evenly divided" (which describes the orientation of friends). This column of the table nearly always had small cells in it : the expected frequencies of at least one cell and usually both were below five in most groups. A reliable significance test therefore could not be calculated on the six cell table. Also the table was often such that a few coding errors would have altered seriously the strength of the gamma co-efficient.

There were a number of possible ways of coping with the situation but no clearly established principle or precedent was apparent from my reading of statistics tests. The solution that was finally chosen was:

(i) To compute all gamma co-efficients and X^2 when necessary from collapsed four cell tables. To make gammas comparable, it was necessary that all be computed from tables with the same number of cells. It was possible to obtain a programmed X^2 test from the six cell table. This was used where numbers permitted.

(ii) As a general rule tables were collapsed so that the "evenly divided" column was combined with the column with the lower column total. The practical reason for this was that it maximised the number of tables for which X^2 tests and reliable gamma co-efficients could be calculated.

This procedure may be more open to abuse than always classifying the "evenly divided" category one way or the other. However, it is doing no more than dichotomising one variable as near as possible to the median point before constructing a contingency table, which is a quite frequent procedure.

There is always the possibility of violating the data in a serious way by collapsing tables. Consequently tables were always inspected before any calculations were made. If the procedure of collapsing the tables in the way explained would make a linear association appear when the six cell tables made it obvious that there was no linear association, a no finding ('x') was reported in the table.

A hypothetical example of an 'x' finding is shown below.

<u>Orientation of Friends</u>			
<u>Students' Orientation</u>	Majority Positive	Evenly Divided,	Majority Negative
Positive	10	7	10
Negative	8	1	9

Combining the "evenly divided" column with the "majority positive" column would seriously inflate an otherwise very weak association.

However in the example below the judgment would be that no violation was done to the data by collapsing the table.

<u>Orientation of Friends</u>			
<u>Students' Orientation</u>	Majority Positive	Evenly Divided	Majority Negative
Positive	10	11	16
Negative	5	5	18

While the judgments are partly subjective, it is my conviction that overall the procedure neither bolstered nor prejudiced hypotheses. Further interpretation of the data rests primarily on the overall findings rather than any particular calculation.

A P P E N D I X OTABLE O - 1The Comparative Strength of Associations between Various Aspects (Gamma Co-efficients) of Religious OrientationBOYS

1.	Religious Experience - Refer God's will	.81
2.	Prayer - Refer God's will	.79
3.	Religious Ideals - School application	.76
4.	Doctrine - Refer God's will	.68
	Religious Experience - Religious Ideals	.68
6.	Refer God's will - School application	.64
7.	Churchgoing - Religious Ideals	(.62)
8.	Refer God's will - Religious Concern	.58
9.	Religious Ideals - Miracles	.57
10.	Religious Ideals - Religious Concern	.56
11.	Prayer - School application	.55
	Prayer - Doctrine	.55
13.	Religious Experience - Doctrine	.54
14.	Churchgoing - Refer God's will	(.53)
15.	Religious Experience - Miracles	.52
16.	Doctrine - School application	.49
	Religious Concern - School application	.49
18.	Churchgoing - Religious Concern	(.46)
	Miracles - School application	.46
20.	Religious Experience - Religious Concern	.45
21.	Churchgoing - Prayer	(.44)
	Churchgoing - Doctrine	(.44)
	Churchgoing - Religious Experience	(.44)
24.	Prayer - Religious Concern	.43
25.	Churchgoing - Miracles	(.42)
26.	Churchgoing - School application	(.41)
27.	Doctrine - Religious Concern	.39

TABLE 0 - 1 (contd.)

GIRLS

1. (2) Prayer	- Refer God's will	.73
2. (1) Religious Experience	- Refer God's will	.72
3. (10) Religious Ideals	- Religious Concern	.70
4. (3) Religious Ideals	- School application	.66
5. (6) Refer God's will	- School application	.61
6. (4) Doctrine	- Refer God's will	.54
7. (16) Doctrine	- School application	.53
8. (7) Churchgoing	- Religious Ideals	(.50)
(9) Religious Ideals	- Miracles	.50
10. (18) Churchgoing	- Religious Concern	(.49)
(16) Religious Concern	- School application	.49
(8) Refer God's will	- Religious Concern	.49
13. (4) Religious Experience	- Religious Ideals	.44
14. (26) Churchgoing	- School application	(.47)
(20) Religious Experience	- Religious Concern	.47
16. (24) Prayer	- Religious Concern	.46
(11) Prayer	- School application	.46
18. (22) Churchgoing	- Doctrine	(.45)
(19) Miracles	- School application	.45
20. (21) Churchgoing	- Prayer	(.43)
21. (25) Churchgoing	- Miracles	(.42)
22. (13) Religious Experience	- Doctrine	.41
(15) Religious Experience	- Miracles	.41
24. (11) Prayer	- Doctrine	.39
25. (14) Churchgoing	- Refer God's will	(.38)
(23) Churchgoing	- Religious Experience	(.38)
27. (27) Doctrine	- Religious Concern	.37

Associations between churchgoing and other aspects of religious orientation have been placed in brackets.

Ranking of strength of associations among boys has been placed alongside (and in brackets) that of the girls for quick comparison.

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