DENOMINATIONAL HOLDING POWER
AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF COLLEGE

STUDENTS AND THE HOLDING POWER OF

CHURCH DENOMINATIONS

BY

MARIANNE FERGUSON, M.A. M.S.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

February, 1980

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY   (1980)   McMASTER UNIVERSITY
(Religious Sciences)   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Religious Identity of College Students
           and the Holding Power of Church Denominations

AUTHOR: Marianne Ferguson, B.S. in Education (State Univer-
                                 sity College of New York
                                 at Buffalo.
                            M.A. (St. Bonaventure University)
                            M.S. (State University of New
                                 York at Buffalo)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Hans Mol

NUMBER OF PAGES: **xxxv, 301**

Abstract

This dissertation serves the purpose of contribut-
ing to the sociological understanding of religion by ap-
plying the identity theory of religion to religious denom-
inations. Hans Mol's integration/differentiation dialec-
tic serves as a heuristic device to examine reasons for
college students' decisions to leave or remain in their
familial denominations. Individuals form an identifica-
tion with a religious denomination. The factors that in-
fluence the identity building process are mostly connected
with the meaning and belonging dimensions of religion. The
factors that diminish or inhibit the identity building
process are associated with individualism, increased intel-
lectual sophistication, autonomy, religious pluralism and
secularization.

In order to test the theory with empirical evidence,
a questionnaire was administered to 600 college students at
State University College at Buffalo. Factor analysis di-
vided some of the questions into clusters of meaning and
belonging statements. Students were grouped into catego-
ries of committed, participating, nominal and separated
members of their denominations. The committed members
(those who pray and attend church frequently, and say that
belief in God and religion plays a dominant part in their

lives) responded more favorably to the meaning over the be-
longing questions. Students in the nominal membership cat-
egory were more likely to respond favorably to the belong-
ing questions, than to the meaning questions.

Part of the thesis analyzed the holding power of re-
ligious denominationson college students. The results of
the questionnaire indicated that the most significant vari-
able was the character of the denomination itself, followed
by the amount of religious education, sex and age. The
Catholic denomination, the cohesion of which is nurtured by
weekly public worship and the parochial school system was
the most significant variable in determining the degree of
commitment as well as the holding power for Catholic stu-
dents. The other demographic variables of years in college,
residence, nationality, parents' educational background,
occupation or family income were not significant.

Finally, students at Buffalo State reflect the op-
timism of Mol in that religious denominations, like reli-
gion itself, will continue to exist in American society.
Although the students distinguished between their belief in
God and their loyalty to a denomination, the holding power
of the denominations is high, which indicates that they con-
tinue to act out their religious beliefs with a support
group of like minded individuals called a denomination.

Introduction

Parents who come to orientation programs at Buffalo State college claim that they hesitate to send thir children to college because they fear that college will have a negative influence on students' religious beliefs and practices. Many of today's parents of college age children grew up in the rather conservative decade of the nineteen fifties when religion was considered an important value. This study will examine the influence of religious beliefs on college students with special consideration for their behavior of leaving or remaining in their denominations. The holding power and degree of commitment to the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denominations will be investigated.

This study uses the sociological survey technique. From a group of variables, it will try to isolate those variables most significant in determining which students leave and which students remain in their denominations. Some of the influences on the decisions of college studdents to leave or remain in their denominations of socialization will also be examined.

In order to investigate the influences that cause students to leave or remain in their denominations, forces of differentiation and integration must be studied. My analysis of identification with denominations depends

upon Professor Hans Mol's identity theory of religion, which centers around the integration/differentiation dialectic. In fact this study appears to be a practical application of Professor Mol's identity theory. The author agrees with his conclusion that the forces of cohesion and integration will prevail over the forces of change and differentiation and that religion will continue as a viable and persistent influence in society. Religious denominations which advocate and incorporate the elements of cohesion and integration will also endure and flourish in America.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

xi

Chapter I

Sociologists of religion have studied at length the relation of religion to college students. Religion is a difficult phenomenon to study because of its abstract and many faceted nature. Religion has been defined in terms of value or essence, but a definition that focuses on process or function has advantages for analytical purposes.

Yinger's definition of religion "as a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life"[1] stresses the belief or essence dimension as well as the social relationship and purpose or function of religion. The believers could be members of a religious organization as they labor together in social relationships in order to discover meaning in life.

Geertz's definition describes religion as more distinct from the institutional or organized forms. He describes it as "a system of symbols which act to establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic."[2] Geertz's definition has an advantage in that it is more abstract and contains the potential for wide applicability for those who do not care to affiliate with institutional religion.

1

However in trying to make the distinctions between institutional religion and religion as a phenomenon, one encounters difficulties. Many people will say that their private belief system includes a faith in God and a variety of religious practices, but they do not adhere to an organized church, denomination or sect. "A complete religion, however, is a social phenomenon; it is shared, and it takes on many of its most significant aspects only in the interaction of the group. Both the feelings from which it springs and the solutions it offers are social; they arise from the fact that man is a group living animal."[3]

Although it is difficult to distinguish religion as general phenomenon and religion as institution, these dimensions have been studied separately. Empirical studies relating to college students have divided their emphasis between participation in institutional religion (Hoge 1974, Caplovitz, 1977, Wuthnow and Glock 1973) and general attitudes toward religion (Yankelovich 1974, Glock and Bellah 1976, Fichter 1967). College students especially, have made the claim that they are religious but have no need of attachment to a church.

In North America, the separation of institutional religion into the types of church and sect has added the new dimension of denominationalism. Andrew Greeley claims that American society is nearly unique among world societies as a denominational society. Greeley means that "the rela-

ship is characterized by neither an established church nor a protesting sect."[4] Rather, society and religion interrelate through a considerable number of essentially equal religious organizations. He emphasizes the social organizational aspect of denominationalism which is associated with church attendance, financial contributions, church membership, organizational participation, and clergy relationships.

Institutional religion has provided the membership with two very important dimensions of their religiosity: authoritative belief systems and a community of support. Membership in the denomination causes the adherent to regard himself/herself as Baptist, Catholic, Jew, Pentecostal, Protestant etc. William Christian says that people have an identity as something (church or denomination member). They also have this identity with someone (other denomination member). "Whatever it is, that is the source for the identity, it links members of an identity group together. It provides a self-concept and the potential for a relationship with others who share the same self-concept."[5] Participation in the denomination causes this sense of identification with the denomination to develop. Withdrawal from the denomination would be accompanied by a loss of authoritative belief and a community of support as well as a loss of identification with others who share the same self concept of the denomination member.

The holding power of some denominations seem to

exceed the holding power of others. In the United States, an inconsistent situation exists, in that religion is esteemed, but churches are not popular (McCready and Greeley, 1976). College students seem to exemplify this situation in that many of them depart from their religion of familial association. However, many college students claim to believe in God, in religious experience, in the effectiveness of prayer and in moral imperatives, without any formal affiliation with a denomination. One of the purposes of this study is to investigate the holding power of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denominations for college students.

Previous research (Caplovitz and Sherrow, 1977) examined the germs of apostasy from institutional religion for college graduates. "These included poor parental relations, symptoms of maladjustment or neurosis, a radical leftest political orientation and a commitment to intellectualism and an intellectual career."[6] With the thought that their findings might also be applicable to undergraduate students, some similar hypotheses were drawn up by me. However, the term apostate seems too severe for college students in that their drop out from organized religion is often more temporary and the attitude of open repudiation of their denominations is often missing. Some college students may not attend church services, but they fail to display open feelings of hostility, anger or vengeance.

I would prefer to call this group the "unchurched" in that they are often open to evangelization but not identi-

cation with a religious institution. They would pray, express belief in God, and perhaps read scriptures apart from a religious community of organizational affiliation. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States defined the unchurched as "a person who is not a member of a church or synagogue, or who has not attended a church or synagogue in the last six months apart from weddings, funerals or special holidays." [7] This label seems more appropriate to the behavior of most college students because college is a time for many of them to experiment with new roles and new foci of identity.

Many students are not irreligious, but have withdrawn from religious institutions. The withdrawal is accompanied by a loss of religious identification with the institution or denomination. Religiosity is composed of religious faith which provides the meaning dimension, according to Weber. It also provides a belonging or communal function, as Durkheim has proposed. Together the two dimensions, belief and community, provide a religious identity. Therefore loss of faith, belief or belonging, produce a loss of religious identification or religious identity.

It would seem that the Identity Theory of J. J. Mol would be appropriate for discussing the reasons for religious affiliation and withdrawal. Since the denomin-

ations provide religious identification based on faith and
a sense of community, withdrawal must be precipitated by a
loss of this religious identification. Mol describes reli-
gion in his Identity Theory, as "the sacralization of iden-
tity."[8] To him the mechanisms of sacralization consist of
objectification, ritual and myth. The Identity Theory seems
to fulfill the qualifications of Yinger for a general theory
of religion, "one that is capable of dealing with the cul-
tural, structural, and character elements in religious be-
havior and with their interaction."[9] Yinger says that func-
tional theories deal with causal processes and consequences.
Often these consequences feed back into the system out of
which they came, and modify these systems in various ways.
Although functional theory considers dysfunctional as well
as eufunctional elements, functional theories, says Yinger,
usually stress the integrating factors and conflict theories,
usually stress the disintegrating aspects of religion. Most
sociologists stress either the unifying or conflicting ele-
ments. However, it is important to combine the functional
and conflict theories because what is functional for one unit
in society, may be dysfunctional for another unit in the same
system. Since both aspects, function and conflict, are pres-
ent in society and its parts, they must be viewed together.

Mol's identity theory posits the dialectic of
stability, continuity and integration vs. change, differ-
ence and differentiation which enables the functional and

conflict aspects to be contained within the same theory.
The identity theory depicts the development and progression
of both forces at the same time. The tensions among indi-
viduals, groups and larger societies are also accounted
for. If one side of the dialectic is stressed at the ex-
pense of the other, historical evidence is denied. The
dialectic is related to biological behavior in animals and
humans in Mol's theory, where too much order and stability
can stagnate development and adaptation. Similarly too
much adaptation, innovation and creativity can become de-
structive of order.

Mol uses religion in a wide sense, the sacrali-
zation of identity. This definition has advantages from
the functionalists' viewpoint in that it reveals what re-
ligion does for society. Some would prefer to define re-
ligion by its essence, and therefore link religion more
to the transcendent. However, Mol includes a reference
to beliefs and values in the sacralization mechanism of
objectification.

> "Identity on the personal level is the stable
> niche that man occupies in a potentially chaotic
> environment which he is therefore vigorously
> prepared to defend. Similarly on the social
> level, a stable aggregate of basic commonly held
> beliefs, patterns and values maintains itself
> over against the potential threat of its en-
> vironment and its members." 10

A sense of religious identification is connected
to a person's sense of his own identity. Mol says that

"the need for identity is the most powerful and pervasive
among the species."[11] Erikson says that the individual's
identity crisis must be resolved before he reaches maturity.
Various foci of identity make up this sense of identity in-
cluding the identification as Christian, Jewish, Islamic
etc. Wheelis (1956) defines identity as a coherent sense
of self which occurs when one's values and actions are har-
moniously related. He stresses the integrative side of the
dialectic of the identity theory because he feels that one's
identity depends upon an awareness that one's endeavors and
one's life make sense. These authors seem to support the
framework of the identity theory from psychological and
philosophical viewpoints.

Mol defines sacralization as "the process by means
of which on the level of symbol - systems certain patterns
acquire the same taken-for-granted, stable, eternal, quality
which on the level of instinctive behavior was acquired by
the consolidation and stabilization of new genetic materials."[12]
"This sacralization has a special function in that it pro-
tects identity, a system of meaning, or a definition of re-
ality, and modifies, obstructs, or if necessary legitimates
change."[13] When Mol emphasizes sacralization as a process,
he resembles Eliade who spoke of a certain process in prim-
itive civilization regarding the sacred and the profane.
Eliade said that the demarcation between the sacred and
profane was at times fluid in these primitive civilizations

before this fluidity settled into the hardened rigidity of
more sophisticated civilizations.

College students display the fluidity in thought and
behavior that is characteristic of their stage of social,
emotional and ego development. Because college students seem
to be in the process of ego identity development, the iden-
tity model seems to be appropriate for them.

However, Mol stresses structure as well as process
in his analysis of the sacralization process and function.
This conception of religion as the sacralization of identity
puts the emphasis on the order, unity, integration side of
the dialectic vs. the differentiation, secularization and
disintegration side. The emphasis on stability, order and
integration suggests an optimistic view for the future of
religion. Not all sociologists of religion agree because
many of them point to the demise of religion either through
rationalism or secularism.

Although the identity theory presupposes evolution,
it does not trace religion from magic as Frazer and Spencer
did. As individuals progress through childhood, their
ability, and power to differentiate increases. College
students are reaching the peak of their reasoning ability,
according to Piaget, yet they are limited by their lack of
experience. Again, the identity theory in allowing time
for the process of integration to occur, seems fitted to

the developmental aspects of college students.

Modern industrial and technological society seems to be associated with mankind's increased rational and technical development. The ability to differentiate and make subtle distinctions is an effect of the refinement in human thinking. Although an informed faith is usually based on logical propositions and intellectual doctrine, the commitment dimension is anchored in the emotions and non-rational aspects of man. The rationalists feel that religion must somehow be inferior to the purely intellectual pursuits. Weber, however, sees "rationalization as a power of socialization which religion can provide."[14] He says that reason is a principle of social evolution that creates a more complex, ordered differentiated society, which demands transcendance of private wishes and family interests for the sake of the common good.

Religion provides the motivation to enable man to transcend his selfish or private interests for the sake of order and unity. Man is composed of motive forces and intellectual abilities. It would follow that religion, which encompasses both emotions and reason, would be able to aid man in his adjustment to, and transcendence of, the challenges of life. Since college students are dealing specifically with their intellectual and emotional growth, Mol's theory appears to lend a comprehensive framework.

Footnotes for Chapter I

1. J. Milton Yinger, The Scientific Study of Religion (MacMillan: London 1970) p. 7

2. Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture (Basic Books: New York, 1973) p. 90

3. Yinger, Ibid p. 10

4. Andrew M. Greeley, The Denominational Society (Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman, 1972) p. 1

5. William A. Christian, Person and God in a Spanish Valley (New York: Seminar Press, 1972) p.11

6. David Caplovitz and Fred Sherrow, The Religious Drop Out: Apostasy Among College Graduates (Sage Publications, 1977) p. 6

7. The Unchurched American Convened and coordinated by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (Princeton Religious Research Center, 1978) p. 2

8. H. J. Mol, Identity and the Sacred (New York: Free Press, 1976) p. 9

9. Yinger, Ibid p. 82

10. Mol, Ibid p. 65

11. Mol, Ibid p. 5

12. Mol, Opcit

13. Mol, Ibid p. 6

14. Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) p. 29

Chapter II

Religious Identification and the Denominations

Religious affiliation differs from religious inter-
est or from valuing religion as a phenomenon. One must dis-
tinguish between an allegiance and involvement in religious
institutions and an admiration for religion as separate from
the institution. During interviews with the students, the
common response was made, "I believe in God, but I do not
find it necessary to belong to a church."

However, when asked how they would operationalize
their belief in God, most students could give no more im-
aginative suggestions than those usually associated with re-
ligious denominations. The responses usually fell into
functions and activities of religious denominations, such as
church-going, private and public devotions, religious in-
structions, bible study, and activities that would help the
underprivileged. Their denominational background likely
influenced their responses because 98 percent of them re-
sponded that they had been reared in a religious denomina-
tion.

Although college students were brought up in re-
ligious denominations, many of these persons do not claim
membership now. This study examines the holding power of
religious denominations on students who attend Buffalo

State college. By identifying the students who depart from denominations, as well as those who remain, some predictions may be made regarding the holding power of the various denominations. The basic hypothesis is that individuals build an identification to a religious denomination. Some factors increase this identity building process, other factors inhibit this procedure. The factors that influence the identification building process are mostly connected with meaning (Weber) and belonging (Durkheim). The factors that influence the identification inhibiting or deterioration process are associated with individualism, increased intellectual sophistication, religious pluralism and secularization.

The present denominational affiliation of Buffalo State students is 83 percent which is nine percentage points lower than the national average reported by the Gallup poll (1979) of 92 percent. The present religious affiliation is also lower than the familial religious affiliation by 15 percent. In order to examine the holding power of denominations, one must determine which students left these denominations as well as their place and time of departure. Students returning to their denominations after a period of withdrawal or converting to the denominations will also influence holding power.

The present denominational composition of Buffalo State students consists of 17 percent Protestant, 56 percent Catholic, four percent Jewish, seven percent Other, and 17

percent with no religious affiliation. This percentage con-
trasts sharply with the figures for religious affiliation at
home. Students responding to the question, "what denomin-
ation were you brought up in" replied that they were 23 per-
cent Protestant, 67 percent Catholic, five percent Jewish,
four percent Other categories, and only one percent None or
no religious preference. Table one shows the difference be-
tween the present and home affiliation.

Table 1: Difference between students' present and familial
religious affiliation.

Present denomination			Home denomination		
	Percent	Number		Percent	Number
Protestant	17	(98)	Protestant	23	(133)
Catholic	56	(331)	Catholic	67	(400)
Jewish	4	(25)	Jewish	5	(31)
Other	7	(43)	Other	4	(24)
None	16	(98)	None	1	(7)
Total	100	(595)	Total	100	(595)
Missing 2			Missing 2		

The larger denominations sustained a loss and the
categories of no religious preference and other increased.
The Protestant denomination sustained the greatest loss, 26
percent. Jews were next in losing 19 percent of their mem-
bers and Catholics last with a 17 percent loss. The smaller
religious denominations labelled other, which was composed
mostly of nondenominational groups as Campus Crusade, Inter-
varsity and Charismatic/Pentecostal nearly doubled. The
largest growth went to the no religious preference group,
which increased 14 times . The reverse of the departure
rate from the denominations reveals their holding power,

which is the highest for Catholics at 83 percent, closely
followed by the Jews with 81 percent and the Protestants
trailing with 74 percent. The combined holding power of
these three denominations is 79 percent.

In a decade of surveying four million college fresh-
men, Astin (1977) found, "the number of students identifying
themselves as Protestant, Catholic or Jewish declined by
about 20 percent each."[1] Buffalo State students show a
strong resemblance to other college students with their de-
clining rate of 21 percent for the same denominations.
However, Astin's students and Buffalo State students both
differ from Hastings and Hoge (1976) who found a drastic
decrease in holding power for college students over a twenty-
six year period at Williams College for men. They found
that holding power percents for the Catholics were 73 in
1948, 65 in 1967, and 30 in 1974. For Protestants, they
were 58 in 1948, 34 in 1967, and 22 in 1974. For the Jews,
they were 22 in 1948, 50 in 1967, and 48 in 1974.

Part of the holding power of the denominations is
explained by movement across denominational lines in the
form of conversion. Protestants lost four percent of their
students to Catholicism, ten percent to other denominations
and 19 percent to the no religious preference group. How-
ever, this loss was counterbalanced by conversions to
Protestantism. Two percent of the Catholics moved into
the Protestant ranks along with one student who had no

previous religious affiliation.

Likewise Catholics departed to other denominations or to no religious preference. Two percent of the Catholics became Protestant. Three percent entered the other denomination category, but most of the Catholics entered the no preference group, 15 percent. However, Catholics picked up converts from other groups to compensate a little of their loss. Two percent came from Protestantism, and one student each came from the Jewish, "Other" and "None" categories.

Jews, like Catholics, showed a greater departure to the no preference category than to other denominations. Only one Jew was converted to Catholicism and five entered the no preference group. No one converted to Judaism from other denominations.

Students designating themselves as "Other" showed a marked increase in their number because many students from other denominations moved into their ranks. However there were some departures from the "Other" category as well. One student became Catholic and four students entered the no preference category. Most of the movement comprised entrance into the "Other" group which attracted 30 percent from Protestantism and 26 percent from Catholicism.

The largest growing category was the one designated as no religious preference or "None". Only two

students converted from the no preference category, one changed to Protestantism and one changed to Catholicism. However the no religious preference category swelled its ranks with 26 percent of the respondents raised as Protestant, 60 percent raised as Catholic, five percent raised as Jews and four percent from the other category.

Table 2 shows the complete interaction of denominations, and demonstrates the percentage of students who moved to and from the denominations.

Table 2:　Percentage of students who moved from their home
　　　　　religious affiliation to other categories.

Present religious affiliation	Home Religious Affiliation					
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None	Total
Protestant	68	2	0	0	14	N=98
Catholic	5	80	3	4	14	N=331
Jewish	0	0	81	0	0	N=25
Other	10	3	0	79	0	N=24
None	17	15	16	17	72	N=98
Total	100	100	100	100	100	595
	N=133	N=400	N=31	N=24	N=7	

Missing - 2 cases.

An analysis of the data will occur in the following chapters as reasons for departure from and continuation in religious denominations are examined. It was hypothesized that those students remaining in their denominations would affirm the importance of religion in their lives. Seventy-six percent of the students replied that religion was important in their daily living. Protestants, Catholics and Others attributed more importance to religion than the Jews or the no religious preference group.

Table 3: Percentage of students' responses by denomination to "To what degree is religion important in your day to day living?"

Importance of religion in daily life	Present Religious Affiliation					
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None	Total
Very important	30	28	8	51	7	
Moderately impt.	26	37	4	26	14	
Somewhat impt.	24	23	42	14	12	
Not very impt.	14	10	25	2	24	
Not important	6	2	21	7	43	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	592
	N=97	N=329	N=24	N=23	N=99	

Missing 5 cases.

However, valuing religion as important in one's life and prizing religious institutions are not the same. Many students make the distinction between religion as a phenomenon and religion as an institution. Almost two-thirds of the students agreed that they needed an organized church to help them practice their religion but this percentage is lower than the three fourths who affirmed the importance of religion in their lives. I had expected a much greater difference between the two responses, but most students who affiliate with a denomination show a favorable attitude toward the institutional church. Over three-fourths of the Protestants and Catholics indicated some need for an organized church. Fifty percent of the Jews acknowledged this need as did 71 percent of the nondenominational group. An unexpected response came from the no religious preference group when 15 percent of them affirmed the need for an institutional church.

Table 4: Percentage of students by denomination responding
to the question "To what degree do you feel that
you need organized church to help you practice
your religion?"

Degree to which one needs an organized church	Present Religious Affiliation					
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None	Total
Large degree	25	17	5	19	4	
Moderate degree	24	35	25	26	2	
Some degree	21	24	20	26	9	
Not much	16	15	10	7	14	
Not at all	14	9	40	22	71	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	586
	N=97	N=329	N=20	N=42	N=98	

Missing 11 cases.

This rather high interest in the institutional church
contradicts many of the findings concerning college students
and religion. (Hoge and Hastings 1976; Caplovitz 1977;
Hunt and King 1969; Hoge 1974). However, the change re-
flected here may represent a change in the national feelings
of disenchantment with religious institutions. Princeton
Religion Research Center in March 1979 published a Gallup
survey in which respondents were asked to indicate the de-
gree of confidence they have in key institutions. A national
sample of adults rated the churches or organized religion
highest, followed by banks, the military, the public schools,
U. S. supreme court, big business, television and labor
unions. The economic squeeze of the late seventies may have
given birth to new feelings of conservatism which produce a
respect for institutions in general and institutional
churches in particular.

Individuals need money and leisure in order to afford some forms of liberalism. When the means of securing property are curtailed in an economic recession, individuals often become more conservative and respectful towards institutions which provide job opportunities and other services which are becoming increasingly limited.

The college experience itself has often been studied in its relation to the religious attitudes of students. Some researchers have found that college has a negative influence on the holding power of the denominations and the religiosity of the students. (Feldman 1969; Wuthnow and Glock 1973; Moberg and McEnery 1976). Others have failed to find large amounts of religious change during the college experience. (Hastings and Hoge 1976; Hunsberger 1976 and 1978).

Astin (1978) found that college influenced students' change to less religiosity and altruism, along with reduced interest in athletics, business, music and status. He found that Jewish students experienced the greatest decrease in religiousness and the greatest increase in liberalism. Hoge (1976) reported a decline in traditional religion among students between 1952 and 1974. A decreased frequency of attendance at Mass and confession among Catholics between 1961 and 1971 was found at Marquette by Moberg and McEnery (1976). Wuthnow and Glock (1973) reported that data from polls of students at Berkeley showed a trend away

from conventional religion. Likewise, Hoge and Hastings (1976) reported that the number of students rejecting their home religious tradition increased. They found that church participation decreased but not orthodoxy after 1967.

Hunt (1973) feels that the measures used to determine the religiosity of college students are inadequate in that they really measure a shift from a literal-fundamentalist-interpretation of Protestant Christianity to a more liberal-mythological-symbolic interpretation, rather than a change in religiosity. Hunsberger (1978) found contradictory evidence for decline in religiosity during college. Although seniors reported attending church less frequently than freshmen, limited evidence was found to support the "supposed trend away from orthodoxy in religious beliefs, practices and reactions to parental religious teachings."[2] Hunsberger's evidence offered little support for the proposal that students become less religious with their years at the university.

College students at Buffalo State were not likely to affirm the influence of college on their religious attitudes. These students are similar to those in Jacobs' study in 1957. He found that students' values were not changed over the four years at college. In response to the question, "to what degree do you feel that your college experiences have influenced your religion?" only 39 percent of Buffalo State students agreed, and 37 percent responded that

college made no difference at all.

Protestants reported the most openness to the influence of college on religion with 45 percent answering in the affirmative. Only 39 percent of the Catholics and 17 percent of the Jews indicated this influence. Those students who have no religious affiliation admitted to a higher influence that the Jewish students, 33 percent.

The highest response, 48 percent, came from the category called "Other" which is composed of many nondenominational groups, who stress the conversion experience. These groups are very active and highly visible with their concerted efforts to secure converts from the student population. Because this conversion experience occurs during college, the influence of college on religion would be higher.

Table 5: Percentage of students' responses, by denomination, to the question, "to what degree do you feel that your college experiences have influenced your religious attitudes?"

College influenced religious attitude	Present Religious Affiliation					
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None	Total
Large degree	13	9	4	16	5	
Moderate degree	20	12	4	18	11	
Some degree	12	18	9	14	17	
Little degree	21	27	25	25	17	
Not at all	34	34	58	27	50	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	(592)
	N=97	N=328	N=24	N=44	N=99	

Missing 5 cases.

If the influence of college is so negligible on

students, the question must be examined as to when the departure from denominations occurs. The results of my research support Hunsberger (1978) in that general change, if it does take place, may will occur during the high school years. Students who decide to drop out of or shift from their familial religious affiliation do make this decision before reaching university.

In response to the question, "if you changed from your original familial religious affiliation to another affiliation or to none at all, when did it occur?", half of the 22 percent of the students who changed denominations, responded that they did so during high school. The next highest percentage, five percent, occurred during junior high school. Of the college population, freshmen sustained the greatest loss of three percent, followed by college sophomores with one percent. The combined juniors' and seniors' rate of change was under one percentage point. There is a difference between the 78 percent no change group shown by table 6 and the 83 percent holding power referred to on page 12 because three percent of the students returned to their familial denomination after a period of absence, and only 98 percent of the student body originally affiliated with a denomination.

Table 6: Percentage of students responding to the question, "if you changed from your original familial religious affiliation to another affiliation or to none at all, when did it occur?"

| | Home Religious Affiliation | | | | |
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other	None
Changed religious affiliation	31	19	10	29	43
Changed before college	24	14	7	21	43
Change occurred during college	7	5	3	8	0
	N=41	N=75	N=6	N=7	N=3

Most changes from the familial religious affiliation were made before college. Of the mainline denominations, the Protestants showed the greatest rate of change before and during college. Catholics were next and Jews last. Those registering as "Other" and "None" had a much higher rate of change before college than during it. However Protestants have the highest ratio of change before entering college.

Fifty-five students registered as members of Campus Crusade, Intervarsity and Pentecostal/Charismatic or other nondenominational groups. The 55 students, or nine percent of the student body sample, are very active and visible. Their low numbers negated the hypothesis that the nondenominational groups were a large group on campus.

The holding power of the mainline denominations are rather high, Protestants, 74 percent; Jews, 81 percent; and

Catholics, 83 percent. But if one examines the holding power before conversions to the denominations, the holding power appears lower. If one disregards any movement to and from the denominations and focuses only on those students who showed no changes from their familial affiliation, a more accurate measure of the holding power may be secured. In this situation, the combined holding power for the three main denominations is 73 percent. Sixty-eight percent of the Protestants, 80 percent of the Catholics and 81 percent of the Jews never changed their denominations. In the following discussion of causes for departure from and continuation in the denominations, the holding power will equal those who never changed their denomination.

Some of the reasons for departure from and staying with the familial denominations will be unique to the denomination, but some reasons are common to all denominations. The identity theory will allow us to examine the forces which decrease the holding power as well as those which increase identification with the denomination.

Footnotes   Chapter II

1. Alexander Astin, "The New Realists" <u>Psychology
Today</u> (Sept. 1977 Vol. II) p. 53

2. Bruce Hunsberger, "Stability and Change During
College" <u>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</u>
Vol. 17   No. 2   June 1978   p. 159-164

Chapter III

Forces Diminishing the Sense of Religious

Identification with Denominations

A. Increased Intellectual Sophistication

Scholars and journalists have written a great deal
about the tension between intellectualism and religion.
Wuthnow and Glock (1973) found that defectors from religion
at Berkeley had higher grade-point averages and exhibited
less of a tendency to worry about grades than those stu-
dents who did not defect. These findings supported the re-
sults of Hoge (1974) who reported that students with higher
Scholastic Aptitude Test scores were associated with lower
orthodoxy and religious behavior. The decision to drop out
of their religion of socialization at the high school level
was attributed to accelerated learning and cognitive devel-
opment by Hoge and Hastings (1976).

Caplovitz (1977) reports that the self-description
most strongly associated with apostasy was "intellectual".
A National Opinion Research Center (NORC) study of 1962 of
graduate students, demonstrated higher apostasy rates among
the more intellectual students. College faculty rates of
departure from their religions of socialization as measured
by NORC in 1969 showed 28 percent for Jewish faculty mem-
bers as compared to 24 percent for Catholics and Protes-

tants. Wilensky and Ladinsky (1967), Anderson (1968), DeJong and Faulkner (1972), Steinberg (1974) have found that college teachers are traditionally less religious in beliefs and practices than the general population. Stark (1963) and Steinberg (1974) reported that college teachers who are more intellectually oriented and productive in publishing are less traditionally religious than their colleagues.

Not all evidence supports the thesis that intellectualism causes defection. Zelan (1968) and Greeley (1977) say that those who are dissatisfied with their religious denomination and beliefs turn to intellectualism as a pseudo-religion Caplovitz (1977) finds some support to this proposal in that many of his defectors who identified themselves as "intellectuals" also found themselves with poor parental relations, and a high interest in radicalism. Alienation from the general culture occurs for many students during high school. Anderson (1969) concludes that this situation inclines many of them toward intellectualism.

In a study of 307 teachers at two universities to examine the import of intellectual culture on religion, Hoge and Keeter (1976) found that religious commitments are little affected by intellectual training. Many factors enter into the religiosity of college teachers besides professional factors such as childhood religion and home culture. However, the professional and occupational factors show that:

"teachers tended to be lower in religiosity who

(a) had higher scholarly production, (b) spent more
time in basic research, (c) saw themselves as intel-
lectuals, (d) felt uncomfortably different from non-
academics. In addition, teachers were higher in re-
ligiosity who (a) had been a longer time in their
present appointment, (b) saw themselves as relatively
committed to the university, (c) felt it important to
be liked by different kinds of people, (d) felt free
to speak out on controversial issues." 1

Empirical findings often conflict regarding the pos-

itive or negative influence of intellectualism on religion.

There is likewise some disagreement as to which, religion or

intelligence, is the independent variable. Nevertheless the

strongest evidence is in favor of some   association

between the two variables. College students are committed

to some form of intellectualism by their very presence at

the university.

Intellectual commitment of the students was inves-

tigated by two questions concerning the educational back-

ground of parents and the student's purpose for attending

college. It was presumed that students whose parents were

better educated, would be more exposed to intellectual dis-

cussions and academic expectations in the home. Likewise,

students whose purpose for attending college included the

desire for development of mental ability and appreciation of

knowledge and ideas would be more intellectually oriented

than career-oriented students.

Because intellectualism is related to a higher de-

parture rate from denominations, it was hypothesized that

students whose parents were better educated and whose pur-

pose in attending college included knowledge and appreciation of ideas, would have the lowest holding power.

The hypothesis was not supported for the students whose parents were highly educated. Parents who only had an elementary school education were the most likely to have college students who would drop out of their denomination. There was a significant difference between the holding power of students with college-educated parents and grade school-educated parents. In fact, a college education for parents appears to be associated with a higher staying power for their college-aged children. Parents with post graduate degrees were associated with a slightly lower holding power for their children.

When controlling for denominations, the numbers in each category were too small to show significant differences. There was no discernible pattern for the education of either parent, except that Protestant holding power decreased for post college educated fathers.

Table 7:   Percentage of holding power of religious affil-
            iation by education of parents.

                              Student Body
Education of Mother
    Elementary school   69   N=36
    High school   79   N=237
    Part college   72   N=78
    College graduate   82   N=77
    Post college   80   N=31
Education of Father
    Elementary school   73   N=45
    High school   75   N=178
    Part college   80   N=74
    College graduate   82   N=88
    Post college   80   N=72

Intellectual commitment was also investigated

through a question about purpose in attending college. The

students' responses were equally divided between career

choices and intellectual pursuits. Forty-seven percent

said that their main purpose in attending college was to get

the information, training and qualifications needed for a

career. Another 46 percent saw as their main purpose the

development of their potential creative mental ability and

appreciation of knowledge and ideas. Only three percent

cited the purpose of developing moral capacities, ethical

standards and values. Another one percent specified the

desire to develop the ability to get along with a variety of

people. The remaining three percent gave "other reasons"

for their purpose in attending college.

The basic assumption was that those students citing

the purpose for college as development of mental ability and

appreciation of knowledge and ideas would be more intellect-

ually oriented than those who attended college for career

betterment. Assuming that the former students were more in-

tellectual, it was expected that they would have a larger

departure rate from their religion of socialization.

Table 8: Percentage of holding power of religious affili-
ation by students' purpose for attending college
and denomination.

Purpose of college	Holding Power Student Body		Denomination Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Career training	82	(283)	67	86	87
Develop mental abilities	73	(284)	69	76	73
		(567)			

More students whose purpose for attending college

was to "develop their potential creative mental ability and

appreciation of knowledge and ideas" left their denomination

of familial affiliation than career-minded students. The

difference of nine percentage points between the two groups

is significant at the .05 level and is therefore enough to

support the hypothesis that the more intellectual students

are those most likely to depart from their home denomination.

The hypothesis was supported for Catholics and Jews,

but not for Protestants. There was a significant difference

for the former groups but there was no difference for Prot-

estants. Moreover, Protestants who have the highest de-

parture rate, compared with Catholics and Jews, also have

10 percent more students registering their purpose in col-

lege as seeking knowledge.

The students whose purpose in college is to develop
their mental abilities did leave their denominations at an
earlier age than the career-oriented students. There was a
significant percentage difference between the knowledge-
seeking students who left their denominations during high
school and the career-furthering students. The former stu-
dents' problems with the institutional church began at an
earlier age which might be attributed to accelerated cog-
nitive development.

Students, as they progress in schooling, do become
increasingly aware of distinctions, categories, thought
patterns, reasoning power and intellectual pursuits. These
objectives are not always in harmony with their religious
knowledge, background and goals. Increased intellectual
sophistication can often lead to cognitive conflict between
old forms of religious faith and newly acquired knowledge.
This in turn causes a breakdown of the identification to
the religious denomination.

Religious thought sometimes takes on the character-
istics of preformal thought. Preformal thought is defined by
Piaget (1967) as that stage of intelligence prior to genuine
mental operations. Mental operations progress through the
concrete to the formal stage. The concrete stage is char-
acterized by a logic that is still tied to perceptual re-
ality as is demonstrated by most children from seven to
twelve years of age. The stage of formal thought enables

one to perform abstract logical operations which are expressed in universal propositions based on hypothesis or deduction and are more typical of the adolescent and adult.

However, religious thought in revelatory religions, as Judeo-Christian, puts the believer's relation to God into a position that is analogous to that of a child before his parents. The believer receives the religious truth from God. Then his affections move him not only to adhere to the truths, but also to the truthfulness of God who offers these doctrines. The believer then assents in affective confidence to the person of God or His representatives from whom he receives the truth as is characteristic of preformal thought.

This situation makes it difficult to organize religious thoughts coherently in an intellectual fashion. Rather, religious concepts are juxtaposed in a teleological manner instead of articulated in a logic typical of the stage of formal thought. Without the intellectual affirmation, religious thought can depend too much on the affective experience. College students who are exposed to objective content tend to dismiss the affective element as nonacademic. They also are troubled by the nonlogical linking of religious concepts which are so often only juxtaposed subjectively and defy intellectual articulation. This situation leads to an attitude toward religion as an individual, subjective, mental experience, which fails to give it much academic credence, and in turn, fails to influence the behavior of many

college students.

> "Individual religious experience lays much less of
> an obligation on its possessor to determine exactly
> the mental schemata which implicitly structure his
> activity - - - There is then a greater risk that
> when it comes to religion, the human understanding
> may remain at the level of precausality, with all
> the epistemological disadvantages that this in-
> volves."   2

There is a possibility of religion remaining on the
level of precausality because of the childlike and teleo-
logical stance of the believer. The affective and sub-
jective elements of religious thought can extend to the
cosmological interpretation of students also. The be-
liever's understanding of his relations with God, other
persons, and his representation and explanation of the
universe, can fail to progress to more adult levels of
thinking. The student can become a prisoner of his own
egocentric needs projected upon an anthropocentric God.
He then suffers the consequences of those contradictions
when he is disappointed in prayer, or in his attempts to
control this God. He then turns from the religion or its
representatives in the religious institution in anger or
frustration when his pragmatic efforts to interpret his
surroundings fail.

However, although religious thought resembles at
times preformal thought, it is not of itself preformal
thought. Awareness and differentiation distinguish reli-
gious thinking from a childish level of thinking that

cannot transcend immediate experience. The child is not able to be aware of his own mental processes and therefore be critical of them. The adult believer is aware of the limits of his religious thinking and thus can avoid the subjectivity of preformal thought. When the adult, with full awareness of what he is doing, accepts revelation, he consents to entrust himself to God. Differentiation involves a double movement of decentering and recentering. Disengaging himself from his egocentric and singular experience, the believer recenters his faith on objective reality.

> "It is true, of course, that one can reach God only through faith, but it is also true that one can try to distinguish God as much as possible from the instrument by which one reaches him." 3

Many college students have arrived at an awareness of their false religious images and useless attempts to manipulate God by their sometimes unconscious desires. However, they have not always reached the next step of recentering their faith on objective reality or, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, God. Here the analogy of Piaget's development of thought from undifferentiated to more developed forms limps somewhat. Piaget was more concerned with knowledge on the formal logico-mathematical mode proper to the sciences. There are other approaches to the grasping of reality which are more conducive to religious thought. The symbolic, poetic, mythical, reflective and speculative, experiential

and affective are modes that are often less familiar to the intellectual life of the students. The student with a strong science background prevalent in the American school system since Sputnik, will become more involved in the conflict between his old forms of religious faith and his newly found objective knowledge.

This conflict can cause him to question some of the teachings of his church. One cannot be surprised when a student who has been taught critical thinking techniques from elementary school, applies these same techniques to truths of faith. Students have been encouraged to evaluate the information originating from governmental, industrial and military institutions. No matter how much the student might disagree with the directions of these institutions, he cannot leave them. The government, industry and military are integral to his life. However, the student might intellectually disagree with the teachings of his church and can in turn exercise his freedom to leave that church.

Eighty-two persons or two-thirds of the 22 percent of students who changed their affiliation gave as reason for their leaving, "discontent with the church's teaching." Catholics reported the largest percentage, 16, with Protestants, 11, and Jews three. It is likely that Catholicism with its large body of doctrines which demand intellectual assent would be the target of most dissatisfaction.

In cross tabulations between the purpose of attend-

ing college and giving as a reason for leaving the church, "discontent with the church's teachings," those interested in developing their mental capacities ranked higher than those who regarded college as a place of training for a career. It would seem that those who are more accustomed to question would also be at ease in questioning the teachings of their churches.

It is presumed that the level of parent's education will also influence the intellectualism of the student. The following table illustrates the influence of the education of mothers and fathers on students who leave over dissatisfaction with the teachings of the church.

Table 9: Percentage of students who left their denomination because of dissatisfaction with the church's teaching by parent's education.

Mother's Education	Did not leave or left for other reasons	Left discontent with church teaching	
Grade school	75	25	(52)
High school	88	12	(300)
Part college	85	15	(102)
College	87	13	(94)
Post Bachelor	90	10	(40)
	86	14	(594)

Father's Education	Did not leave or left for other reasons	Left discontent with church teaching	
Grade school	84	16	(62)
High school	86	14	(236)
Part college	86	14	(92)
College	91	9	(102)
Post Bachelor	84	16	(90)
	86	14	(587)

As the education of the mother increased, there

was some lessening of the tendency for their children to leave the church because of dissatisfaction with the church's teaching. There was no consistent pattern for the education of fathers. Greeley (1966) found that the father's educational level influenced the religious behavior of the student more than the mother's did. My own data found no difference between either parent's education level influencing the holding power nor the students' departure from their denomination because they were discontent with the teachings of the church.

One would expect some relationship between informed students and criticism of the quality of the services performed in the churches or synagogues. Students are accustomed to evaluating their teachers, books, plays, movies, sports, etc. This evaluation would be expected to extend to their religious services also. One of the alternatives given for reasons for leaving the denomination of socialization was "poor quality of religious services."

Students were asked to darken as many blanks as they felt necessary to express reasons for leaving their denomination. Besides "discontent with the church's teachings", seven percent of the Protestants, eight percent of the Catholics but no Jews marked "poor quality of religious services." Evidently the Jews found their religious services more satisfying than the others which is surprising in that some of them use the Hebrew language which is not understood by all. Perhaps the element of mystery is

missing when only the vernacular is used in religious serv-
ices. One would expect the quality of religious services
to include the sermons which the Jews are likely to find
more adequate. However, when controlling for residence,
seven times as many students living at home cite poor qual-
ity of religious services as those living in the dormitory.
This situation may reflect the efforts of campus ministry
to hold religious services appropriate to the college stu-
dent.

Regarding purpose in attending college, nine per-
cent of the students who were interested in developing their
mental capacities reported dissatisfaction with the quality
of religious services. They differed significantly from
the career oriented students who were less likely to com-
plain about the quality of the religious services.

Again, on the assumption that the more educated
parents would encourage evaluation of religious services,
parental education and students departing because of dis-
content with the religious services were cross tabulated.

Table 10: Percentage of students who left their denomination
because they were dissatisfied with the church's
services by their parent's education.

Mother's Education	Did not leave or left for other reasons	Left because dis- satisfied with church services	Row Total
Grade school	83	17	
High school	94	6	
Part college	92	8	
College	95	5	
Post Bachelor	92	8	
	93	7	100
	(550)	(43)	(593)

Father's Education	Did not leave or left for other reasons	Left because dis- satisfied with church services	Row Total
Grade school	90	10	
High school	92	8	
Part college	92	8	
College	97	3	
Post Bachelor	92	8	
	93	7	100
	(546)	(41)	(587)

Again there is very little difference between sex
of the parent and the holding power of the denomination on
the student. College education for the mother does not seem
to influence the attitude of students toward church services.
Similar results were found for the fathers. These figures
lead one to look for factors other than education of parents
to explain the dissatisfaction with the quality of religious
services.

Perhaps there is not much conversation in the homes
regarding religious services, or parents and students do not
attend services together. Families containing the highest
percentage of both parents in professional and managerial
fields, were most likely to have children leave because of

dissatisfaction with church services. Since so many more students living at home cite this reason for their departure, they are more likely to reflect their parents' attitudes toward the quality of religious services.

As students progress through school, the rational appearing cosmological explanation given to them by science begins to cause doubts regarding their religious beliefs. These doubts extend to the existence of God, the visibility of their faith, the value of suffering, the necessity of an institutional church and religious practices, and the hope in life after death. Their religious-thought development does not keep pace with the other levels of their intellectual development. Often the college student realizes that his religious faith is infantile and borders on the superstitious. He is challenged to find ways to conceive of the universe, other than a system which operates in accordance with extrinsic finality that allows for no change or interruption. His precausal and anthropomorphic conceptions of a Deity are often discarded as his knowledge increases, both in humanities and science.

This challenge to the development of his religious thought is often met by three solutions, none of which are harmonious with the student's total development. One response calls for a precausal outlook, not only in matters of religion but in other areas of life also, because one fears that one will abandon what individuals call the faith. It would be inconceivable to raise any doubts

against the practices, beliefs and representatives of the institutional church. This attitude involves a rather simplistic conception of providence and the power of God, demanding quasi-miraculous interventions into the individual's personal and social life.

The second response involves the development of the individual's thinking in all non-religious areas, "but by isolating religion intellectually and affectively from the rest of life, it remains infantile in its conception of God's relation to the universe."[4] Some college students are able to isolate or insulate their religious beliefs from any thought processes or complementary intellectual development. They can successfully compartmentalize their lives into the sacred and the profane where the sacred is protected from questioning and doubt.

The third response affects some college students who are not content with protecting or segregating their religious beliefs from doubts. "In the cause of mental development people abandon all ideas of a divine causality and finality at the same time that they abandon precausality; faith and precausality vanish together."[5] Although this dual rejection is hardly necessary, it seems to be the only alternative open to students whose religious sophistication has not kept up with their secular learning. It is most difficult for students of twenty years of age to make a commitment to a religious faith that has not been updated

since they were in their preteens.

Trying to ascertain how many students were reacting to doubts on the first level of response, they were asked to agree -- disagree to the statement, "I have never doubted the teachings of my church." Twenty percent of the students agreed to the statement, 12 percent did not know if they doubted, and 68 percent disagreed with the statement. There were some denominational differences in the responses. Protestants were least likely to question their religious beliefs and Jews were most likely to doubt the teachings of their synagogues. The surprisingly high number of students who did not know about their doubts leads one to possibly conclude that they had so sucessfully compartmentalized their lives that the arousal of doubts had passed unnoticed.

Twenty-four percent of the career-oriented students never doubted their religion, as compared to 15 percent of the intellectually oriented students. Sixty-two percent of the career-oriented students registered disagreement as compared to 75 percent for the latter group. The "do not know" category found a higher percentage in the career-training group. This situation might lead one to the conclusion that the more intellectually oriented students had not only allowed doubts to enter their minds but had also made some decisions concerning them. The nondenominational groups who possess a more fundamentalist orientation were strongest in their agreement to never doubting the teaching

of their church. Their literal interpretation of the scrip-
tures would account for their hesitancy to doubt.

Trying to relate to the second level of response in
development of religious thought, that of isolation of one's
religious beliefs from the rest of life, a question was ask-
ed about the possibility of incorporating new beliefs into
one's religious system. It was assumed that students who
separated their lives from their religious belief system
would not agree with the statement, "To be comfortable with
one's belief system, but at the same time incorporate new
beliefs into it, is a sign of a mature person." Seventy-
three percent of the Catholics agreed to the statement as
compared to 67 percent of the Protestants and 57 percent of
the Jews. Perhaps these rather high percentages are related
to the fact that students are reporting their present affil-
iation to which they came after they had come to grips with
questions. For Catholics, it appears that the teachings of Vati-
can II may have contributed to their more open and less de-
fensive position. Catholics likewise reported the lowest
disagreement percentage of six percent as compared to 11
for Protestants and 26 for Jews.

Finally an attempt was made to analyze possible re-
actions to the third response to religious thought develop-
ment, that of abandoning all ideas of a divine causality at
the same time as precausality is abandoned. Students were
asked to agree or disagree to the statement, "I find no need

for belief in God or a Deity." The Jews were the highest on
the agreement continuum with a percentage of 15. Eight per-
cent of the Protestants and five percent of the Catholics
did likewise.

Protestants and Catholics were more likely to agree
to statements which reflected the precausal level and stage
of insulation of religious beliefs. Jews were more likely
to agree to statements reflecting the level of insulation of
religious beliefs and the level of abandoning of precausal-
ity and divine causality together. The only significant dif-
ference between Protestants and Catholics pertained to the
precausal outlook of never doubting the teachings of their
church. Catholics were 17 percentage points higher in their
disagreement to never doubting the teachings of their church.

Table 11:Summary Table of responses in percents to the levels of religious thought development by denomination.

Levels	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree
1. Precausal "I have never doubted the teachings of the church"	29	18	53	20	10	70	11	31	58
2. Insulation of religious beliefs "To be comfortable with one's belief system, but at the same time, to incorporate new beliefs into it, is a sign of a mature person"	67	22	11	73	21	6	57	17	26
3. Abandoning precausality and divine causality together "I find no need for belief in God or Deity"	8	9	83	5	6	89	15	15	71

Tt was hypothesized that students who received the most religious education would be the most likely to pass beyond the precausal and compartmentalization levels. The parochial high school graduates were most likely to doubt their religious teachings, but there was very little difference between public, private and parochial schools graduates regarding the incorporation of new beliefs into their systems. Students receiving religious education classes in high and elementary school were more likely to doubt than those receiving religious instruction at home, or only the elementary school level. Again, there was a negligible difference among the group regarding the incorporation of new beliefs, less than two percent.

Tt was hypothesized that the decision for students to give up their religious faith and precausality at the same time was connected to the level of their religious education. An informed faith should be able to harmonize religious beliefs and reason. Therefore it was expected that students from parochial high schools would be least likely to agree with the statement, "I find no need for belief in God or a Deity." The evidence supported the hypothesis in that 85 percent of parochial high school graduates disagreed with the statement as compared to 80 percent of private school graduates and 77 percent of public school graduates, which was a significant difference.

When controlling for denomination, Catholics show

the influence of their parochial schooling. Most of the private schools in New York State are administered by religious orders and therefore are dedicated to religious values. Graduates of these schools are also most likely to disagree with the statement that they have no need of God.

Table 12: Percentage of students response to "I find no need for belief in God or deity" by denomination and High school education

Schools	Protestant Public	Catholics Public	Parochial	Private	Jews Public
Agree	9	6	4	2	16
Don't know	10	10	3	4	3
Disagree	81	84	93	94	81
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100
Total number	N=90	N=236	N=43	N=37	N=21

Since it is religious education that must be considered when inspecting the student's development of religious thought, a question was asked to determine how much religious education was secured by those students attending nonparochial schools. A cross tabulation was performed to see the relation between this type of religious education and the statement of no neccessity for a belief in God or deity. As expected, students with no religious education were the most likely to agree with the statement, because of their lack of opportunity to study alternative belief systems. Those educated by their parents, received the good example of parents who were committed to their own religious faith. This faith would include belief in God. Those with both, elementary and high school religious instructions were less

likely to agree with the statement than those who had only
elementary or only high school religious education back-
ground. Increased religious education reduced the number
of don't know responses which can either indicate the con-
fidence that can accompany an informed faith or the loyalty
of those who know what is expected from them.

Table 13: Percentage of students responding to "I find no
need for belief in God or a Deity." by reli-
gious education.

Religious education	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Row Total
None	9	12	17	28	33	(42)
Elementary	6	9	12	33	40	(161)
High school	0	14	20	33	33	(15)
Elem. and High	4	4	9	30	53	(280)
Home	2	12	13	19	54	(52)
Column Total	(24)	(34)	(63)	(168)	(261)	(550)

Missing 47 observations.

Students who choose not to believe in God, would
be less likely to retain religious identification to an
institutional church. They would be more likely to per-
ceive a continuous deterioration in their need for affil-
iation to a group that represented a Deity which they re-
jected.

As students progress through school, their intellectual capacities continue to develop. Knowledge of most subjects is increased and educational skills are advanced. This increased intellectual sophistication leads to:

1. Cognitive conflict between old forms of religious faith and newly acquired knowledge.

One of the elements that could challenge the student is his greater awareness of a body of learning called science. The relationship between religion and science has been a strained one over recent centuries for some highly doctrinal religious denominations because science has seemed to conflict with many tenets of their faith. The conflict between science and religion is especially visible in the Bible Belt of Southern United States, where biology books that teach evolution must make a special printing deleting that subject. The problem is confounded by actions which vary over periods of history in inhibiting or promoting the growth of science. Medieval Catholicism tried to suppress it, but large Catholic Universities offer science as major courses today. There are some followers of science that believe it is similar to a religious faith and attribute to science functions usually reserved for religion, i. e. creation. Islam is especially wary of the claims of science that might impute to itself the contentions made by religion.

Yinger feels there are a few logical possibilities

in the relationship of religion to science:

> "they may be considered harmonious, or indeed,
> ultimately identical; they may be thought to be
> utterly distinct, and thus not engaged in any
> fundamental conflict; religion may be considered
> a higher truth, superior to science in any area
> where they conflict; or science may be considered
> the only certain road to truth, thus effectively
> refuting any religious proposition that its
> evidence contradicts."   6

Stark (1963) polling American science graduate stu-
dents, reported that they are less likely to be affiliated
with churches than the total population. In a similar sam-
ple of top graduate schools Greeley (1966) found an opposite
result when inquiring about church attendance. He found
that Christians in the top arts and science graduate schools
were just as likely to go to church on Sunday as are core-
ligionists in the general population. The difference might
be accounted for by the fact that Greeley was polling affil-
iated Christians and Stark polled every graduate student.

Hoge (1974) in replication studies asked questions
regarding the conflict between the findings of science and
the principal contentions of religion. Students at Harvard,
Radcliffe, and Williams colleges were still about equally
divided between perceiving the conflict as negligible or as
large after the twenty-year period between 1946 and 1967.
However, students at Los Angeles City college perceived a
much greater conflict between science and religion during
that same time span. In 1967, the item had a second part
asking those who perceived a conflict, whether science must

give way to religion or religion give way to scientific
formulation. About 95 percent of the Williams, Harvard,
Radcliffe group said religion must give way and 72 percent
of the men and 80 percent of the women at Los Angeles City
College said likewise. Hoge and Keeter (1976) in updating
this study saw little change in attitude toward the con-
flict between 1967 and 1974. Hoge (1974) concedes that his
study is only generalizable to prestigious eastern colleges
and large midwestern universities.

Buffalo State students may reflect the confusion of
the struggle between science and religion. When asked to
agree or disagree with the statement, "It is hard to recon-
cile science with belief in a personal God, who creates and
sustains the universe," 27 percent replied that they did
not know. Thirty-two percent agreed with the statement and
41 percent disagreed that there was a problem between sci-
ence and religion for them.

It has been assumed that students whose purpose in
attending college was to improve their mental capacities and
grow in appreciation of knowledge would be more intellectu-
ally oriented than students whose college purpose was for
career training. The former students had fewer "don't knows"
regarding the conflict between belief in God and science
and were more likely to agree that a problem could exist
than the career-oriented students.

Table 14:   Percentage of students responding to "it is
            difficult to reconcile science with belief in
            God who creates and sustains the universe"
            by the holding power of the denominations.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Row Total
Students who did not change denomination.	32	30	38	(441)
Students who changed denomination.	34	19	47	(123)
				(564)

Students who left or changed their denominations
were more likely to disagree that there was a conflict between
science and religion. They had less questions which would
probably indicate that they had resolved the issue at the
time of their departure. Whether they resolved the issue
in favor of religion or in favor of science is not answered
by their denial of the conflict. Evidence for the resolu-
tion in favor of science is secured from the fact that stu-
dents reporting the least perception of the conflict between
science and religion were those who refrained from prayer
and attending church services. One could then conclude that
perception of a conflict between the claims of science that
can appeal to proofs for its propositions and the claims of
religion that must appeal to faith, might cause the student
to decide in favor of science.

    2. Goals of Humanitarians seem better accomplished than
those of Religionists.

        Another dimension of the intellectual conflict with

religion is enlarged exposure to humanitarian movements and goals. Students read about the accomplishments directed for the betterment of mankind on a world-wide level. Their particularistic views and rather narrow religious motivations begin to fade in the light of world-wide universal movements which affect thousands of people. Talcott Parsons (1950) has developed the categories of particularism and universalism. He says that the dominant institutions in modern society, especially those connected with industrial occupations, are based on the values of universalism and achievement, as opposed to particularism and ascription. One receives his/her self-definition more from statuses that are based on achievement rather than ascription which would be connected with nationality and religious denomination. Increased education usually causes one to shift from a particularistic, exclusive or smaller world view to a more universal, inclusive and larger world view.

Some of these humanitarian organizations as United Way, Peace Corps, Red Cross, UNICEF, etc., appear to have better defined goals than some religious organizations. The former are more likely to publish their financial records in local newspapers. Some of the workers display dedication and unselfish service with little financial remuneration. The goals of these humanitarian movements seem to be achieved as well as, and sometimes better than, many religious institutions. Students, whose horizons are

steadily broadened by philosophic questioning as well as by scientific reasoning become less interested in some religious movements that appear to them to have a band-aid approach to alleviating the sufferings of others. Particularistic goals that are confined to small segments of the population who share the same religious denomination begin to give way to more universal goals that encompass large groups of people by passing over artificial boundaries. Religious identification with a denomination begins to broaden to include all mankind.

One of the marks of the concern for humanitarian goals, that accompanies higher education is a movement from a fundamentalist, particularist religious orientation to a more liberal, universal, open, tolerant religious orientation. Hoge (1974), Hastings and Hoge (1974), Lenski and Glock (1973) have referred to this change as one from orthodoxy to liberalism. Orthodoxy included such dimensions as church attendance, devotionalism, church contributions, adherence to traditional creeds and moral codes. Liberalism encompassed the more humanitarian creeds and motivations, less attachment to churches or less participation in church organizations. Protestantism has been divided into liberal and traditional or orthodox denominations. Hoge (1974) found that Catholics and conservative Protestants tended to be more orthodox than the Jews and liberal Protestants. Wuthnow and Glock (1973) found that in the student shift in

religious affiliations at Berkeley, liberal Protestants
move out of Protestantism completely and conservative Prot-
estants become more liberal. They found that Catholics usu-
ally remained the same.

With the liberalizing effect of the Vatican Council
on Catholics, many of them resemble the liberal Protestant
and reform Jewish groups. However, these liberal groups con-
tain many of the characteristics that typify orthodox groups
when examining religious behavior and creedal assent. In-
tellectual assent to faith which is based on knowledge of
the scriptures is stressed. Many attend worship services,
contribute financially, pray often, and adhere to a moral
code after reflection and search. They also endorse human-
itarian goals of goodness, compassion and justice.

Another division seems to be arising that crosses
denominational lines as does the "liberal" attribute. Cath-
olics, Protestants and Jews contain within their denomina-
tions, groups that are more affectively rather then intel-
lectually oriented, seek a literal interpretation of scrip-
tures, are strongly salvation-minded and fundamentalist,
exclusivistic, and particularistic in their approach. The
Charismatic/Pentecostals, Campus Crusade, Jews for Christ,
and Inter-Varsity Fellowship claim no denomination, but ex-
emplify these characteristics. Within the Protestant tradi-
tion, strong fellowship groups meet weekly to study the
scriptures which they interpret very literally with no

direction from any educated leader. The Catholic charismatic groups often do likewise and favor a strong affective orientation over the intellectual. Both groups hold a rather triumphal and elitist attitude toward salvation. In Judaism, there is a movement toward more mystical experience and a fundamentalist attitude toward scripture that will ignore any contribution from Jewish scholarship. All these groups favor the particularistic, fundamental, anti-intellectual outlook that sharply divides them from the more universally minded members of their respective denominations. Perhaps another division is arising that crosses denominational lines where members of each denomination resemble each other more on the liberal-intellectual-universal continuum vs fundamentalistic-affective-particular continuum.

Many intelligent students who are committed to humanitarian goals have an inclusive view of salvation in that everyone who strives for the betterment of others will be saved. They are dismayed by students who possess a more exclusive view of salvation that claims only "those who call Jesus their personal Savior will be saved." The more liberal and mainline denominations are angered by the interpretation of salvation that excludes all non-Christians. The strong proselytizative effort by the nondenominational groups, especially Campus Crusade causes the rift to separate further.

Table 15: Frequency distribution for nondenominational
           affiliation is as follows..

"Do you maintain affiliation with any of the nondenomina-
tional groups?"

(1)	Campus Crusade for Christ	2	N=12
(2)	Inter-Varsity Christian Associates	1	N= 9
(3)	Pentecostal or Charismatic groups	3	N=15
(4)	Other	3	N=19
(5)	No.	91	N=537
		100	N=592

Three questions were placed in the survey to indi-
cate a fundamentalist and particularistic view toward reli-
gion. Students were asked to agree or disagree with them.
The first item "Religion makes me feel safe and secure" drew
agreement from two-thirds of the nondenominational groups.
In contrast, only one-third of the denominational groups
gave approval to the statement. It was expected that the
nondenominational groups would answer in the affirmative
because all of them promise salvation to those who follow
their proscriptions accurately and without questioning.

The second fundamentalist question ascribes a con-
stant and omnipotent power to God. "I believe that God con-
trols everything that happens everywhere." Almost two-
thirds of the nondenominational groups agreed as opposed to
less than one-fourth of the denominations. This question
might also indicate the student's belief in miracles which
is very strong in the fundamentalist groups.

Literal interpretation of the Bible is a character-
istic of the fundamentalist group. They feel that each word

is recorded exactly as God said it to the inspired writer.
Therefore the survey included the statement, "I believe that
every word in the Bible is the inspired word of God." The
division between the two groups who gave their present reli-
gious preference as nondenominational and denominational was
the largest on this item. Four times as many nondenomina-
tional as denominational members agreed to the statement.
Protestants have always been known to study the Bible and
its origins. Many Jews study the Bible and the Talmud so
it would follow that their interpretation should be more
sophisticated. More time is spent in Bible study by Cath-
olics since Vatican II, so they too should have some in-
sights into the composition of Scripture.

Two of the questions that were chosen to portray
the more liberal aspects of the religious traditions con-
cerned the more universalist and humanitarian aspects of
religion. There was a great difference between the denom-
inational and nondenominational groups in the responses to
"I don't think that it makes any difference if one is reli-
gious so long as he has good will for others." Two-thirds
of the denominations favored the statement as opposed to
20 percent of the nondenominational groups. The elitist
attitude of most nondenominational groups makes it diffi-
cult for them to ascribe to concepts of religion that have
universal and inclusive rather than particularistic and
exclusive elements.

The second question to indicate a more liberal re-
ligious view point stated "I think that God is revealed in
every person who feels and acts unselfishly." Again the
denominational groups were almost twice as likely to agree
to the statement as the non-denominational ones. The non-
denominational groups might have objected to God revealing
himself through any good person rather than through the
Bible or at least a religiously committed person.

A final item concerns the concept of God which per-
tains to the universalist/particularist dichotomy. "God
is an abstract Force, rather than a Person to me." The de-
nominational members were twice as likely to affirm the
statement as the non-denominational ones. The Fundamental-
ist groups are heavily New Testament-oriented with a Per-
sonal God in the form of Jesus as central to their teach-
ing. It was expected that it would be difficult for them
to relate to an abstract force which could cross particular-
istic boundaries.

McGaw (1979) in an analysis of Mainline and Charis-
matic Presbyterians devised a literalism and particularism
index to measure the meaning dimension of religious commit-
ment. His literal responses included belief in God, divin-
ity of Jesus, the Bible as literally the word of God and
belief in the existence of the devil. McGaw felt that the
literalism index was similar to the orthodox index of Glock

and Stark (1968). The particularism responses comprised the inclusion of others into salvation who did not believe in Christ as Savior, who were not members of a Christian church, or who were ignorant of Christ. The Charismatic group exhibited the characteristics of the literalism index and the mainline Christians fit the description of the particularism. He uses the term particularism in a similar manner as I used the term universalism.

McGaw found that charismatic Presbyterians were more likely to pray and attend church frequently than the mainline denomination. He found that 79 percent of the Charismatics attended weekly church services as opposed to 38 percent of the mainline denominational members. At Buffalo State, 64 percent of the nondenominational students attend weekly church services in contrast to 43 percent of the denominational students. The large number of Catholics at State no doubt influence the rate of weekly church attendance. Also the inclusion of Campus Crusade and Inter-Varsity Christian Association in the nondenominational groups.would lower the weekly attendance of the nondenomination groups. Another reason accounting for the difference between McGaw's findings and my data could be that he polled adult members of the congregations, as opposed to college students.

Table 16: Percentage difference in church attendance
           between nondenominational and denominational
           students by denomination.

Frequency of church attendance	Nondenomin-ational	Protest-ant	Catholic	Jews	
Weekly	64	33	52	0	
Bi-monthly	6	11	13	8	
Monthly	12	13	10	12	
Once or twice a year	14	29	20	44	
Never	4	14	5	36	
	100	100	100	100	(506)
	(N=55)	(N=98)	(N=328)	(N=25)	
				None	88
				Missing	3
					597

Some of the students who have studied the accomplish-
ments of humanists, feel that the non-denominational students
especially, and the denominational students as well, have a
very narrow view of the human conditions. The more reli-
gious students may attend church services but do nothing to
achieve better living conditions for others. The question-
ing students find more serious social justice concerns un-
dertaken by the humanists than by religious denominations.
Therefore they leave their denomination to work for the hu-
manitarian movements.

Students who are reading philosophy, sociology and
history, as well as political science, economics and psychol-
ogy are especially susceptible to the successful accomplish-
ment of humanist goals. Many of these same students have
not read as much religious literature and therefore are un-
able to compare similar goals and achievements.

3. Conflict aroused by negative events and wrestling

with the power of evil.

For many students, the challenge to their religious identification first comes with a challenge to their religious belief system. The view of reality that provided a meaningful system to cope with life is suddenly punctured with questions. As students progress through college, the problem of evil, suffering and death become more relevant in their lives. The faith system that coped with this problem in their earlier life appears inadequate in the light of their new knowledge.

It is most difficult for students to understand why a good God permits evil. They can allow for the evil that is perpetuated by man's inhumanity to man, but natural disasters and some forms of disease do not coincide with their concept of God. Some denominations provide adequate interpretations to the meaning of suffering, but students either do not understand them or find them wanting. They then search elsewhere for a meaning system that will allow them to cope with the problem of evil and the negative events in their lives.

Students find consolation in the knowledge that mankind has coped with these ultimate problems for centuries. However, they are becoming more exposed to the fields of literature, history, sociology and psychology, where other more satisfactory answers to these problems are sought and sometimes found. Although religionists would look to the

Bible for examples of attempted solutions, many new areas in the humanities are opening to students. Just as science had previously offered answers to the "how" questions regarding the creation and sustenance of the world, the humanities now offer some answers to the "why" question of human existence and its suffering.

Max Weber refers to this dimension of religion, which expresses the human condition with all its vulnerabilities, dependencies, contingencies and sufferings as the meaning dimension of religion. He says that religion in cross-cultural studies has always provided interpretation and answers to questions of death, disappointment, illness and suffering. Man can make sense of his life when he has reference points provided by religious doctrine to which he ascribes in faith. This faith system allows frustration and hardship to be not only endured, but also understood as purposeful. Religious belief systems help to make the present confusions meaningful by placing them into a context of a beyond. "Religion by its reference to a beyond and its beliefs concerning man's relationship to the beyond, provides a supraempirical view of a larger total reality."[7]

In Weber's context of the meaning function of religion, consideration is given to man's cognitive assurance as well as emotional adjustment when facing ultimate questions. This meaning dimension provided understanding regarding human destiny as well as rationally integrated solutions to

the basic problems of contingency, powerlessness and scarcity. The present-day college student can find similar answers in philosophy, politics and economics which carry their own empirical evidence and do not call one to have faith in the beyond or a next life; i. e. Marxism. The humanities, along with science, are answering many of the questions regarding the human condition previously answered by religion.

It was hypothesized that the humanities and social science majors would exhibit the lowest holding power for the denominations. Actually the students from natural and applied sciences were only one point lower than the humanities and social studies students. There was a significant difference between the combined groups of science, and humanities on the one hand and professional studies students on the other.

Table 17: Percentage of holding power of denominations by academic major.

Academic Majors	Holding Power	
Natural and Applied sciences	74	N=72
Humanities and Social sciences	75	N=202
Professional Studies	81	N=197
Undecided	76	N=107
Not matriculated	83	N=12
	Total	590

Usually church attendance is connected with orthodoxy and traditional religious values. Hoge and Keeter (1976; 223) found that 'at Union College the undergraduate curricula causing most loss in traditional religious values

were humanities, social studies and industrial administra-
tion." Astin (1978) reported that students in the social
sciences had greater tendencies toward liberalism, artistic
interests, altruism and religious apostasy than other stu-
dents. College teachers in the humanities and social sci-
ences were found to be lower in traditional beliefs and
practices than those in the natural sciences and especially
those in the applied field of business and education.
(Steinberg 1974).

Buffalo State science and humanities academic ma-
jors seem to reflect the situation at Harvard, Bryn Mawr
and Los Angeles City college where Hoge (1974) found no
noteworthy differences between major course groups in re-
ligious attitudes and behavior. Humanities and science stu-
dents at Buffalo State reported an similar weekly church
attendance. Professional studies students who are mostly
engaged in career-oriented activities reported a signifi-
cantly higher percentage of weekly church attendance.

Another dimension of religious belief and behavior
is prayer. Loss of the meaning or faith-dimension of reli-
gion should reflect a decrease in the frequency of prayer.
The hypothesis that humanities students who had found other
answers to their problems of the human condition would be
less likely to pray was not supported. The science majors
showed the lowest frequency of prayer, but the humanities
and professional studies prayed at the same rate.

The age range of the non-matriculated group spans 22 to 58 years of age. The higher prayer and church attendance-frequency in the non-matriculated groups is probably due to the age of those more mature students taking occasional courses at the college. Glock (1967) and Stark (1973) found that church attendance and private devotion increased with age, and many of these older students, especially housewives and policemen in the criminal justice classes are part time students at the college.

Controlling for denomination on the holding power of academic majors exposed some significant differences. Protestant science majors had the lowest holding power of all. Jewish science majors reported the highest holding power. Catholics showed the most consistency among the academic majors and the Jews showed the least.

Table 18: Percentage of holding power of academic majors by denomination

Academic Major	Denomination		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Applied and Natural Sciences	53	80	100
Humanities and Social Sciences	73	78	68
Professional Studies	70	84	93
Undecided	64	80	60
Not matriculated N=12	N=88	N=315	N=24

There did seem to be a difference in responses of academic majors regarding reasons for leaving the denominations of socialization. Among five reasons that could be checked for causing a change or disinvolvement with the familial denomination was the choice "This denomination did

not help me to make sense out of my life." The second
largest group of defectors marked this reason. The most
chosen reason was "discontent with the church's teachings."
However, when examining which academic majors made the
choice for "denomination does not help me to make sense out
of life", the humanities and professional studies students
were significantly higher than the science and undecided
group.

Caplovitz (1977) suggests that apostasy means both
rejection of religious beliefs and of affiliation with a
religious category based upon ascribed status. "Since re-
ligiosity is an important component of religious identifi-
cation, it should follow that those who lost religious faith
would tend to abandon a religious identification."[8] There
are many nominal adherents to a denomination who do not
participate in its activities or worship services, but they
do not all depart from their affiliation. The holding power
of the denomination would be influenced by loss of meaning
or faith because one would lose interest in the denomination
which represents this faith.

Students were asked to agree/disagree with the
statement "Religion gives meaning to my life." About half
of the student body agreed with the statement. One-quarter
of them disagreed. It was hypothesized that the holding
power for denominations would be highest for those stu-
dents who affirmed the meaning dimension of religion. The

hypothesis held only for Protestants and Catholics. The

holding power of Jews does not seem to be influenced by

meaning which affirms Caplovitz's findings (1977).

Table 19: Percentage of students who remained in their denomination responding to the statement, "Religion gives meaning to my life" by denomination.

Responses	Denomination		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
Agree	58	55	35
Don't know	18	26	26
Disagree	24	19	39
	100 N=88	100 N=317	100 N=23

A cross tabulation of academic majors and responses

to "Religion gives meaning to my life" found humanities ma-

jors with the lowest agreement, 42 percent. Science and

professional studies majors reported 51 percent agreement,

which is a significant difference and might indicate that

humanities majors find answers to the meaning of life and

its problems of evil in other arenas. The intellectual

dimension of faith includes the study of scriptures and doc-

trines. Understanding of the tenets of the faith brings

appreciation of the logical system upon which it is built.

The moral precepts that flow from the doctrine should appear

relevant in their application to the student who has master-

ed the teachings and their application. Finally, an experi-

ence of the holy in liturgy or private prayer, or a reli-

gious experience that is consistent with the teachings will

cement the religious identification of the believer.

A serious problem confronts the college student

regarding this meaning dimension of his faith. His intellectual study of the scriptures and doctrines of his denomination has not kept abreast with his secular studies. He does not know enough about the philosophical system of reality offered by his faith in order to gain meaning from it. Since the practices do not seem to flow from the doctrines, they seem incomprehensible and illogical. The liturgical and prayer experiences seem irrelevant because the student does not know the reasons for their existence. He cannot tie religious experience to the meaning dimension of his faith because his knowledge of the scriptures and doctrines upon which it is based is lacking. It is very difficult to build a religious identification to something about which one knows so little.

One of the reasons for this inadequate knowledge of one's religion is the lack of religious instructions concerning one's religious faith. It was hypothesized that students with the most religious instructions would be most likely to find that religion gives meaning to life.

When controlling for previous religious education, Protestants and Catholics who had received the most religious education, i.e., both elementary and high school education, were most likely to agree that their religion supplied them with meaning. The conclusion does not hold for Jews. It was expected that increased religious instructions would reduce the number of "don't knows." This expectation

held only for the Jews, as Catholics with the most instruc-
tions also had the largest number of "dont knows." Protestants
showed   little difference in their "don't know" re-
sponses at each religious education level.

Table 20: Percentage of students responding to the statement
"Religion gives meaning to my life" by denomina-
tion and previous religious instructions.

Religious education	Denomination								
	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
	Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree
None	16	44	40	25	75	0	0	0	0
Elementary	25	26	49	29	28	43	15	55	30
Elem. & High	55	27	18	40	35	25	50	10	40
Home	38	31	31	25	75	0	0	0	0
	N=90			N=323			N=23		

Of the 22 percent who left their denominations, half
of them left because the denomination failed to fulfill the
meaning dimension of their religion. A few of these depart-
ees left for Protestantism or Catholicism but most of them
went to "other" denominations or showed no religious prefer-
ence. When denominations fail to fulfill the meaning func-
tion of religion that allows students to cope with the prob-
lem of evil in their lives, they can expect a higher depar-
ture rate.

Religion offers an interpretation of evil, which
although plausible to some, is inadequate to many. Students
are offered many alternative explanations for the problem of
evil which appear more satisfactory in their classes such as
philosophy and the humanities. Science provided a response
to the how questions which children of younger years tend to

ask, e.g., evolution, creation, etc. Young adults find the humanities do the same for those asking why they are alive and suffer. Increased exposure to ideas that can promote an identification to the scholarly or intellectual life can at the same time lessen one's identification to the religious life.

During college, the student is usually preoccupied with his identity as student. If one is dedicated to the work of the scholar, intellectualism, then it is likely that one would identify with the institution that stresses the object of one's identity, the university. I would suspect that the college or university can replace the religious denomination as a focus of identity because it provides similar service to the individual in providing one with a meaning system, to cope with the negative events in one's life and the problem of evil.

Table 21: Summary of students' attitudes toward Intellectualism and Religion

Percentage of students who:	Student body	Home Denomination			Education–Post College		Purpose in college	
		Protestant	Catholic	Jew	Mother's	Father's	Career	Knowledge
Left their denomination because they were dissatisfied with the church's teachings.	14	11	16	3	10	16	11	18
Left their denomination because it did not help them to make sense out of their lives.	10	13	12	7	5	15	9	13
Felt that religion gives meaning to their lives.	48	57	55	35	37	48	47	48
Never doubted the teachings of their church.	21	30	20	11	13	18	25	16
Found it hard to reconcile science and belief in a personal God who is creator and sustainer of the universe.	32	33	33	26	35	26	29	37

Table 2.1 Continued Summary of students attitudes toward Intellectualism and Religion

Percentage of students who:	Student body	Denomination			Education		Purpose in college	
		Protestant	Catholic	Jew	Mother's	Father's	Career	Knowledge
Feel that to be comfortable with one's belief system and at the same time incorporate new beliefs into it, is a sign of a mature person.	71	67	73	57	68	73	66	77

Footnotes   Chapter III

1.   Dean Hoge and Larry Keeter, "Determinats of College Teachers; Religious Beliefs and Participation" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion   Vol. 15 No. 3, Sept 1976, p. 230

2.   O. P. Pohier, Psychologie et Theologie (Edition du Cerf: Paris, 1967) p. 84

3.   Pohier, Op. Cit. p. 132

4.   Pohier, Op. Cit. p. 78

5.   Pohier, Ibid

6.   Milton Yinger, The Scientific Study of Religion (MacMillan: New York, 1970) p. 56

7.   Thomas O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (Prentice-Hall : Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966) p. 6

8.   David Caplovitz and Fred Sherrow, The Religious Drop Outs (Sage : Beverly Hills, 1977) p. 34

Chapter IV

Forces Undermining Identification to a Denomination

(Continued)

B. Personal Autonomy

   1. Individualism and Independence

Much emphasis is placed upon creativity as a desired outcome of learning. The unique and original, individual contribution to society is lauded as desirable, culminating in international prizes. However, it has been suggested that certain religious denominations inhibit creativity. Anything that inhibits the development of the creative potential of the individual, detracts from the productivity and development of society and is therefore viewed with displeasure by individuals and groups alike.

The decade of the seventies has been called the "me" decade in that the rights, potentials, desires, and satisfaction of the individual have been stressed. President Carter's supporters say he was elected on the platform of human rights. The rights and dignity of the individual have been part of his foreign as well as domestic policy. This great stress on individualism has repercussions on institutional religion.

    "As individualism grows, traditional religious commitments everywhere weaken in favor of a new sacredness of the individual and of personality. The end result will be a religion or cult of men." 1

77

Classes are held in assertiveness training, yoga, transcendental meditation, and other techniques for self-expansion that do resemble a religion of humanity. It is difficult to form commitments to religious denominations when individualism is so prized.

Liberal education tends to make individuals more religiously liberal and less religiously orthodox. Argyle (1958) and Symington (1935) found that religious liberals were more individualistic and independent. Rather than expressing their beliefs in ready-made doctrines, they preferred to formulate their own by integrating their own thinking. I feel that college students prize their own intellectual abilities and prefer their independent and creative thinking to memorization and regurgitating the words of others. Organized religion often demands a conformance that is distasteful to the student who favors individualism and independence.

It was hypothesized that students left their familial denomination because they felt institutional churches infringed upon their independence. Students chose the reason for leaving "Saw no need for organized religion in my life" most often out of five choices for the category of reasons associated with the situation outside the church itself. Half of the students comprising the 22 percent who departed from their denomination chose this reason to account for their departure. Because autonomy usually increases with

age for young persons, it was expected that the seniors would
choose this alternative most often. Juniors and seniors did
choose the alternative twice as many times as sophomores and
freshmen.

It was hypothesized that most students who identify
"None" as their religious preference would be most likely to
depart from their denomination because they felt no need of
an institutional church. Forty percent of the "Nones" or no
religious preference became such for this reason. One quar-
ter of the "Others" or other denomination category did like-
wise. The three percent of the Protestants and Catholics
who left because they did not need an organized church to
practice their religion have returned.

Table 22:   Percentage of students responding that they
             left their familial denomination because they
             felt no need of an organized church.

Religion affili-ation now	Left or stayed for other reasons	Left because they felt no need for an organized church	Row total
Protestant	97	3	(98)
Catholic	97	3	(331)
Jewish	100	0	(25)
Other	75	25	(44)
None	60	40	(99)
Column Total	(531)	(66)	(597)
	89	11	100.0

More women, 14 percent, than men, nine percent,
left for the reason of failing to need an organized church
which indicates a significant difference. This result was
unexpected because usually women in our society are more
associated with churches than men. The women's movement

stresses the rights and independence of women, which might
in turn make women more autonomous and feel less the need
of an institutional church.

Students who live away from home usually show more
autonomy than those who live with their parents. When con-
trolling for residence, the students departing because they
rejected organized religion, and living in apartments alone,
scored the highest, 32 percent, as compared with those liv-
ing at home, six percent. Twenty-two percent of those liv-
ing in apartments with roommates, felt less need of organi-
zed religion than those living in the dormitory, seven per-
cent. This attitude is similar to their church attendance,
for home and dormitory students attend more often than
those in apartments. The very fact that they live independ-
ently from family ties shows a degree of autonomy that is
being exercised in other areas of their lives. Finally,
as expected, the parochial high school graduates did show
the lowest departure rate for rejecting organized reli-
gion, six percent as compared to private schools with 11
and public schools with 12 percent. Parochial schools
have been accused of inhibiting creativity at the expense
of uniformity. But these same schools equip the students
with religious knowledge, making it easier for them to in-
tegrate organized churches into their intellectual system.

Hoge (1974) reported an increase in student auton-
omy between 1924 and 1969 from answers to the question, "Do

you think an individual can formulate his own religious be-
liefs alone without the help of a church?" The answers in-
creased from 62 percent in 1924 to 83 percent of the non-
veterans in 1969. Hoge likewise reported a major increase
in the individual autonomy of college students. In 1968,
there was great distaste for "supervision of morals" and
insistence on freedom of speech for all persons. Results
from Wisconsin showed that students desired greater indi-
vidual freedom and autonomy. This desire was echoed at
Michigan where students felt that the individual can and
must formulate religious meanings for himself, apart from
any church. Astin (1978) says that the factors influencing
changes in students are those present in the larger society.
He reported that longitudinal analyses covering the late
1960's and 70's show large increases in student support for
women's equality and student autonomy.

Students resent the infringement to their freedom
from the college personnel. There are no curfews and very
few rules regarding personal behavior at Buffalo State.
From 1970, until 1977, the dormitories at the college were
left unlocked at all times. Anyone of either sex could en-
ter at will because the students of each dorm, but one, were
allowed to vote for open dorms. Usually the upperclassmen
moved out of the dorms into apartments to secure quiet and
privacy from all the visitors. Hoge (1974) found similar
conditions in that students resented interference by college

personnel. This resentment usually led to criticism, and often to grievance board actions by Buffalo State students.

Resentment against churches which could be considered too strict will likewise attract criticism from students who are exercising their autonomy. Students during the earlier seventies and late sixties, would probably have departed from these overly strict churches because they infringed upon their freedom. This departure might be less evident today but the criticism still abounds. Students were asked to agree -- disagree with the statement, "My church is too strict in some ways." Forty-five percent of the student body agreed. Seniors were the least likely to agree, 33 percent as compared to half of the Juniors, 42 percent of Sophomores and 43 percent of the Freshmen. Either Seniors, who are getting ready to enter the world of competition, might be taking on the values of institutions, or they may be becoming more realistic regarding the limits of autonomy.

There was a difference in responses according to sex. More males, 49 percent, than females 39 percent, felt the restrictions of their churches. In American society, women have been somewhat conditioned to restrictions although most church restrictions are more discriminatory than society. Some of the perceived strictness seems to favor women, such as marriage laws, fidelity, and concern for the underpriviledged in society.

Denominations differed in their responses also. A

little over half of the Catholics felt their church was too strict. Catholics, with a heavy body of doctrine and moral proscriptions would be the most likely to attract the criticism. About one-third of the Jews reported that their denomination was too strict. The dietary and sabbath regulations could influence their attitude. Protestants were least likely to complain about their church's strictness, only 15 percent. The loose structure of some of the groups within Protestantism could account for this lack of complaint. Hoge (1974) and Wuthnow and Glock (1973) found that college-age Protestants often drifted from the more traditional to the more liberal denominations within Protestantism. Perhaps these students had already made this decision in favor of liberalism.

One half of those students designating no religious preference agreed that their church was too strict. This reason, no doubt, influenced their departure from their denomination.

Table 23:   Percentage of students by denomination respond-
ing to "My church is too strict in some ways."

Present religious affiliation	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Total
Protestant	15	29	56	(94)
Catholic	54	20	26	(320)
Jewish	31	32	37	(19)
Other	33	18	50	(38)
None	52	31	17	(88)
				559

Missing - 38 cases

Cross tabulation for residence did not seem to show
much difference in students' attitudes toward restrictions of
their churches. Only the students living alone in apartments,
who were probably experiencing the most autonomy, were the
most outspoken in their complaints concerning the strictness
of their churches. Parochial and private high school gradu-
ates were more likely to complain about the strictness of
their churches than their public school counterparts. Stu-
dents from parochial schools were not only exposed in great-
er detail to the teachings, but especially to the discipline
of their denomination. Some parochial school graduates hold
resentment against the authority figures of clergy. These
students then project this same resentment to the body of
doctrine or to the universal aspects of the religion.

Although the campuses of the seventies seem much
calmer that the campuses of the sixties, this calmness could
change to violence if the personal autonomy of students were
violated. Most students still oppose administrative control
of student behavior, publications and speakers. Astin (1977)

reported that 86 percent of the 1976 freshmen oppose college regulation of nonacademic behavior.

Astin (1978) in studying student change during college reported that along with the development of more liberal political views, an increase in hedonism was noted. This hedonistic trend could be the experience of reaction toward earlier parental infringement on the student's autonomy. It would reflect the students' ability to make decisions that concern their private lives. Even when the students do look for guidance in personal matters, the authority of those enlisted must be validated. Teachers, college administrators, parents and clergy are not granted the right to direct students' lives unless they prove that they are worthy.

This growing autonomy sometimes causes the rejection of parents' religious beliefs. A minority of students felt disloyal to their parents because of this rejection. Only 18 percent of the student body experienced feelings of disloyalty. The Catholics, Polish ethnic group, and those living at home experienced the strongest feelings of disloyalty. Since the Polish ethnic group and those living at home are mainly Catholic, this cluster would likely arise. The majority of the students had been able to integrate their feelings of autonomy and their religious beliefs, without feelings of guilt or disloyalty toward their parents.

The characteristics of autonomy are often in di-

rect contrast to the tenets of religion. The autonomous person is conscious of his/her personal development and self-expression. Independence is also highly prized. Religion advocates the care and concern for others, often at sacrifice to one's own interest. One's personal gain is to be subjugated for the good of others, say religionists who stress interdependence. Yankelovich (1974), in polling college youth, found that the most welcome value change between 1968 and 1973 was "more emphasis on self-expression." When asked about very important personal values, "fulfilling yourself as a person" received the highest acclaim in the same study. The value that showed the greatest increase from 1971 to 1973 was "privacy for oneself" which is in some opposition to the brothers' keeper attitude of most religions. Rejection of the Protestant work ethic was evident in Yankelovich's study in that only 54 percent of the college students as compared to 63 percent in 1971, believed in putting duty before pleasure. This hedonistic trend seems to have continued to 1978 as Astin's study reveals.

Finally the area of autonomy and independence has influenced the attitude of, and towards, women in this decade. The emphasis placed on civil rights and the Vietnam war of the sixties was replaced by emphasis on the Women's movement in the seventies. Yankelovich (1974) reported that students' view of women as the most oppressed group in society doubled in the years between 1971 and 1973. Over

95 percent of the students in Yankelovich's study agreed that women should receive equal pay for equal work, and 84 percent felt that women should be as free as men to take the initiative in sex relations. Fifty-seven percent thought that men and women are born with the same human nature, and therefore are similar. The respondents felt that difference between men and women was based on environmental child-rearing procedures.

The noncollege youth polled in the same study were in close agreement. The women's movement has made great progress since the early seventies with even the churches beginning to include some of them in more prominent clerical roles. The ordination of women is a controversial issue for Jews and Catholics who have no women rabbis, priests nor regular preachers. Protestants have a history of more active participation in some denominations such as Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but the Baptists and more Fundamentalist denominations do not advocate leadership positions for women in their churches.

Students were asked to reflect their attitude toward the autonomy of women in institutionalized religion by agreeing or disagreeing with the statement, "Women should not preach nor lead church services." Surprising results came from women, 17 percent of whom agreed with the statement as compared with seven percent of the men. Women had a greater ratio of don't knows, 20 to nine

percent of men which was an unexpected result. Perhaps,
women have grown so accustomed to subordinate positions in
churches and synagogues that they have failed to question
this position.

Table 24: Percentage of students responding to the state-
           ment "women should not lead nor preach at
           church services", by sex.

Sex	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Row Total
Male	3	4	9	24	60	(371)
Female	7	10	20	25	38	(197)
Column Total	(26)	(36)	(73)	(147)	(286)	(568) 100.0

Missing 29 cases.

Controlling for denominations influenced the break-
down of responses to leadership roles of women in the church.
Catholic women were significantly more reticent toward wom-
en's leadership role in their churches, than Protestant wom-
en. There was not much difference in the attitudes of the
men.

Table 25: Percentage of students responding to the state-
           ment "women should not lead nor preach at church
           services," by sex and denomination.

	Protestant		Catholic		Jewish	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Agree	10	13	8	23	5	0
Don't know	2	22	11	22	5	0
Disagree	88	65	81	55	90	100
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=60)	(N=32)	(N=217)	(N=104)	(N=21)	(N=4)

The nondenominational group which contains more
women in proportion to men had the highest number of stu-
dents agreeing that women should not lead nor preach at

church services. These groups interpret literally the letters of Saint Paul which do not recognize leadership of women in the church.

Over three-fourths of the student body disagree that women should be barred from positions of leadership in churches. In a country where the rhetoric of equality of opportunity is stressed, the opportunity for church leadership is denied to women. This discrimination against women by institutional churches which are dedicated to principles of justice can cause a conflict of some magnitude for college students. As a result, they find it difficult to identify with an institution whose principles and practices reveal such discrepancies. Students are still somewhat idealistic and find disappointment in the narrow application of justice that excludes half the membership from positions of responsibility.

2. Personal Decisions regarding Morality.

Religion and morality have been connected in various modes of relationships. Sometimes morality is seen as part of religion, especially the moral doctrine that composes the moral code of behavior. In some traditions, religion and morality are inseparable and almost identical. Some will separate religion and morality but always see some sort of relationship, whether religious principles govern human relationships or humanity gives rise to religion.

Andrew Greeley says that philosophical ethics and

moral systems possess a moral vigor because they reflect either the wishes of the deity or the nature of reality. He objects to the relativization of morality by those who exercise their own autonomy in making moral decisions.

> "Conventional wisdom argues that morality has now been desacralized - that is to say, it is no longer rooted in a religious view of reality; and it has been personalized - no longer consists of abstract principles but rather is based on the free decisions that individuals made in the circumstances in which they find themselves." [2]

Greeley, although he does not like it, is recognizing the trend for persons to make their own decisions regarding morality rather than to rely on the abstract principles that are advocated by institutional religion. Moberg and McEnery (1971) found a decreased scrupulosity in areas of personal morality and decreased compliance with church norms at Marquette University over a ten-year period. These same students displayed an increased conformity to the values of sexual permissiveness in American society. Often the two sets of norms, one given by the churches, and the other advocated by society are in conflict. Students do not always look to religion to influence their moral behavior.

In response to the question, "How much do your religious beliefs influence your personal moral behavior such as sexual ethics, honesty, truthfulness etc?", students were asked to mark categories of very much, moderately, negligible amount, not at all and don't know. Seventy-four percent of the entire student body answered that their religious belief influenced them a great deal or moderately. Twenty-one

percent answered negatively and four percent did not know.

These proportions differed when cross tabulating for holding power of the denominations. Students who left their denomination showed a significant difference in their attitude toward the influence of religious beliefs on their personal moral behavior than students who remained in their denomination. The former students were five times higher than those staying in the denomination in rejecting the influence of their religious beliefs on their personal moral behavior.

Table 26: Percentage distribution for students' responses to the statement, "How much do your religious beliefs influence your personal moral behavior, such as sexual ethics, honesty, truthfulness, etc?" by staying or leaving the denomination.

	Very much	Moderately	Don't know	Neglible	Not at all	Total
Students remaining in denomination	33	47	4	11	5	(456)
Students who left denomination	29	27	7	9	28	(131)
						(587)

When controlling for specific denomination, those with no religious preference were most likely to deny the influence of religion on their personal moral behavior. This refusal could have precipitated their break with their familial tradition. Eighty-three percent of the Catholics and 77 percent of the Protestants accepted the influence of religious beliefs in their personal moral behavior. These statistics are three percent higher than the actual hold-

ing power for Protestants which indicates that some students
who left these two denominations still acknowledge the influ-
ence of their religious beliefs on their personal behavior.

Jews reported a similar response to the no religious
preference group in that 53 percent of each of them negated
the influence of their religious beliefs on their personal
moral behavior. The low percentage of Jews assenting to this
influence of religion is difficult to explain.

> "The law of Moses, in early Hebraic religion, is a com-
> bination of rules of ritual, prescribed beliefs, and
> moral requirements. In this tradition, religion is a
> source and sustainer of morality." 3

Perhaps the reform Jews of today are more concerned with the
communal aspect as Caplovitz (1977) insists and therefore do
not need a supranormal system to regulate human behavior.
Judaism as an ethnic group would not feel the pressure to
conform to moral norms posited by religion.

Students living at home and in the dormitories show-
ed greater acceptance of religion influencing morals than
those living in apartments. Students living in apartments
must exercise more independence in their lives regarding
shopping, house care etc. It is likely that this independ-
ence would include their religion. There is likewise the
possibility that the privacy of apartment living could be
related to more liberal sexual ethics. Also the holding
power for all students living in apartments is lowest for
each of the denominations.

Previous education did not seem to make much dif-

ference in a student's acceptance of religion as a source of
morality. The only difference was in the lesser number of
"don't knows" given by parochial school graduates. Those
students with religious education on the elementary and high
school level both, scored highest in accepting religion as an
influencer of morality. They also had the smallest number
of "don't knows". Many students find a conflict between the
two sets of values, society's and institutional religion's,
because they have not received enough education in the be-
liefs of their denominations. Their religious education has
not kept pace with their secular education and so therefore
they cannot stand the strain of unanswered questions.

Finally, the influence of religion on morals by
frequency of church attendance was cross tabulated. It was
hypothesized that those attending church services most often
would be most susceptible to the influence of religion on
their personal moral lives. Church participation in denom-
inational services presupposes some identification to the
denomination. Those most likely to leave the denomination
would be least likely to participate or accept the influence
of religious beliefs on their personal moral behavior. It
was found that those who attended church services the most
often were most likely to acknowledge the influence of re-
ligion on their personal moral behavior. Likewise, students
who never attend church or just go once or twice a year were
least likely to acknowledge the influence of religion on

their personal moral behavior.

Controlling for denomination on church attendance
and refusal to acknowledge the influence of religion on
personal moral behavior, showed a consistent pattern.
Eighty percent of the Jews and 93 percent of the no reli-
gious preference group do not attend church services or
just attend once or twice a year. Therefore, they would
comprise most of the "never" and "once or twice a year"
categories.

Table 27: Percentage of students responding to the in-
fluence of religion on their personal moral
behavior by frequency of church attendance.

"How much do your religious beliefs influence
your personal moral behavior such as sexual
ethics, honesty, truthfulness, etc."

Frequency of church attendance	Very much	Moder- ately	Don't know	Negligible amount	Not at all	Row Total
Never	14	31	10	10	35	(92)
Once or twice a yr.	20	43	9	14	14	(153)
Monthly	26	49	4	16	5	(57)
Bi-monthly	29	47	3	16	5	(62)
Weekly or more	50	43	1	6	1	(221)
Column total						(585) 100.0

It was also hypothesized that those who prayed
least were less likely to accept religion as supplying a
code of ethics because prayer has as its object a supra-
normal being. Those students whose values are based on
society or humanistic elements would look to those elements
to supply one's code of ethical behavior. It was found that

these students who prayed less frequently were the least
likely to accept religion as providing them with a code of
ethics.

Religion and sexuality are usually connected in the
minds of young persons, because sexual taboos have long been
reinforced by religious sanctions. Society today does not
put the same strictures on the expressions of sexuality that
religion does. Therefore, a conflict is again set up in the
mind of the college student, whose sense of autonomy over
his private moral decisions will favor the more relaxed at-
titude of society. When the student rejects the moral im-
peratives of his/her denomination, he usually rejects the
denomination itself.

The conflict is especially difficult for college
students who must endure the peer pressure to get into the
adventure of sexual relational behavior. Active sexual be-
havior is promoted at the college by advertisements in the
college newspaper for birth control devices and abortion
clinics. There is a health center on campus which special-
izes in abortion counseling and referrals. This same clinic
dispenses free birth control pills to any women who sign for
them. Psychology and health classes teach that masturbation
is normal which suggest to some students that either the
self is evil or their churches are wrong. Since the problem
of masturbation usually arrives in earlier adolescence, it
could partially explain the earlier departures of high

school students from their familial denomination.

Students feel that they should exercise autonomy over those areas in their lives that could be classified as sexual morality. They reflect the general population in that Greeley (1974) found that Catholics were ignoring the Pope's encyclical on birth control. A trend away from orthodoxy has been experienced by all denominational members of "post World War II age", (Stark 1973). His study found a shift away from belief that the Pope is infallible by the post-war generations. It is likely than many young Catholics are not taught the doctrine of infallibility because so many of their teachers do not adhere to it. The instructors see it as a violation of one's personal autonomy and do not want to increase the conflict in the young. Birth control causes most problems to Catholics regarding the doctrine of infallibility. They somehow feel that artificial birth control violates this doctrine. Increased religious education has distinguished between papal encyclicals and infallible doctrines, but not all Catholics have been exposed to these teachings. However college students are beginning to separate these issues. Murray (1978) supports Greeley (1973), who suggests that young Catholics do not see the use of artificial methods of birth control as an obstacle to their religious convictions. They conclude that birth control may be seen as a matter of individual conscience rather than necessarily integral to their religious convictions. Greeley (1973) claims that

even the devout under age thirty, who attend church and pray
frequently do not support the official Roman Catholic church
teachings on sexuality, divorce, premarital sex and birth
control. He feels that one of the major factors that shape
religiosity and religious disidentification is the members'
attitudes toward sexuality.

There has been a greater relaxation in sexual values
in American society and especially in the colleges. Noncol-
lege youth appear to follow closely the pace that college
youth set regarding sexual values (Yankelovich 1974). The
number of students who say they would welcome greater social
acceptance of sexual freedom had increased from 43 percent
in 1969 to 61 percent in 1973. "Implicit too in the stu-
dent's support for a freer attitude toward sex is the con-
viction in most cases, that sexual behavior is an individual
decision and not a moral issue."[4] A greater relaxation to-
ward sexual norms was reported by Hoge (1974) in replication
studies at Purdue. Sexual misbehaving slipped from second
worst thing that one could do in 1919 to fourth in 1965.
There was a decline in the desire to live a clean moral life
from 1960 to 1973 when college youth rated personal values
that were important to them (Yankelovich 1974). Astin
(1977) says that today's college students are more sexually
liberated than those of the last decade, but so is the soci-
ety from which they come. Fifty percent of his students
thought that people should live together before marriage.

The following question was asked at Buffalo State regarding sexual behavior. The frequency distribution accompanies the possible responses:

Some people believe that since the advent of reliable contraceptives there is no longer any sound moral reason why sexual intercourse should be restricted to married couples. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion?
(1) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible only in marriage. 16
(2) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible only for married or engaged couples. 5
(3) Undecided. 18
(4) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for any couple who are in love. 38
(5) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for any couple assuming proper precautions against pregnancy. 23

Table 28: Percentage distribution of students' leaving or remaining in their denominations responses to the statement "Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for couples - - - "

Students	Marriage only	Married or engaged	Unde- cided	Couples in love	Couples taking precau- tion	Total
Students staying in denomination	18	5	20	37	20	(454)
Students leaving denomination	12	4	9	39	36	(126)
						580

Students leaving their denomination displayed a more liberal attitude toward premarital sex than students remaining in their denominations. Even students who remained in their denomination were rather liberal in that 20 percent of them permitted premarital sexual activities to any couple. There was a significant difference between the greater liberalism of the students who left their

denominations and the liberality of the students who remain-
ed. Students who left the denomination had already made
their decisions on the issue which might indicate a reason
for their departure. When students exercise their autonomy
in decisions regarding their personal moral behavior, a con-
flict is likely to occur between them and the more orthodox
believers. Perception of the conflict on the part of young
adults can cause some of them to depart from their familial
denominations. State students resemble the students in rep-
lication studies at Wisconsin by Hoge (1974) in their liberal
attitude toward premarital sex. He noted a great shift toward
more liberal answers to whether a young woman should engage in
premarital sexual experimentation from 1930 to 1968.

Catholics and Protestants were much less liberal
than Jews and those registering no preference for religious
denomination. Fifty-five percent of the former group favor-
ed premarital sex. Eighty-three percent of the Jews and the
no religious preference did likewise. This situation cor-
responds to the responses to the question that religion in-
fluences personal moral decisions to which Protestants and
Catholics answered more affirmatively than Jews and the no
preference group.

When breaking down the attitude toward premarital
sex into denominations and sex, the women of all three de-
nominations were more liberal in permitting sexual inter-
course to any couple assuming proper precautions against

pregancy. There was very little difference between Protestant and Catholic males in their attitude toward premarital sex. Catholic females were a little more liberal in their attitudes than Protestant females.

Table 29: Percentage of responses to question depicting students attitudes toward premarital sex by denomination and sex.

Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for	Protestant		Catholics		Jews	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
only married couples	21	19	20	11	4	0
Married or engaged	1	6	7	7	4	0
Undecided	17	28	22	18	9	0
Any couple in love	46	28	40	29	37	0
Any couple taking proper precautions	15	19	11	35	46	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=62)	(N=32)	(N=224)	(N=104)	(N=21)	(N=4)

Those living at home were most conservative in their attitudes toward premarital sex, followed by the dormitory students. The students living in apartments were most liberal. This situation might not only reflect increased autonomy, but also increased opportunity for sexual encounters. The latter were also less influenced by indecision. Parochial and private school graduates showed more conservative attitudes toward premarital sex than public school graduates.

Ethnic groups reacted differently to the question with the Italian and Southern Europeans displaying more liberalism and the Irish and Anglo Saxons, the most conserva-

tism. There was very little difference in the responses according to year in college, except that the sophomores registered more indecision. This might indicate that decisions regarding sexuality were made before coming to college.

The hypothesis was formed that those attending church services would be the more likely to retain a conservative attitude toward premarital sex. The religious identification would be stronger for those who participate in church worship, and it would in turn cause the members to do the things advocated by the church. Even in the situation where there was a conflict of church and social norms as in sexuality, those who would be the most likely to adhere to church norms, would be those who participate in church services. The hypothesis was supported in that frequent church attenders were more likely to reject premarital sexual behavior.

Table 30   Percentage of students' responses depicting attitudes toward premarital sex by frequency of church attendance

| Frequency of church attendance | Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for | | | | | |
	Only married couples	Married or engaged	Undecided	Couples in love	Couples with precautions	Total
Never	3	1	10	30	46	88
Once or twice a yr.	3	3	12	48	34	153
Monthly	10	6	15	47	22	58
Bi-monthly	8	11	20	37	24	62
Weekly or more	35	6	26	28	5	217
						(578)
						100

Missing 19 cases.

However the affirmation of chastity was not all that pronounced even by the church goers. Only 35 percent of the weekly church attenders affirmed sexual intercourse for married couples only. They also showed the highest percentage of indecision.

Because students differentiate between the influence of religion and the influence of churches in their lives, a cross tabulation was carried out on responses to the question, "How much do your religious beliefs influence your personal moral behavior such as sexual, ethics, honesty, truthfulness, etc?" and their attitudes toward premarital sex. There was a difference between these answers and responses to frequency of church attendance and premarital sex. Students who acknowledged very much influence of their religion were more conservative in their attitude toward premarital sex, restricting sexual activity to marriage. However, students acknowledging a moderate influence were more inclined to be permissive in their attitudes toward premarital sex, including any couple in love or those taking proper precautions.

Table 31: Percentage of students' responses to the influence on their attitudes toward personal morality by their attitudes toward premarital sex.

Influence of religion on personal morality	Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for couples:					
	Only in marriage	Marriage or engaged	Undecided	Couples in love	Couples with precaution	Row Total
Very much	36	6	19	27	12	(183)
Moderately	10	6	22	43	19	(243)
Don't know	0	0	11	39	50	(28)
Negligible amount	3	2	13	44	38	(61)
Not at all	1	3	8	39	49	(59)
Column Total						(574) 100.0

Number missing - 23

Along with an increased liberalized attitude toward premarital sex for Catholics, Greeley (1979) found that 50 percent favored abortion. Yankelovich (1974) found that only 22 percent of college students in 1973 regarded casual premarital sexual relations as wrong and 32 percent regarded abortions as wrong. An increased attention has been given to the subject of abortion in America with political parties split over the issue. Buffalo State is situated in New York State which is now considering repeal of its law of abortion on demand.

The college students reflect the split opinion of much of society. The frequency distribution shows as many in favor of abortion as against it.

If it is not required to save the life of the mother, having an abortion is always or nearly always immoral.
(1) Strongly agree   25) 41
(2) Agree   16)
(3) Undecided   18
(4) Disagree   21) 41
(5) Strongly disagree   20)

Part of the women's movements' stand on autonomy is that women have the right to decide on anything that affects their own bodies. Therefore women should be able to make decisions regarding abortions. The men led by four percentage points in agreeing that abortions are immoral which was not expected, since this is a problem that women have usually responded to more enthusiastically than men. Freshmen and Sophomores were more likely to agree with the immorality of abortion than Juniors and Seniors.

Students who left their denomination were significantly more tolerant in their stance toward abortion than those remaining in the denomination. The holding power was more than twice as high for students who agreed that abortion was immoral.

Table 32: Percentage of students remaining or leaving their denomination and their attitude toward abortion.
"If it is not required to save the life of the mother, having an abortion is always or nearly always immoral."

Holding Power Students remaining in denomination	Strongly agree	Agree	Unde- cided	Dis- agree	Strongly disagree	
	29	17	17	21	16	(457)
Students leaving denomination	12	9	18	25	36	(131)

Despite the official Catholic doctrine that abortion is murder, only 53 percent of them agreed with the immorality of abortion. This percentage is very close to Greeley's (1973) findings of 50 percent of Catholics objecting

to their church's teaching on abortion. The Catholics held a significant difference from the Protestant's stance on abortion, 34 percent of whom said it was immoral. Only 12 percent of the Jews considered abortion immoral which contrasted significantly with the nondenominational group, 73 percent of whom took the anti-abortionist stance.

There were significant differences between Catholics according to their church attendance. The percentage favoring abortion rose from 17 percent for regular church goers to 41 for moderate church goers to 79 for those who never attend church. Corresponding percentage points based on church attendance for Protestants were negligible.

Students living at home and in the dormitory were more likely to find abortion immoral than students living in apartments. The similarity of their stance might be partially explained by the fact that most dormitory students come from the Long Island and central New York State areas which are more conservative than urban areas. There was a significant difference of 10 percent between students from Polish and Northern European backgrounds and the other nationalities in their anti-abortion attitude. Fourteen percent, which was significant, separated parochial and private school graduates from their counterparts in the public schools, in their anti-abortion stance.

Religious instructions seemed to make a difference in attitudes towards abortion. Fifty-one percent of the

students who received religious education in high school and grade school considered abortion immoral. Forty percent of those educated at home, and 19 percent of those with no religious instruction affirmed the immorality of abortion.

The students with most religious education are mainly Catholic. Yet there is a sizeable proportion of them who do not follow the injunctions of their church, either on the issues of premarital sex or abortion. Increased autonomy and independence have encouraged them to think for themselves. Often the conflict between the church's views and their own, regarding personal moral behavior, leads them to rely on their own judgments. This independent decision, in turn, causes many of them to leave their denomination.

Table 33 Summary table of students attitude toward autonomy and religion

Percentage of students who	Student body	Males	Females	Weekly church goers	Protest-ant	Cath-olics	Jews
feel that their religion influences their moral behavior	74	77	69	93	74	83	42
feel that their religion provides them with a code of ethics	63	65	61	78	57	70	47
feel that their church is too strict	45	49	39	43	15	54	31
feel very little need of organized religion in their lives	36	33	43	10	18	14	6
agree that women should lead and preach at church services	76	86	63	71	76	68	95
agree that sexual intercourse is morally permissible for any couple in love	37	42	30	28	40	37	33
agree that sexual intercourse is morally permissible for any couple assuming precautions against pregnancy	23	11	37	5	16	18	50
Disagree that if it is not required to save the life of the mother, having an abortion is nearly always immoral.	41	41	43	19	46	30	79

C. The Legitimation Function of Religion.

    1. Institutional Legitimation

        Religion often sacralizes the norms and values of
society. At times society desires to discard some of these
norms, but theological change which is often slower than
societal change, fails to make adaptations quickly enough
for the objectors. College students' rate of change exceeds
the national population, which results in a lack of patience
for institutions whose complexity retards the process. When
religion sacralizes the norms and values in society, it con-
tributes to the social control of that society. Allen Eister
says that it is difficult to separate religion from religious
institutions in human society, "since religion in human soci-
ety scarcely exists apart from institutional forms."[5]

        Institutional religion seems to legitimate the very
social conditions which seem unjust to students such as con-
sumerism, materialism, prejudice, discrimination and in-
justice, etc. Many students fail to see the prophetic ele-
ment in their churches which challenges the societal norms
and values. Either these consciousness-raising aspects are
not preached from pulpits or students, who tend to be ideal-
istic and single-purposed, miss arguments that do not support
their points of view.

        Students have read Marx and other revolutionists
who criticize the conservative and reactionary power of
churches. Although the present South American experience

does not universally present this condition their past history reflects an alignment of the church with the ruling class. When religion legitimates the status quo, it only reflects, not shapes society. Students have seen other institutions influence society in more diverse ways. The present-day college students are removed from the memory of the Vietnam war or civil rights issues in which churches exercised a vital role. The churches do not seem to make an impact on the problem of unemployment or gas shortage or government corruption.

Part of the problem is that change does not seem to be as well planned in churches as it is in other social institutions. The changes that occur in churches are often more directed toward adjustments to the changes that have already occurred in other areas of society. Students are constantly bombarded by new ideas and changing trends in their studies. Religious reforms usually try to go back and restore the pristine vigor of the past, rather than challenge the future or possibly even the present. Rather, the religious institution becomes a reactive agent of social control and socialization in the minds of some college students.

Wuthnow and Glock (1973) found that students who were more conservative and conventional were the least likely to defect from their religion of socialization. Students who defected were less conventional in other

respects also in that they experimented with drugs, used mar-
ijuana, engaged in or supported sexual or family style ex-
perimentation and radical politics. Defectors could have
resented the legitimating functions of religious institutions
which censure their newly adopted behavior. Students who
engaged in radical politics were also among those most likely
to apostasize in the study by Caplovitz (1977).

Religion can have an integrating and segmenting func-
tion in society simultaneously. Although religion teaches
such values as human dignity and freedom, equality before
the law, and respect for legitimate authority, Marx said
that it also justified whatever social class happened to
own and control the means of production at any given time.
Much of the students' contact with political history stresses
the opiate dimension of religion referred to by Marx. The
Blacks in America were, and still are victimized by the
tyranny of the ruling classes. Many of the students have
graduated from segregated parochial and private schools in
a society that stresses school racial integration.

Not everyone adheres to the thesis that organized
religion legitimates the status quo. Besides those adher-
ing to the prophetic stance of institutionalized religion,
Gordon Allport (1953) in The Individual and His Religion objects
to the assumption that the religious sentiment of an in-
dividual is a faithful replica of the cultural model of-
fered him. He says that social scientists argue that the

function of religion is to produce stability, yet individuals are not religious for this reason. He also says that social scientists look to religion as a vent sanctioned by culture for the release of overstrong emotions. These emotions would be disruptive if they were expressed in society, but he indicates that individuals' strong emotions are rarely involved in their religious lives.

Whether religion serves to protect the status quo or provides legitimation of positive support for social change, many students see only the former function. Fenn (1974) defines legitimation as the "process by which one aspect of a social system confers sanctions on a society as a whole and on particular institutions within it."[6] When students see this power given to churches, they expect its representatives and members to be deserving of this authority. Yet, students are quite idealistic and tend to label hypocritical the behavior of church members who do not use this power for good according to the interpretation of the former.

Students perceive the efforts of ecologists as more fruitful than religionists. The admiration for ecology, which takes on some of the dimensions of a religious system, might have more pragmatic concerns for citizens of a future generation. Some of them have the "save it for me" attitude. They find it more expedient to belong to an institution, or movement, which they perceive is more beneficial than

churches to the young persons in society.

Religious institutions use sanctions that transcend this social order to reinforce moral and social norms. Yet, the religious institution cannot enforce these sanctions unless the believer accepts them in faith. A believer usually allows this sanction of eternal punishment or reward to control him. When he relinquishes the belief, he likewise frees himself from the control of the church upon his behavior. Loss of religious belief usually precedes withdrawal from the church of socialization. Departure with accompanied loss of belief in the creed and dogmas which make the norms more sacred is sometimes accompanied by bitterness and resentment. Although departees from other institutions carry scars from their experience, many defectors from religious institutions carry more bitterness. They feel they have been deceived because churches apply sanctions of a supernatural character over which they have no control.

Students were asked to agree/disagree with the statement, "I think that institutional churches are parasites on society." Nineteen percent agreed with the statement, but 39 percent were bothered enough that they could not make a decision.

Almost three times as many departees as those who remained in their denomination agreed to the rather strong statement about churches. Equating institutional churches with parasites indicates a rather strong negative stance.

Forty-two percent of students registering no religious pref-
erence, agreed that institutional churches are parasites
which might indicate a reason for their departure from them.
There was a significant difference between the 30 percent of
Jews agreeing to the statement and the ten percent of Cath-
olics and eight percent of Protestants who did likewise.

Table 34: Percentage of students remaining in or leaving
their denomination responding to the statement:
"I think that institutional churches are para-
sites on society."

	Strongly agree	Agree	Unde-cided	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	Total
Students remaining in their denomination.	2	12	41	28	17	(430)
Students departing from their denomination.	14	23	32	22	9	(124)
Column total	5	14	39	27	15	(554)

Missing 43 cases.

Presuming that those who benefit most from the legit-
imation of churches are those in the higher income brackets,
present denomination and family gross income was cross tabu-
lated. Forty-eight percent of the Jewish families registered
in the over $30,000-a-year category. Previous studies,(Len-
ski, 1963, Demerath, 1965) attributed higher socio-economic
ratings to American Protestants. At Buffalo State, they were
second, 18 percent in the over $30,000 category followed by
Catholics with 14 percent. Many of the Black students in the
equal opportunity program could have lowered the Protestant

average. The Jews appeared most anti-institutional even
though churches could be accused of legitimating a way of
life that their parents have successfully mastered in Amer-
ican society.

Students in the lowest income bracket were those
affiliating as "other denominations" and the no religious
preference group. These groups are mostly composed of de-
partees from the mainline denominations. Therefore they
could be professing a disenchantment with any institution
that has not contributed to their economic betterment or
censuring a religious institution that is more concerned
with materialism than they are.

When breaking down the denominational responses to
the church as a parasite on society according to income,
Protestants formed no particular patterns for agreement or
disagreement. Catholics and Jews followed a pattern of in-
creased income accompanying increased negativism toward the
institutional church. Protestants from the highest income
group were significantly less censorious of their churches
than their Catholic and Jewish counterparts.

The more frequent church attenders were less nega-
tive toward the institutional church. However, students
who prayed more frequently were not as favorable toward churches.
Many students feel that they can pray without the benefit of
an institutional church that might legitimate issues that
are contrary to their interests.

Table 35: Percentage of students responding to "institutional churches are parasites on society" by denomination and income of parents.

Denomination	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
Yearly gross income	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree
$0-10,000	36	52	12	22	20	58	0	100	0
$10-15,000	50	30	20	22	40	38	30	60	10
$15-20,000	39	32	29	32	38	30	40	40	20
$20-30,000	16	30	54	35	35	30	50	40	10
Over 30,000	25	38	27	46	27	27	74	16	10
	N=7	N=52	N=44	N=41	N=126	N=157	N=8	N=9	N=5

Finally, students might just portray feelings of dis-
enchantment with any institution. Wuthnow and Glock (1973)
felt that the students defecting from their denomination of
socialization showed indications of a more general disen-
chantment with the conventional. Any institution that would
appear too conventional might receive the same negative re-
action by college students. Persons in society who do not
have a great deal of responsibility to the society are less
worried about institutional maintenance. Students neither
owe much to banks for mortgage payments nor do they have
many financial investments. Likewise their ties to the gov-
erment are not strengthed by the investment of income, taxes.
nor military service. It is easier for college persons than
for most Americans to show disdain for religious and other
institutions, especially those which they perceive as only
reflecting the status quo of society.

2. Institutional Alienations

Although religion stabilizes culture, helps make life more tolerable by lessening its harshness, and reduces social frictions by upholding accepted moral norms, it also produces demands that are difficult to attain. When these demands are not met, unpleasant feelings of anxiety, fear, shame and guilt arise. These unpleasant feelings can lead to alienation.

As a man begins to differentiate his experience, he objectifies it and distances himself from it. Kaplan (1976; p. 31) says that differentiation and distance are required for alienation. Alienation occurs if society fails to produce what humans perceive as satisfaction of their legitimate goals. Since these goals can never become fully attained, deprivation and disorder will occur as they are inherent in the human condition. Institutional churches are no exception to this situation because their goals often do not seem attainable to many college students.

Gregory Baum defines alienation:

"Alienation then refers to the structures of separation which prevent people from enjoying their powers, from living up to their destiny, and from participating in the unitive forces of love and truth operative in their midst."

Hegel saw religion as the source of this alienation in that alienation from nature, fellowman and oneself are rooted in the alienation from God. He said that man has objectified and created his own God as the stranger above history in the Judao-Christian tradition. Hegel claims

that man's alienation from nature was caused by this distant
God who was absent from our environment and so therefore man
had to dominate nature out of fear. Likewise, the nature
that man alienated from himself is based upon his concept of
a foreign God who must be obeyed in a master-slave relation-
ship. This structure of servile submission extends to soci-
ety where domination, not communion becomes the key to human
unity. God as object and stranger becomes the legitimating
symbol for dividing the human family into rulers and ruled.
The churches of course sacralize this condition. There are
opposing view points to Hegel, as Mol (1977, p. 206) who
says that objectification does not posit alienation, but
rather order and unity.

Marx claimed that the problems of the social order
were so great that men were forced to create religious illu-
sions out of their frustration. Therefore man's concious-
ness, his identity and his place in relation to other enti-
ties would not be changed by arguments and ideas, but by
transforming the social institutions in which he lives.
Religion is a product of man's social alienation because
the inequalities in social institutions distort man's self
awareness and diminish his humanity. Religion legitimizes
this condition by calling man to yearn for a divine order in
a heavenly society which sometime in the next world will
right the wrongs that are plaguing him in his present world.
There are opposing viewpoints to Marx also, such as Yinger

(1970), Johnstone (1975), Greeley (1972, 1973), Baum (1975)
who say that religion has a healing power on society.

Freud also shed light on the alienating power of religion in his assertion of the guilt complexes that are created by authoritarian religions. Not only does the individual suffer from a sense of self-hatred resulting from the guilt feelings that often follow an unresolved oedipal complex, but a collective hatred toward non-conformists and outsiders often develops. Although Freud has been challenged often on his theory, Baum (1975; 93) feels that he does offer one explanation for the extraordinary cruelty aimed at non-conformists and outsiders by religions that preach mercy and love. Some doctrines taught by certain religions tend to alienate their members who do not adhere to some particular areas of belief, and therefore they fail to subscribe to any. Lenski (1963) found that Catholics would be more likely to "completely leave their religion of socialization than move to another denomination" when they found it hard to accept some teachings. My own data support the findings of Lenski in that 60 percent of the no-religious-preference group is composed of former Catholics.

Because religion sacralizes the norms and values of the established society, it rewards the characteristics of that society. It is impossible for persons of any society to live up to the expectations of the established norms without some lapse or deviance. As a result, feelings of guilt

and alienation are produced on the part of the deviant individuals. Although religion provides ways of expiating the guilt through rituals, and thus aids in the reconciliation of the disaffected, the feelings of guilt and alienation often prevail.

The students were asked to agree/disagree with the statement, "at times I feel guilty because of my religious upbringing." It had been hypothesized that women would experience more feeling of guilt than men because of the pressure to conform put on them by society in general and by churches in particular. However, only women who reported "none" as their affiliation showed a higher percentage of agreement than men in their group. Most of these women had left denominations and may be experiencing either feelings of remorse over their departure, or the pressure of guilt feelings put on them by their denominations which prompted their departure. However, both Protestant and Catholic women experienced more guilt feeling than women with no religious preference.

Protestants showed more feelings of guilt than Catholics because of their religious upbringing. It was expected that Catholics would have felt more alienation by guilt than Protestants because of their doctrinal teachings on sin. However, since Vatican II Council, less stress is given to mortal sin and more attention is given to forgiveness. It seems that young Catholics are feeling the effects

of some of the more recent teachings. In general the students with no religious denomination reported the least amount of alienation produced by guilt feelings. It had been hypothesized that students with the least church doctrines and moral laws would be least likely to experience feelings of guilt.

Table 36:   Percentage of students' responses to feeling of guilt because of their religious upbringing by denomination and sex.

"Sometimes I feel guilty because of my religious upbringing."

	Denomination							
	Protestant		Catholic		Jewish		None	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agree	40	37	36	34	27	0	28	33
Don't know	4	11	7	20	18	0	10	11
Disagree	56	52	57	46	55	100	62	56
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=72	N=35	N=220	N=95	N=21	N=4	N=52	N=45

Campus Crusade members experienced the most guilt feelings, 50 percent. They work hard at making converts and stress the conversion experience which often emerges out of feelings of guilt over one's past behavior.

Students living alone in apartments experienced the most alienation and guilt feelings, 42 percent, while their counterparts, sharing apartments with others experienced the least, 18 percent. The fact that they live alone might indicate a degree of alienation. Students from the large urban cities reported the highest scores on guilt and alienation. The African-Asian and Italian background did likewise, both of which are concentrated in large cities. The

Polish and Northern Europeans who live in the small cities and suburbs around Buffalo and New York State exhibited the least feelings of guilt and alienation.

Previous religious instructions seemed to influence feelings of guilt and alienation toward religion. Students attending parochial high schools experienced more feelings of guilt, than their private school or public school counterparts. Those students attending parochial elementary schools also experienced the most alienation, which suggests that the roots occur early in a child's life. Those students who attended public schools, but received religious instruction, were less likely to experience guilt than students who received no instruction. Perhaps these students felt alienated from the main stream culture where most elementary and high school students receive some formal instruction in religion.

Even 37 percent of the devout, those who pray daily, experience feelings of guilt and alienation. One-quarter of those who do not pray at all report similar feelings. Attendance at church services is associated with feelings of guilt in that thirty-six percent of those who go the most often experience the most intense feelings of guilt. One-fourth of the students who never attend church services at all reported similar feelings, which seems to point to religion as a source of alienation. These unpleasant feelings of guilt and alienation appear to follow a person even after he has severed ties with the institution which suggests

that religion is supra-institutional and its effects go beyond the churches and synagogues.

Feelings of alienation and guilt can lead to emotions of hopelessness and despair. Religion can also prevent this hopelessness as well as engender it. Belief in God has been a deterrent to despair that originates in alienation. Students were asked to agree/disagree with the statement, "at times my belief in God has prevented me from feeling hopeless." Nineteen percent of the students were not able to affirm that statement and 16 percent did not know whether their belief in God alleviated their hopelessness.

Students leaving their denominations were less likely to affirm the belief in God as preventing hopelessness, than those remaining in their denominations. Seventy percent of the students remaining in their denominations agreed to the statement as compared to 45 percent of the departees. Twenty-eight percent of the departees said that they found no need for belief in God, so it was likely that they could not agree to the belief in God preventing hopelessness.

Year in college did not seem to make any difference in students' reaction to belief in God preventing hopelessness. Catholics expressed the most agreement, almost three-fourths, as compared to the Protestants and Jews with two-thirds agreement.

The Asian-African group who experiences the most

alienation in society, likewise found that belief in God was not likely to prevent this helplessness. The other nationalities showed very little differences in their answers. Most of the Black-American students originate from cities, but many of the black foreign students come from rural villages in Africa. The rural students, who comprise 10 percent of the student population, are likewise least likely to affirm that belief in God prevents hopelessness.

The apartment dwellers were least likely to find that their belief in God prevented hopelessness. These students are least likely to attend church which again emphasizes that alienation could be caused both by institutional churches as well as by reasons extraneous to them. Three-fourths of the students living at home agreed to the statement. However this does not tell us whether or not much alienation occurs in those homes. Two-thirds of the students living in the dorms agreed that belief in God prevented hopelessness.

Those connected to religious institutions through schooling should show some influence of these organizations on their feelings of hopelessness. When correlating with previous religious education, students with the most instruction were most likely to agree that belief in God prevented feelings of helplessness. Lest one might consider this argument to be in favor of the institutional church, those receiving religious instructions at home scored higher by

two percentage points, which was not really significant.
Those who received no instructions were least likely to find
consolation from alienation in belief in God. However, it
would follow that students receiving some instructions in
the beliefs of the institutional churches would be the most
likely to build identification to those churches. Even
those students receiving instructions at home, must have
learned some of the doctrines of their parents' religious
affiliation.

A cross-tabulation between frequency of prayer and
belief in God preventing hopelessness showed that an in-
crease in prayer and an increase in belief were closely as-
sociated. With an increase in frequency of prayer, belief
in the object of that prayer deterred feelings of hopeless-
ness.

Institutional involvement as measured by church at-
tendance also showed a positive correlation to the state-
ment that belief in God prevented hopelessness. Again the
difficulty of staying with an institution that one feels
alienated from, would be expressed in decreased church
attendance.

Whenever an individual, a group or a society suffer
feelings of alienation and anomie, they have trouble "get-
ting it together" in the words of the current American ver-
nacular. Their sense of identity is threatened and feelings
of segmentation and fragmentation follow. Religion has been
considered as one of the factors in this divisive process,

but in many cases, it could be a misunderstanding of the
meaning and belonging function of religion. A more thorough
investigation of religion might show the healing or bridging
aspects of those alienations, but meanwhile college students
who suffer from alienation and guilt will choose to drop out
of their denomination of socialization.

Table 37 Summary Table on Alienation

Percentage of students who	Denomination			Weekly church goer	Pray daily	Home Residence			Family income in thousands				
	Pro.	Cat.	Jew			Urb	Sub	Rural	10	15	20	30	over 30
agree that institutional churches are parasites on society.	8	10	30	7	11	19	19	33	20	21	15	15	25
Feel guilty of their religious up-bringing	38	33	27	36	37	30	25	25	39	31	31	35	25
Do not agree that their belief in God can prevent feelings of hopelessness	33	25	33	8	8	19	16	31	22	25	9	19	25

D. Compensation for Deprivation Needs.

The literature on the relation of religion to deprivation needs is somewhat ambiguous. Glock and Bellah (1976) found that deprivation needs of the social, ethical or ideological levels could be blamed for the defections of persons from their denominations to cults or to the group of no religious preference. Other literature has emphasized deprivation from society. These individuals will find solace, comfort and security in religious beliefs and institutions.

Part of the problem is to decide who is deprived, and what standards should be used to establish deprivation. Social change affects these standards in that at one time, wealth and status might be the standard of acceptance, and at another time, leisure and pursuit of the arts might be the criteria by which deprivation is measured. This relativity caused by social change is compounded when investigating the perception of the individual. The adolescent and young adult might perceive themselves as powerless and deprived in our society. The elderly, whose powers and savings are leaving them, might share their perception. Various ethnic and racial groups perceive themselves most deprived in relation to other ethnic and racial groups who appear more favored in American society at a particular time in history. Women and other minorities have identified themselves as victims of deprivation. There is now a backlash by American

white males who feel deprived by equal opportunity laws.

Glock (1973) delineated the kinds of deprivation that are experienced by individuals in society. He called them economic, social, organismic, ethical and psychic. Although he did not insist that deprivation is in itself a sufficient condition, "a necessary precondition for the rise of any organized social movement, whether it be religious or secular, is a situation of felt deprivation."[8] He would therefore ascribe the origin of mainline and sectarian religion to deprivation. Support for this viewpoint would be found in the Freudian analysis of religion as a projection of infantilism and wishful thinking. When man is deprived of security or happiness, he turns to religion to fill these needs. Baum (1975) said that the nomads of the Old Testament who were deprived of the luxuries of life looked to religion to provide them with a promised land. The message of the New Testament was aimed at the poor, the oppressed, the sick and the outcasts of this world. William James, Fromm and Weber all indicated this understanding of religion as a compensation for some form of deprivation.

When some members of a denomination feel deprived within the group, they segment into sects. Johnstone (1975) reports that persons from the lower socio-economic classes comprise most sectarian membership. Some are migrants who seek social status in religious status. Neibuhr, (1957) found that upper socio-economic classes were represented in

the Protestant churches where intellectualism and individualism were stressed. The lower socio-economic classes which emphasized eschatology, personal righteousness and salvation theology were represented in the sects.

Persons feeling deprived will also move into cults which are usually positioned out of the mainstream of the dominant religious systems in societies. "Cults have a strong individualist emphasis stressing peace of mind and getting the individual in tune with the supernatural while exhibiting little concern with social change."[9] Glock and Bellah, (1976) reported that students who drifted to cults were suffering social, ethnic and organismic deprivation. Psychic and ethical deprivation were reasons cited by Peterson and Mauss (1973) for a young person's migration to Jesus movements. Even though some of these students were not economically deprived, they experienced a psychic deprivation and then looked for security in the cult.

Caplovitz (1977, p. 100) reported that students departed from their home religious affiliation when relations with parents were poor. He felt that closeness of parental relationships was important for maintaining an identity with the religious community. The results of his research showed that apostasy increased in each religious denomination of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism as relations with parents deteriorated. Wuthnow and Glock, (1973) noted a correlation between defection of students

from their denomination at Berkeley and psychic stress.

If deprivation causes disaffection, then women should be affected more than men. Contrary to previous evidence one-third of the women in this study were less likely than men to attend church or pray. More males than females said they would participate in church activities in campus ministry programs upon invitation. Less women go to church services accompanied by friends than men do. Women trailed men in affirming the importance of religion in their lives. Women were less likely to acknowledge the influence of religion on their personal moral lives. The holding power for women in the denominations was 11 percentage points lower than men which was a significant difference. The departure rate for women in each specific denomination was higher than the men. Even the women whose home religious preference was "none" were more likely to stay that way than their male counterparts. Catholic and Jewish men had the highest holding power.

Table 38: Percentage of students remaining in or leaving their denomination by sex.

Denomination	Protestant		Catholic		Jewish	
Sex	M	F	M	F	M	F
Students remaining	75	58	83	77	88	40
Students leaving	25	42	17	23	12	60
	100	100	100	100	100	100

There was very little difference between men and women regarding the demographic variables of age, residence,

year in college, occupation, income and previous education
of parents. The rate of men's to women's attendance at
private and parochial schools is about the same. Each group
received about the same amount of religious instruction.
The only difference between the sexes centered on the women's
purpose in college. About 20 percent more women than men
reported as their purpose in college, the desire to develop
their potential for creative mental ability and appreciation
of ideas. Men were more interested in career training.

A partial explanation for the large departure rate
of women might be attributed to the deprivation they feel
in their denomination. More Jewish women than Protestant or
Catholic women departed from their home religious affiliation.
Perhaps they felt the discrimination to a greater degree than
Christians because more positions are open to women in Chris-
tian churches. However, decision making opportunities for
women within the denominations are just as limited to Chris-
tians as to Jews. Crux, a national Catholic newsletter, noted
that religious vocations increased for men, but decreased for
women, since 1976. However 30 women from the Womens' Studies
program or five percent of the samples filled out the ques-
tionnaire which could account for part of women's larger
departure rate.

It was likewise hypothesized that students who
felt the most deprived would report membership in the non-
denominational groups. These groups which make up nine per-
cent of the student population stress the conversion experi-

ence, fundamentalism, literal interpretation of the Bible
and personal salvation. Campus Crusade for Christ, an out-
growth of the Evangelical Christian Businessmen Fellowship
International movement claims two percent of the nine per-
cent nondenominational group. Two full-time and two part-
time staff members are paid by the National Businessmen's
group. Intervarsity Christian Associates are dedicated to
the same principles as Campus Crusade, but do not put as
much stress on winning new converts. They comprise two per-
cent of the nondenominational group. The Pentecostal/Char-
ismatic groups distinguish themselves from similar groups
that exist within the denominations. They claim two per-
cent and "others" add the remaining three percent to com-
plete the nine percent nondenominational group.

Ninety percent of the nondenominational groups
selected to learn how to get along with people for their
purpose for attending college. Glock (1973 ; 271) found
that students who were "inclined to cults" were looking for
simplistic answers to their meaning in life. "A search for
simplicity, almost by definition, carries with it an anti-
intellectual posture."[10] Professors at Buffalo State have
verified this as the experience of their classrooms. Sev-
enty-five percent of the nondenominational students changed
their affiliations during college, as compared to five per-
cent of the combined denominational groups who did likewise.

When asked to respond to the statement "reli-
gion has brought me peace of mind," 72 percent of the nonde-

nominational groups strongly agreed. Fifty percent of the
Catholics and Protestants and only 18 percent of the Jews
agreed to this statement. Religion can become peace-giving
and a source of security for many who have defected from their
denominations because they felt deprived on some level. The
Campus Crusade, Intervarsity, and Pentecostal/Charismatic
groups all answered 80 percent in the affirmative to "Reli-
gion makes me feel safe and secure." Only half the Protes-
tants and Catholics, and 40 percent of the Jews did likewise. Mas-
low (1962) describes security needs as the lower dependency needs
which must be filled first before one can go on to self-ac-
tualizing needs. Perhaps those students who find fulfill-
ment in the nondenominational groups will display behavior
similar to cults in that their membership will be temporary
until their needs are fulfilled. There are no Jesus Freaks
nor Jesus movements at Buffalo State. The Hare Krishna
group has departed the city after making very few converts.
The unification church of Sun Moon has asked for money and
sold candy at the campus, but has also disappeared from the
area in recent years. With no real cults to go to students
had to be content with the nondenominational groups.

Religion has the appeal of stability. Two-thirds
of the nondenominational groups agreed that "Sometimes re-
ligion is the only thing I can rely on." Only one-third of
the denominations did likewise. Deprivation of various
sorts arouses the need for security and stability. Before

one can respond to the challenge of change, one needs to
have the personal security to make that change. The denom-
inations have taken the challenge to decide how much adapta-
tion would diminish their identity. The more fundamental-
ist groups can not afford the liberalism necessary to con-
sider the risks of adaptation because of their own fears
for security and stability.

The need to overcome deprivation has affected the
denominations in various ways. Some members have left the
denominations because they felt lack of acceptance or be-
longing. Others left their denomination for nondenomin-
ational groups that resemble cults and yet offer a meaning
system that is more satisfactory. Over half of the non-
denominational groups felt that Charismatic or Pentecostal
fellowship groups were the most meaningful way of express-
ing their relationship to God. Only five percent of the
denominations reported that same belief.

The nondenominational groups make a concerted
effort for conversions from the denominations. Eleven per-
cent of the Protestants, four percent of the Catholics and
six percent of the Jews did join them. The new members at-
tracted from the denominations then built an identity with
like minded persons who supply their meaning and belonging
needs.

Table 39   Summary table of comparisons between nondenominational and denominational students.

Percentage of students who	Denominations	Nondenomination
Feel that religion makes them feel safe and secure.	46	80
Feel that religion gives them peace of mind.	39	72
Feel that religion is the only thing they can count on.	33	66
Purpose in college is to learn how to get along with people.	1	90
Changed their denomination during college.	5	75
Find Charismatic or Pentecostal fellowship groups the most meaningful way to express their relationship to God.	5	50
	N=454	N=55

E. Religious Pluralism

Another factor which inhibits the development of identification to a denomination is religious pluralism. Byran Wilson (1969) suggests that pluralism with mutual tolerance and recognition will inevitably weaken the hold of religion on its adherents. Members of a church or sect adhere to the truths of that church or sect tenaciously, because they are the only "true" doctrine in their estimation. Pluralism implies relativism that would cause unfaithfulness and compromise to members of established churches or sects.

However, denominational society as found in Amer-

ica is built upon tolerance and mutual recognition. Denominational religion, by its nature is pluralistic. Diverse religious communities and belief systems have been better accepted and recognized in the twentieth century in America than in previous history. None of the denominations are viewed in exclusivistic terms. Pluralism even exists within the denominations in that wide ranges of theology and ritual are accepted and recognized as valid expressions of one's response to God.

"The pluralistic situation multiplies the number of plausible structures competing with each other. Ipso facto, it relativizes their religious contents."[11] Man must live with not only many religions, but also with other reality—defining agencies. None of these agencies, including denominations, have the power to impose their conception of the world on humanity, nor can they demand man's allegiance. Therefore religious institutions must compete in the marketplace to attract new and keep old members. The volunteerism of loyalty and adherence to doctrine make this marketing necessary.

Wilson claims that religion in America has become so privatized that it has become relativistic. One religion can be considered as good as another because it is only an American value, religion has no value in itself. Greeley (1972) agrees with Wilson that religious commitment and church allegiance have become elements in the American

value system, accepted as part of the American way of life.

The reason that Americans are religious according to Herberg, is that their religion is identical to the American way of life. All the denominations only justify the American system. Carrying this logic to the extreme, Herberg thinks the denominations would cease, whether social conditions change or stabilize as they would prove unnecessary either way. Both Wilson and Herberg overlook the advantages that a pluralistic religious system can enjoy over state religions. The very fact that choice can occur on the part of the members strengthens the commitment of the adherent. When a person can choose his denomination from a number of alternatives, his choice is more likely to remain vital and permanent.

Hoge says "American religion has always been tolerant of denominational differences, activistic in orientation, this worldly, and focused on morality rather than transcendental belief, liturgy or experience."[12] He found in his long-range studies of college students that the old line Protestant domination of American cultural life has given way to greater pluralism in recent years.

This pluralism and tolerance can weaken the identification of members to religious institutions. It is difficult to find reasons to stay with one institution if other institutions are just as good or perhaps better. If one belief system is as good as another, there is no reason to

adhere to a particular one. Edwards, when speaking of the survival of religion in a pluralistic society, says that "The individual himself is often plural, believing one thing with one part of his mind and another with another."[13] Particularly, during college years when the individual is trying to stabilize his own identity, the individual's pluralistic tendencies would appear more prominent and problematic. There are so many choices for the young person today, that it is difficult for him to commit himself to any. If he does not commit himself to one religious affiliation because he is so tolerant of them all, but maintains always an alert readiness to move with the current, he can lose a sense of self.

When studying the religious elements in Detroit, Lenski (1963) found that a sense of tolerance prevailed in urban neighborhoods where mutual cooperation and interdependence were necessary. The closeness of the living conditions forced acceptance of each other's religious belief system and affiliation. College students likewise live physically very close to each other in dormitories. Conversation often centers on religious interests. Friendships do not find affiliations a barrier, but mutual respect and acceptance of each others' religious values, become neccessary for survival in a very important area of their lives.

When accepting the value system of others, the student's own value system becomes relativized. A floating

value system results, which has no firm rooting in church-
related doctrine. The student who perceives any denomin-
ation as being as good as his own, feels no need to affili-
ate with any group. Therefore he floats along with his
changing value system, never committing himself to one, nor
forming a firm identification to a structure which might
conflict with the structures of his friends. When tolerance
becomes a primary value, students refrain from judging one
another's motives and behavior. Soon a thin line emerges
between their own autonomy and refraining from judgment be-
cause nothing is that important anyway. A sense of value-
lessness results which threatens their sense of personal
and group identity. This valuelessness can lead to priva-
tization of religion which in turn can result in alienation
and anomie. This anomie and individualization can in turn
bring on an indifference toward communal norms and one's
sense of responsibility to those norms because the norms of
the denomination have already been relativized by pluralism.

In trying to determine the effects of pluralism and
tolerance the question was asked, " I don't think that it
makes any difference if one is religious as long as one has
good will for others." Sixty-one percent of the student
body agreed with the statement. More than twice as many
students leaving their denominations strongly agreed to the
statement than students remaining in their denominations.
When combining the strongly agreed and agreed categories,

there was still a significant difference between those leaving and staying in that the former were more likely to affirm tolerance towards other beliefs. Responses from year in college, men and women, age and home residence did not differ much.

Table 40: Percentage of students leaving and staying in their denomination responding to the statement "I don't think that it makes any difference if one is religious as long as he has good will for others."

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Students remaining in their denominations	18	40	21	14	7
Students leaving their denominations	49	27	12	4	8

Missing 26 cases.

The denominations were much more tolerant of others' religiosity than the nondenominational groups. Over three-fourths of the Jews and over half of the Protestants and Catholics could accept the person regardless of his being religious or not. Students living in dormitories or in apartments with roommates were significantly more tolerant than students in other residences. It would be necessary for their survival for them to be so. Those living at home and in apartments alone showed the least tolerance of the religiosity of others. Nationality background made very little difference, which might suggest that ethnic separations are made on some dimensions other than religion.

Family income did influence the difference in tolerance and acceptability of others' religiosity. Only half of those whose family income was under $10,000 were willing to agree to the statement that it made no difference if one were religious as long as one had good will for others. More than two-thirds of those earning over $30,000 could agree. Most professionals are in this category. Tolerance increases with broader education and these attitudes could easily permeate the family. Not much difference was noted for previous religious education except that those who did not receive any instruction were most accepting of another's religiosity.

Students who prayed and attended church services most often were less likely to accept the religiosity of others as long as they had good will. Since these students also retained the highest holding power, it would follow that they would be less susceptible to the influence of pluralism.

Another question was asked regarding pluralism which was to go beyond toleration and acceptance to the level of respect. The statement, "I respect anyone's sincere religious beliefs" drew equal agreement of 72 percent from both men and women. Over 70 percent of the Catholics and Protestants and 62 percent of the Jews agreed to the statement. The nondenominational groups, who seem less pluralistic, were less likely to agree.

Just as in the previous question on pluralism, the rural students respected the religious beliefs of others more than the other residence groups. The large and small urban and suburban areas were very similar. Family income did not seem to make much of a difference, nor did previous religious instructions.

Going beyond mere toleration to actual respect for others' religious outlook did not bring out much difference among the church attenders. The weekly church attender was only slightly more respecting than the one who never attended church services. Likewise, the students who prayed frequently did not differ much from those who never prayed.

On the whole, most students did agree to respect anyone's sincere religious beliefs and showed much consistency with the other question on pluralism. College students of the eighties will probably continue this pluralistic trend which carries with it the relativism and valuelessness that can end in privatization and anomie. Without the commitment and support of others who share the students' value systems publicly in a denomination, the influence of pluralism will be more strongly felt by individual students.

Table 41   Summary table of students' attitudes toward pluralism

	Denomination			Home Residence			Present Residence				Attend Church weekly	Pray daily
	Prot.	Cat.	Jew	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Home	Dorm	Apt. Alone	Apt. Others		
Percentage of students who Do not feel that it makes any difference if one is religious or not as long as he has good will toward others	53	58	77	64	60	66	57	64	58	74	46	21
Respect any persons sincere religious beliefs	70	72	62	72	71	75	70	76	81	66	60	71

F. Secularization

Mol's scheme is especially appropriate for consid-
ering the element of secularization in weakening the identi-
fication to religious denominations. Rather than inspecting
the small sub area of secularization he, along with Parsons,
fits it into the larger area of differentiation. "The pro-
fessional sociologist - - - is likely to remain unhappy
unless he has linked the phenomena in question with concepts
and generalizations of wider application."[14]

The subject of secularization has been a source of
controversy and debate among sociologists of religion, partly
because of the range of its definition, and also because of
the lack of agreement on how to measure it. Larry Shriner
(1974) gives seven different definitions or usages of the
term secularization. These usages cover a continuum of de-
cline of religion and religious institutions, transposition
of religious phenomena into human responsibility, to desac-
ralization of the world. Shriner agrees with Parsons and
Mol that the term differentiation would be more applicable
for both theory and empirical research because it is less
contradictory and confusing.

A difficulty in the study of the association of
secularization and religion is that religion has been con-
sidered both the independent and dependent variable. The
conceptual distinctions as devised by Mol (1970) of cul-
tural and institutional, help to alleviate the difficulty.

When secularization is used in the cultural sense, one examines "the forces whereby the influence of religion and religious institutions generally decreases in modern society."[15] In this case, research focus is generally on religion as the independent variable; it is taken as given and the forces of social change are stressed. When the concept of secularization is used in the institutional sense, an examination is made of "the forces whereby specific religious institutions and orientations themselves become part of and like the world."[16] Religion in this instance is the dependent variable because it is adjusting to a secular environment.

Mol (1970) feels that it is especially important to make this conceptual distinction "because in the author's own projects there was a wide range of phenomena (in the literature often used as the results of cultural secularization, such as apostasy, decreased church going, not meeting religious norm demands) which could be much more satisfactorly examined by an investigation of specific religious institutions than of cultural processes."[17] Different denominations within the same society display different patterns of holding power on their members. Rather than factors from society at large, forces that are peculiar to the denomination itself are responsible for this effect. Mol would distinguish these forces of institutional cohesion from cultural secularization. Even though the forces of cultural secularization influence the group cohesion of the

denominations, the two are not the same and to "speak about
the secularization process in modern society as though it
is a pervasive force is an over-simplification."[18]

I too, have distinguished the institutional cohe-
sion dimension of secularization by placing the examination
of this aspect in the section called, "Factors within the
denominations that hinder a religious identification."

Peter Berger's definition of secularization pertains
more to religious institutions. "By secularization we mean
the process by which sectors of society and culture are re-
moved from the domination of religious institutions and sym-
bols."[19] In trying to differentiate between Bryan Wilson's
idea of secularization in an established church society of
England and the situation in America, Berger says:

> "The situation is different in America, where
> the churches still occupy a more central sym-
> bolic position, but it may be argued that they
> have succeeded in keeping the position only by
> becoming highly secularized themselves, so that
> the European and American cases represent two
> variations on the same underlying theme of glo-
> bal secularization."   20

One would expect churches to reflect the society of
which they are a part. Yet, Greeley (1972 ; 72) from em-
pirical evidence of the Gallup poll, reports that increas-
ing industrialization and individualism do not lead to weak-
ening of religious institutions. Hoge (1974 ; 118) found
that urbanization and industrialization did not cause sec-
ularization among college students. Lenski's study of De-

troit showed that religious activity increased with length
of urban residence of the family. (Lenski, 1963 ; 46)

However, the process of differentiation does influ-
ence the college student. Religion and faith find them-
selves separated from his scientific, objective, quantified,
uniform system of thought. The student begins to compart-
mentalize his life because the educational system recognizes
him not for what he is, but for what he does. Performance,
not being, is the criterion for evaluation at the university.
The student's own identity becomes fragmented and insecure.
The only approval and affirmation that he can secure must
come through the effects of his own efforts. He therefore
turns to more pragmatic goals and behavior which will re-
inforce this more functional dimension of his identity.
Differentiation and secularization can influence the stu-
dent to accept a purely functional identity which excludes
the supernatural. His world view influenced by secularism,
makes it difficult for him to transcend the present, the
relative and the provisional.

Students were asked to agree/disagree with the
statement "I believe that prayer is just a waste of time and
effort." Only seven percent of the students agreed and 81
percent disagreed with the statement. In contrast with pre-
vious studies, women were less likely than men to believe in
the efficacy of prayer. There was a significant difference
between the 11 percent of women who disagreed as compared to

the four percent of men. Perhaps women are disillusioned with other aspects of a patriarchal society and do not care to project a patriarchal relationship to God.

If the forces of cultural secularization had really taken over, one would expect more agreement to the statement that prayer is a waste of time and effort. Technological societies where many humans can control much of their own destiny, through the powers of knowledge and machines, removes the necessity for an all-powerful and caring God. One does not have to appeal to God for help when science, medicine, materialism and knowledge will suffice.

Supporters of the secularization thesis such as Wilson, Berger, Lipset, and Glock and Stark feel that its effects are most strongly felt in urban industrial areas. However, my own data coincide with the findings of Hoge, (1974). There was a significant difference between the rural area students, 14 percent of whom agreed that prayer was a waste of time and effort, and urban area students whose agreement was six percent. Hoge's and my surveys are more recent and our respondents are college students, which could partially explain the difference.

It was hypothesized that more students who had departed from their denominations would feel the impact of secularization in their attitude towards prayer. They would be less likely to pray with a support group and would have to depend upon their own internal motivation. Nineteen

percent of the students registering no religious preference

affirmed the belief that prayer is a waste of time and ef-

fort as compared with four percent of the denominations.

Table 42: Percentage of students who remained or left their
denominations responding to "Prayer is just a
waste of time and effort" by denominations.

	Denomination								
	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
	Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree
Students remaining in denominations	35	78	77	59	50	86	75	75	81
Students leaving denominations	65	22	23	41	50	14	25	25	19
Total	(14)	(18)	(92)	(21)	(46)	(317)	(4)	(4)	(22)

Only the Protestants had a higher percentage of

students who left their denominations than those who stayed,

agreeing that prayer is a waste of time and effort. Al-

though the actual numbers are small, which prevents making

significant comparisons, of those remaining in their denom-

inations, Jews and Catholics were more likely than Prot-

estants to agree that prayer is a waste of time and effort.

It appears that the influence of secularization might have

penetrated the denominations themselves to some degree, if

even those claiming membership, doubt the efficacy of pray-

er. None of the nondenominational groups agreed to the

statement nor did they have any "don't know" category re-

sponses.

There is a close relationship between the social

conditions in which people live and the form which religion assumes in their consciousness. In the face of increased pressures in favor of secularism, students feel less need for religion. Thirteen percent of the students answered that they did not need religion. Again, it was hypothesized that those students who left denominations were the most likely to feel the pressure of secularization. The hypothesis was verified in that three times as many students who had left their denominations agreed that they did not need religion.

When controlling for denominations, more Protestants than Catholics or Jews who claimed they did not need religion, left their denominations. Although the percentages differ considerably between Protestants and Catholics, the actual numbers are too small to make them significant.

Table 43: Percentage of students remaining in or leaving their denominations responding to the statement "I do not need religion" by denomination

	Denomination								
	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
Students	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree
remaining in denominations	29	64	78	40	67	89	33	67	88
Students leaving denominations	71	36	22	60	33	11	67	33	12
Total	(19)	(14)	(96)	(47)	(39)	(302)	(6)	(3)	(20)

I expected that family income would be associated with acceptance of a secularistic outlook toward religion.

Financial success would affirm the secularist view that man can control his own destiny by placing his confidence in materialistic rather than spiritual elements. Cross-tabulation on family income and agreement to the statement, "I do not need religion" has mixed results. Those in the lowest and highest income brackets, under $10,000 and over $30,000 a year, were the most likely to agree that they did not need religion, but there were no significant differences.

Expecting that some students had capitulated to secularism in a greater degree than others, the question was asked for agreement - disagreement, "I have given up the idea of God but the old customs still have a pull on me." Only eight percent of the student body agreed to the statement. Ten percent of the Protestants agreed with the statement as compared to four percent of the Jews and two percent of the Catholics. However more than one-quarter of the no religious preference group was in agreement that they have given up the idea of God, but they still retain the influence of old religious customs. The influence of secularism can be in degrees and some students are more susceptible to that influence than others.

The impersonal environment of the university provides isolation and anomie which can make some students more susceptible to the influence of secularism and differentiation. The American business values of self-reliance and individualism have also penetrated the university. These at-

titudes would influence the students' feelings toward prayer, whose object would suggest dependence on someone else.

The college student is trying to cope with an environment in which differentiation values compete with integrating values. "Progressive mastery of the environment depends on both the complementarity of these forces and on their opposition to each other."[21] It is difficult for many students to experience the equality of both differentiating and integrating factors. When the differentiating factors outweigh the integrating ones under the influence of secularism, the student finds it more difficult to cope with his environment as well as with himself. He is less likely while under the secularism influence, which is often shaded into degrees, to maintain a religious affiliation until he can build a religious identity again.

Table 44: Summary table of responses to secularism as a cultural phenomenon influencing the attitudes of students toward God and religion.

Students who agree that:	General response	Denomination					Income in thousands dollars				
		Prot	Cath	Jew	Other	None	10	15	20	30	over 30
I do not need religion	13	6	6	13	15	47	16	14	14	10	16
Prayer is a waste of time and effort	7	5	4	0	5	19	7	11	8	2	6
I had given up the idea of God but the old customs still have a pull on me.	8	10	2	4	5	27	13	6	9	9	4

G. Factors Competing with the Student's Identity.

Students are trying to find their personal iden-
tities in college by trying out various roles and activities.
They often engage in new sports, more opposite-sex relations
and extra-curricular activities along with increased effort
for studies. The new ventures help to build the student's iden-
tity as athlete, friend, lover, administrator, writer and
other roles. The sense of satisfaction or novelty - or ad-
venture drawn from these activities can compete with the
sense of identity built from denominational activities.

One of the personal changes that Astin (1978) re-
ported in college students during their college experience
was the development of a more positive self-image as re-
flected in greater interpersonal and intellectual com-

petence. Competency of any kind takes time and energy. This time and energy is limited for the students, so they must make careful choices about parceling it out. Students' commitments become more careful, and as some commitments strengthen, others weaken. "The total commitments to social institutions and ideologies, however, need not to be constant, for certain commitments may be withdrawn back into self."[22] Some students may withdraw their membership from the denomination temporarily while trying out new roles and competencies.

Another change in college students reported by Astin (1978) was an increase in hedonism. Hedonistic values usually conflict with religious values. He also found greater hedonistic tendencies at larger and public institutions than private ones. Buffalo State is a large institution with two bars for undergraduates as the drinking age in New York State is 18. Hoge (1974) says that "the more conflict that exists in the total package of commitments, the less total energy will be available for them."[23] Astin (1978) also found that an increase in athletic involvement brought an increase in religious apostasy. Religion has been known to stress the spiritual over the physical, which could set up more conflicts for the student.

Gallup poll in the "Unchurched American" (1978 ; 14) reported that the interests that competed with church-going were "sports, recreational activity, hobbies, social activ-

ities, friends, work and desire for more time for self and family." "In this complex of identity foci, ultimate systems of meaning, and the more concrete reference to religious organizations have to compete with hosts of others."[24]

Thirteen percent out of a possible 22 percent of students who left their denomination chose the reason "too many pressures claiming my time at school and part-time jobs." Twice as many women as men claimed this reason and more seniors and science majors found time pressures an important reason for withdrawing from their religious affiliation, perhaps for academic purposes. Protestants outnumbered Catholics by four to one and no Jews felt this was an adequate reason for leaving their denomination.

National background did not influence the choice, except in the Africa-Asian group whose response to pressures outnumbered the others by four times. Students living in apartments experience more time pressure than students living at home or dormitories. It would follow that the time spent in shopping, cooking, cleaning, etc. would intrude into study and recreational time. The smaller urban dwellers reported twice as much pressure as the larger urban and rural residents. The suburbanites reported the least pressure for time and energy.

Over half of the students at State hold part-time jobs. The college itself, with the help of the Federal government, supplies six hundred job opportunities, not

counting the food services, college stores etc. that hire their own students. It was hypothesized that these working students would experience more pressure from time and work. Suspecting that parents' income would influence the student's work activities, family income and occupation of father were controlled for the reason given for leaving denominations, as "too many pressures claiming my time at school and part-time jobs." Most students whose family income was between ten and fifteen thousand dollars chose this reason most often. This answer corresponded to the category of clerical and sales for fathers' occupation. Students from the lowest and highest incomes as well as the professionals and laborers reported the least pressures on time from part-time jobs and school work. The lowest income students can attend the university without charge and even receive board and room and spending money as a result of Equal Opportunity acts. They have no need to work. Those from the higher income brackets likewise express less need for part-time jobs.

Students who attend church services the least, reported time pressures as one of the reasons. None of those who attend bi-monthly, weekly or more, gave this reason. With prayer, the responses were less predictable. Even some of those who prayed daily and weekly had dropped out of their churches because of time pressures. The fact that students withdrew from their denominations because of com-

peting activities did not deter them from prayer. They did
not refrain from prayer when refraining from membership
which implies a more intense commitment to God than to an
institution.

It was hypothesized that students who were involved
in extra activities would be most likely to withdraw from
their denominations. This hypothesis was supported to an ex-
tent but not adequately. None of the students engaging in
three extra-curricular activities left their denominations.
Two percent of the students who did not engage in any extra-
curriculars withdrew. Five percent of those involved in one
or two extra-curriculars left. The largest decline of ten
percent came from students involved in four or more extra-
curricular activities. It appears that students can handle
some pressure from competing interests, but not too many of
them.

The same students whose family income would neces-
sitate their taking part-time jobs are also the ones who are
most active in extra-curricular activities. Students engag-
ing in four or more extra-curriculars were the least likely
to affirm the importance of religion in their lives. Evi-
dently they had established priorities for their commitments.
In the same way, students most involved in campus ministry,
engaged in two or three extra-curriculars, but the students
least involved in campus ministry had four or more extra-
curriculars for competition.

The attractiveness of the extra-curricular activities cause more difficulty in establishing priorities for students. The funding provided by the college for social, cultural, educational and recreational events could never be matched by the campus ministry groups. Therefore those students who do choose to identify with a denomination over the competing identifications, must have a special motivation.

H. Factors within Denominations which Hinder a Religious Identification.

Institutional dissatisfaction can cause individuals to leave their denomination of socialization. Gallup Poll (1977) asked teenagers for their reasons for being "turned off by the church." The reasons they gave are as follows:

"Why Churches are Failing
1. Too insular, not reaching out to the people they should be serving.
2. Not making an effort to appeal to youth - there should be more youth programs.
3. Hypocritical - churches and churchgoers are not living up to what they profess.
4. Sermons are boring.
5. Churches are too restrictive - too many restrictions placed on members.
6. Not teaching about God or the Bible - they ignore the heart of the matter.
7. Always asking for money.
8. Not keeping up with the times.
9. Too pushy - churches press people too much.
10. Little impact on society in view of widespread crime and immorality."   25

Usually these feelings revert to the persons considered responsible for the situation. In most cases it would be officials in charge of the churches, the clergy.

Therefore one of the reasons given for students to check for
leaving their denomination was "Unsympathetic attitude of
the clergy." Six percent of the twenty-two percent who left
their denomination checked this reason. It was hypothesized
that more men than women would cite this reason because women
appear more tolerant of the clergy than men. Although seven
percent of the women as compared to five percent of the men,
gave as their reason for departure from their denomination,
the unsympathetic attitude of the clergy, the differences
were not significant. The Seniors were more tolerant of the
clergy than the other classes. Tolerance is a quality that
usually grows with maturation.

The Polish and Northern Europeans were most censor-
ious of their clergy and the African-Asian groups the least.
The Buffalo area Polish clergy are known to be somewhat
autocratic, so that response was expected. The Asian stu-
dents are mainly international students whose attitude to-
ward church or any authority would be more respectful than
American students. The Black students' complaints about
their clergy do not center on unsympathetic attitudes, but
rather on the quality of the sermons.

Protestants were most critical of their clergy
which was surprising, as they are in a better position to
change them than the Catholics who must accept the priests
sent by the Bishop. One-third less Catholics than Protes-
tants felt that their clergy were unsympathetic and no Jews

gave that response at all. Evidently the relationship be-
tween Jews and their rabbis must be satisfactory, or the
Jews in my sample are not strongly attached to their syna-
gogues and therefore are not in frequent contact with
their rabbis.

It was hypothesized that graduates from parochial
high schools would be more likely to experience satisfac-
tory relationships with clergy because of their added con-
tact with them. Although some of these contacts might have
been unpleasant, the total effect would outweigh the dis-
agreeable incidents. This hypothesis was accepted in that
twice the percentage of public school graduates and three
times the percentage of public elementary school graduates
chose "unsympathetic attitude of the clergy" over the paro-
chial school graduates. The students taking the most re-
ligious instructions in both high and elementary school
were the least likely to complain about their clergy. Stu-
dents who were better educated in their religion would be
more likely to recognize the position of the sacerdotal
office and in turn be less critical of their clergy. Stu-
dents receiving religious instructions at home showed the
largest percentage in choosing this alternative of unsympa-
thetic attitudes of the clergy, which might indicate that
their parents had already chosen it by educating their
children themselves.

Unsympathetic attitudes of some clergy seem to influence the church attendance of students. Only six percent of those who attend regularly gave this reason, but the percentage steadily increased with less attendance. Eight percent of those attending bi-monthly, ten percent of monthly attenders, 19 percent of occasional attenders, and 28 percent of those who do not attend at all, gave this reason. There was no relationship when cross-tabulating with frequency of prayer, where all the categories from never to daily were very similar. Evidently prayer is not very much influenced by the clergy which could be one of the factors that cause students to say that they believe in God but do not necessarily need a church.

One of the major hypotheses of this study is that denominations which fail to provide a community of support will have the least holding power on their members. It would seem that members of denominations who felt alienated from the community of believers would find it most difficult to return to membership. Caplovitz (1977) found that the strength of the communal aspects for the Jews was a deterrent from apostasy for them.

Caplovitz (1977) and Greeley (1973) divide the components of religious identification into religiosity or belief, and community. Weber emphasizes the meaning dimension of religiosity when discussing belief and doctrine. Durkheim emphasized the community dimension of religiosity which is

composed of a number of like-minded individuals who support
one another in their common goals and behavior.

It would seem that Mol's theory which explains the
tension between the individual, the group, and society at
large would be especially applicable. Both the meaning and
communal dimensions of the religious group could be in dis-
harmony with the individual or with society. The meaning
dimension of religion is more private to the individual be-
liever than the communal dimension that must be shared.
The individual can temporarily bracket church doctrines
that conflict with his meaning system. When disharmony oc-
curs on the communal level, the individual's choices are
limited to staying with or leaving that community which
causes suffering and hardship. His methods of resolving
the communal tensions are more limited than the meaning ten-
sions, and often lead to departure.

The meaning dimension of religion satisfies the in-
tellectual capacities of the individual. However, individ-
uals also possess emotions. The belonging dimension of reli-
gion satisfies the emotional needs of the individual. Many
motives for behavior, although accepted as irrational to
the intellect, have greater impact if they disturb the emo-
tions. Therefore persons would leave a group after a dis-
agreeable incident, even though intellectually they could
give no basis for their actions.

Among the alternatives given as reasons for leav-

ing the denomination of socialization was "no support from the church community." About one-third of the departees checked this reason. Men and women gave similar responses, but more Juniors and Seniors marked this reason than Freshman and Sophomores. Most students who live in apartments alone, are both Seniors, and those most likely to leave their denomination because they felt no support from the church community. None of the dorm students gave this as a reason for leaving their affiliation which might indicate that they are receiving a sense of community in the dorms that is adequate for them. Students living at home and in apartments with others gave similar responses to each other, neither of which was very high. The smaller city residents reported the least satisfaction from their church community and the rural areas the most. Maybe when numbers of communities are limited by geography, the church communities take on added importance. Students who grew up in the suburban communities contained the next group most satisfied with the communitarian dimension of their churches. This seems to support Greeley's (1972) theory that the city ethnic and religious groups moved to the suburbs without losing their religious identity. The large city population followed the smaller city population in disaffection with the communitarian dimension of religion.

The Irish and Anglo-Saxons claim the most alienation from the religious community and the Asians and

Africans claim the least. The Irish seem to be able to get along with their clergy better than with each other. Previous religious education and high school education made very little difference regarding the lack of community as reason for leaving. Four times as many Protestants were likely to leave their denomination as Catholics and Jews because of lack of community support. The Campus Crusade and the Pentecostal/Charismatics were the most likely of any category to feel the lack of community that caused them to leave their denominations to move to their present status. This sense of community is especially apparent in their preoccupation with companionship in their present fellowship groups.

Charismatic and Pentecostal groups were the beneficiaries of four Protestant and three Catholic students who left their denominations to find community. The question was asked for disagreement - agreement purposes, "I find that Charismatic and Pentecostal fellowship groups are the most meaningful form of expressing my relationship to God." Eight percent of the student body agreed to the statement, although only two percent of these students belong to the nondenominational group specified as Pentecostal/Charismatic. The remaining five percent engaged in Charismatic or Pentecostal groups within their own denomination. Forty-five percent of the students admitted that they did not know if these fellowship groups are the most

meaningful forms of expressing their relationship to God.

The Freshmen reported the greatest concern for this fellowship. Many of these students begin their fellowship activities in High School and desire to continue them. For Juniors and Sophomores, other groups seem to suffice. However, Seniors were next to express this need for fellowship groups, which indicates a permanence of this need for many college students. More Seniors live in apartments alone and this group of the residence category expressed the second greatest need for a worshipping community. However, the process works in reverse for dormitory students who were the most likely to prefer fellowship communities. Dormitory students should have the most accessibility to community, yet they express a need for a particular type of worshipping community. This need does not seem to be satisfied by mere presence of bodies. Large urban backgrounds recorded the greatest percent of students who desire the fellowship of like minded worshippers. Suburban areas reported the least need, but the largest Charismatic Fellowship groups in the Buffalo area, which attract about one thousand teenagers each, are located in the suburbs. The discrepancies are difficult to explain which might suggest that the reasons for Charismatic/Pentecostal involvement transcend demographic background.

The African-Asian group is the most attracted to the fellowship. Many black churches are involved in phases

of Pentecostalism which could account for their desire for
this type of activity. More women than men are attracted
to fellowship groups which at first glance appear more
equal regarding sexual leadership because less clerics are
involved. However, Saint Paul's position regarding women
is accepted in a literal and fundamental manner so that
women experience the same discrimination as in the denomin-
ations. Again, the desire for community must supersede
these barriers.

Public school graduates and those with least reli-
gious education favor the fellowship groups. Again this
finding illustrates the ambiguity of the situation in which
community and meaning systems are both included in a concept
of religiosity. Protestants were more likely than Cath-
olics, to express this need of fellowship. The nondenomin-
ational groups attract more membership from Protestants
than the other denominations. No Jews expressed this need
for community, which perhaps indicates that this need is
already fulfilled by the ethnic tradition. Naturally, the
nondenominational group expressed a great need for fellow-
ship, as no one disagreed with the question.

Few of the students who attend church services
agreed with the statement regarding fellowship. Students
who never prayed reported a need for fellowship and 14 per-
cent of those who prayed daily did likewise. Denominations
which fail to provide for this need for fellowship or com-

munity, along with opportunities for private prayer and re-
ligious services will have more difficulty in retaining
their membership. The importance of community and group
cohesion will be discussed in chapters six and seven.

Footnotes   Chapter IV

1. Dean Hoge, Commitment on Campus   (Westminister Press: Philadelphia, 1974) p. 19

2. Andrew Greeley, The Persistence of Religion (SCM Press: London, 1972) p. 201

3. Milton Yinger, The Scientific Study of Religion (MacMillan: New York, 1970) p. 52

4. Daniel Yankelovich, The New Morality (McGraw Hill: New York, 1974) p. 59

5. Allen Eister, "Religious Institution in Complex Societies: Difficulties in the Theoretic Specifications of Functions"in The Social Meanings of Religion by William Newman (Rand McNally: Chicago, 1974) p. 76

6. Richard Fenn, "Religion and the Legitimation of Social Systems" in Changing Perspectives in the Scientific Study of Religion (Wiley: New York, 1974) p. 144

7. Gregory Baum, Religion and Alienation (Paulist Press: Paramus, New Jersey, 1975) p. 15

8. Charles Glock, "On the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups" in Religion in Sociological Perspective by Charles Glock, ed. (Wodsworth: California, 1975) p. 212

9. Ronald Johnstone, Religion and Society in Interaction (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs New Jersey, 1975) p. 120

10. Glock, Op Cit p. 272

11. Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy, (Doubleday: Garden City, 1967) p. 151

12. Hoge, Op.Cit.p. 27

13. David Edwards, Religion and Change (Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1969) p. 147

14. Hans Mol, Identity and the Sacred (Free Press: New York, 1977) p. 22

15. Hans.Mol, "Secularization and Cohesion" Review of Religious Research Vo. 11 No. 3 Spring, 1970 p. 183

Footnotes Chapter IV continued

16. Mol, _Ibid_.

17. Mol, _Ibid_,

18. Mol, _Op. Cit_, p. 189

19. Berger, _Op. Cit_, p. 107

20. Berger, _Op. Cit_, p. 108

21. Mol, _Op. Cit_. p. 31

22. Hoge, _Op. Cit_, p. 179

23. Hoge _Ibid_.

24. Mol, _Op. Cit_. p. 232

25. George Gallup, (Associated Press: Princeton, New Jersey 1977) p. 12

Chapter V

A   Forces Building Identification to Denominations

The advantage of Mol's theory is that it includes
the integrating as well as differentiating factors in his
description of the function of religion. Religion has been
shown in both roles by Yinger (1970), Johnstone (1975),
Greeley (1972), Baum (1975), but many authors stress the
disruptive or alienating function at the expense of the
unifying forces. Just as there are forces present within
institutional churches and in society at large which di-
minish the identification to religious denominations, there
are forces in similar circumstances that build identifica-
tion to denominations. An inspection of both forces, the
diminishing and the strengthening, is necessary for a
comprehensive view of the influence of religion in society.

A.   Integration of Self-Identity.

College-aged students are in the process of build-
ing their own psycho-social identity. It is important for
this process to begin to develop on a personal level before
it can develop fully on a collective level. Besides the
usual components of identity, as names, dates, geographical,
historical and religious data, there are unconscious and
preconscious levels of being at ease in a psycho-social
context.

The individual exists in society according to both
his subjective perception of himself and the perception that
he thinks others in society have of him. This leads to the
relational aspect of identity. It is often the perception
of the fact that others recognize in the individual the same-
ness or continuity within himself through time, that Erikson
contends **is** so important to identity formation. The per-
ception is based on a reciprocal recognition between the in-
dividual and the society of the people who make up his psy-
cho-social context. This shows the importance of the mean-
ingful relations that result when a growing person feels
himself affirmed by his peers, and confirmed by the adults
in his life.

Identity is also fashioned by the various groups of
which an individual is part, and it appropriates some of the
characteristics of the collective identities which occur
within a given culture. Each person integrates into his
individual identity the collective components which connect
him to racial, national, ethnic, professional and religious
groups. This relationship between personal and collective
identity is especially important at the time of adolescence
and post-adolescence because the individual is beginning to
share a collective identity with adults.

The element of synthesis of integration is central
in the consideration of identity. A person must establish a
stable identity by integrating new elements and personal ex-

periences within his ego to form a personal, harmonious,
unified whole. When the individual perceives himself as rec-
ognized favorably by others, he likewise perceives his own
interior unity which gives him the confidence to master his
own experience. Although much conflict remains during the
process, the beginnings of identity formation are made.
Successful identity is defined by a total integration of
collective elements as well as the personal.

A problem in identity formation according to Erikson
is that each stage of development is accompanied by a psycho-
social crisis "precipitated both by the individual's readi-
ness and by society's pressure."[1] Since the influence is two-
fold, all the moderating variables of environment as well as
heredity are apparent.

"The period can be viewed as a psychosocial moratorium
during which the individual through free role experimen-
tation may find a niche in some section of his society, a
niche which is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely
made for him. In finding it the young adult gains an as-
sured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which
will bridge what he was as a child and what he is about to
become, and will reconcile his conception of himself and
his community's recognition of him."   2

Erikson calls this period of the young adult's life,
the identity crisis. Crisis is considered a turning point
or confluence of forces out of which a new and more mature
identity can be realized. The crisis is preceded by a peri-
od of role diffusion and disintegration that occurs in the
late teens as the young adult tries to stabilize choices, ca-
reers, relationships and roles. A period of role-integration

follows in the early twenties, but the period in between
can be traumatic for both the individual and the groups with
which he claims membership. Individuals often delay their
task of ego-identity formation by submerging their identi-
ties in close-knit groups or the "steady" from the opposite
sex. Before young persons can move to the next epigenetic
stage which occurs at the end of adolescence, they must have
accomplished the tasks of the necessary identity formation
stage.

Before students can merge their identities with oth-
ers in marriage, which is usually a component of the intima-
cy stage, they must assume a secure appraisal of their own
identity. It is impossible to lay one's identity on the line
in order to merge with another in marriage, unless one is
secure in his/her vision of personal identity. This identity
must be firmly grasped on the psycho-social level before one
can proceed to differentiate himself or share with others in
a self sacrificing manner. Likewise, it is easier for one
to share himself with others in a denomination or religious
institution after he is no longer struggling to "get himself
together."

Students of college age are trying to "put it to-
gether" in the sense that they are forced to recognize that
they cannot spend their lives in indecision over career
choices and other components of their identity formation.
The young adult is trying to shape a world vision which is
ruled by a hierarchy of values that will give meaning to

his life. "Religion enables people to define themselves in
terms of a transcendent identity."[3] This transcendent dimen-
sion rests on faith that everything is in order, but the
faith in order exceeds our proof in empirical reality. Yet
all men seem to experience the need for order which Mol
places on the integration side of his fundamental dialectic
between identity/integration and change /differentiation.

The religious faith is usually operationalized and
experienced in relation with others in denominations. Re-
ligiosity in the study done by Smith, Weigert and Thomas (1979)
pertains to several specific empirical manifestations of
traditional religious beliefs, and practices such as church at-
tendance, prayer, frequency of communion and participation
in religious organizations. They tested Catholic high school
students from five countries to examine the relation between
self-esteem and religiosity. Their findings upheld a previ-
ous report of Strunk (1969) that there was a positive rela-
tionship between adolescent self-esteem and total religiosity.
There was likewise a positive relationship with the practices
that made up the constitutive dimensions of religious com-
mitment of Glock and Stark (1968). "The findings here ap-
pear to question the credence of the deprivation and depend-
ence theories of self esteem and religiosity, on cross-cul-
tural grounds."[4] Rather than moving into other denomina-
tions because of deprivation needs, their evidence pointed
to the psychologically healthy group, as staying in their
affiliation.

As young persons progress through their identity
crisis, their self-esteem and self-acceptance develops. Sacks
(1979) in examining the effects of a thirty-day retreat based
on the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, found that these
exercises had a significant integrative effect on the self
systems of individuals in the sample. Sacks found a progres-
sive search for meaning and stability as well as greater self-
awareness and the integration of increasingly complex expecta-
tions for young adults. Again the psychologically healthy ap-
pear to remain active and seek more religious help in their
quest toward self-actualization and identity formation. Young
persons must stabilize their own identity before they can
chance the complex expectations put on them by society and
their peers.

One of the problems that Fallding (1974) attributes
to religion is the sense of closure it demands in accepting
the truths without testing. "Religious truth is not decided
by discussion and the babble of the irreverent, egoistic pri-
vate opinion is silenced by the authority of revelation."[5]
However, students who are trying to integrate their own iden-
tity must question and explore alternatives rather than accept
the authority of others on all matters. In fact it is not
unheard of that religious individuals can live with doubts
and questions. There would be no faith, if the believer had
all the answers. Rather than looking for the false security
that the unquestioning stance might receive, college students

who are still searching, are willing to live with the ques-
tions which can be sign of both psychological and religious
maturity.

When asked a question regarding closure, the stu-
dents showed that they did not need it, yet they remained in
their denominations. Over three-fourths of Catholics and
Protestants and two-thirds of the Jews agreed to the state-
ment "To be comfortable with one's belief system, but at
the same time to incorporate new beliefs into it, is a sign
of a mature person." Students do not seem to be silenced
by a closed statement of revelation, as Fallding states.
Over half of the Protestants and Catholics agreed to the
statement, "I believe that God is revealed in every person
who feels and acts unselfishly." The Jews were less likely
to agree, which was expected because their stronger biblical
tradition stresses revelation of God through His word.

One of the functions of religion, according to
O'Dea, is that it develops important aspects of the adher-
ent's own self-understanding and self-definition. Through
understanding of the transcendental values and beliefs regard-
ing human nature "religion affects individuals' understand-
ing of who they are and what they are."[6] When identity is
formed, the individual can more easily achieve his higher
potentialities.

If there is a connection between personal unhappi-
ness, strained parental relations and religious apostasy,

the inverse situation usually exists also. Caplovitz (1977)
found that college graduates who had good relations with
their parents were least likely to apostasize in the first
place and most likely to be consistent identifiers with
their denominations in subsequent years. Hoge and Carroll
(1978) in a study involving eight Protestant suburban
churches found that members who were organizationally in-
volved and generous in money contribution felt less anomie
than other members. Church members who are happy and well
adjusted do not withdraw from their denominations.

Likewise in a study of the "Religion of the Poor"
Lefever (1977) found that the religious denominations of the
poor contribute in significant and positive ways to the
processes of identity formation and to the development of
cultural norms and values. The escapist, palliative and
disorganized aspects of the religion of the poor are empha-
sized when examining it from the limited perspective of the
outsider. "The public religious service within the poverty
community forms a stage upon which, in dynamic fashion, the
identity - conferral and identity - seeking role are dynam-
ically played."[7] In this way religion serves as a creative
force for those who stay in their religious affiliation.

Johnson (1973) found that college students who were
more involved in their denomination, tended to view their
families as more happy, close, accepting and communicative.
There was no indication that alienation from families turned

them to religion, but rather that pleasant parental relations helped them to remain in their denominations. Greater happiness, adjustment, and satisfaction in marriage is related to positive beliefs about religion and religious participation (Hunt and King, 1978). The authors are careful to admit that many of the qualities that tend to be associated with happiness in marriage are also emphasized in various expressions of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Therefore, this hypothesis rested on the correlation between the greater religiosity of the married partners and their own evaluations of their marriages as more successful. Deprivation theories for turning to religion or remaining in one's denomination do not hold in these studies. Gallup poll (1974) found that active church participants likewise possessed a greater personal happiness and were more content with their work and personal goals.

Students whose personal identity has been helped by their religious denominations should be less likely to leave them. Part of their personal identity is conferred upon students by the significant others in their lives, especially their parents and friends. Students were asked to choose reasons for staying with their denominations. When marking the category "circumstances outside the churches themselves", 36 percent of the students marked "my parents stayed with the church." This category received more votes than "organized religion is important to me.""peers and friends were

active members of the church" and "church-related activities such as choir or social services were satisfying" or "other reasons," in that order.

A cross-tabulation of residence, indicated that students living at home reported twice as much influence of their parents' decision to stay with the church than the influence of their friends. Since parents are the most significant identity conferrers, this result was expected. There was very little variation in students responses as divided according to year in college, except for the Freshmen who acknowledged the most influence of parents.

Students living at home would be expected to experience less alienation than students living away from home. However, the influence of parents extends to the dormitories where one would expect the influence of friends to be more pronounced. Three times as many students living in dormitories reported that the influence of their parents was greater than the influences of their friends on their perserverance in their denomination.

Seniors in dormitories claim the least influence of either parents or friends. It is likely that their own identity formation would exhibit more autonomy at this stage in their lives. Two-thirds of the students living in apartments with others claimed the influence of their parents for staying with their denomination as compared to the one-third who lived in apartments alone. One-quarter of the

students living in apartments with roommates accepted the influence of their friends in staying with their religious denomination. However, none of the students living in apartments alone acknowledged the influence of their friends in their decision to stay with their denomination.

Almost half of the Catholics accepted the influence of their parents as compared to a third of the Jews and Protestants. This situation is especially reflected in the frequency of their church attendance. Catholics who stayed because their parents stayed, were more likely to attend church frequently than Catholics who stayed for other reasons.

Table 45: Percentage of students by denomination attending church who remained in their denominations because their parents stayed.

Frequency of church attendance	Protestant		Catholics		Jews	
	Stayed for other reasons	Parents stayed	Stayed for other reasons	Parents stayed	Stayed for other reasons	Parents stayed
Never	16	11	7	2	47	72
Once or twice year	31	23	24	16	41	10
Monthly	11	18	11	9	12	13
Bi-monthly	9	15	14	13	0	5
Weekly	33	33	44	60	0	0
Column total	100 N=64	100 N=34	100 N=169	100 N=160	100 N=47	100 N=8

Missing - 3 cases.

It was hypothesized that graduates from parochial and private schools would be more likely to remain in their

denomination because their parents stayed. It was expected
that students would appreciate the financial strain placed
on parents and therefore would be more susceptible to their
influence. Although there was very little difference be-
tween parochial, private or public school Catholic gradu-
ates, who stayed because their parents stayed, there was a
significant difference between them and the Catholics who
stayed for other reasons. Catholics who stayed because
their parents stayed, were more likely to attend Catholic
schools.

Table 46: Percentage of students remaining in their denom-
ination because their parents stayed, by denomin-
ation and type of high schools.

Type of school	Protestant		Catholics		Jews	
	Stayed for other reasons	Parents stayed	Stayed for other reasons	Parents stayed	Stayed for other reasons	Parents stayed
Public	97	100	50	30	100	100
Private	0	0	30	34	0	0
Parochial	3	0	20	36	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=64	N=34	N=167	N=161	N=17	N=8

Missing - 3 cases.

It was expected that the type of religious instruct-
tions would influence the number of students who remained in
their denominations because their parents did. The hypoth-
esis that students who received their religious education at
home would accept the influence of their parents was negated.
Only 31 percent of students receiving home instructions said
that they stayed with their denomination because their par-
ents did as compared with 41 percent of those who received

elementary and high school religious instruction. Almost
one-fourth of the students receiving no religious instruc-
tion at all, admitted to the influence of their parents on
their decision to remain within their religious denomination.

There was very little difference between men and
women in accepting the influence of either family or friends.
The Italian - Southern Europe groups were most inclined to
go along with their parents and the African-Asian groups
were the least. The Polish and Northern European groups
were most susceptible to the influence of their friends and
the African-Asian groups were again the least. The Afri-
can-Asian group is composed of some international students
who are older and seldom return to their homeland before
graduation. Many of the Black students are basic equal
opportunity students whose parents could not afford to send
them to college.

There is usually less family strife in homes where
economic strain is missing. Families of lower incomes are
known to have higher divorce rates, juvenile delinquency,
sickness and other unpleasantries. Therefore, less alien-
ation and better familial relationships should occur in
higher income families. The more satisfactory family re-
lationships should in turn influence the holding power of
religious denominations.

More students in the highest family income bracket
whose fathers were professionals said that they remained in

their denominations because their parents stayed. More students in the middle-family-income brackets whose fathers were in the managerial, clerical or unskilled working categories gave the same reason for remaining in their denomination. The children of unskilled workers who remained in their denominations because their parents did were most likely to be in the lower-family-income brackets. Most of the children of unskilled workers are Catholics which could account for the higher staying power although the family income is lower.

The influence of pleasant parental relations is especially obvious in the frequency of church attendance. Students who attend most often acknowledge the influence of parents. There was a significant difference between bi-monthly and weekly church attendance of those students remaining in their denominations because their parents did and those remaining for other reasons. Even students who returned to their denominations after a period of separation were more likely to attend church if their parents stayed than if they returned for other reasons.

Table 47: Percentage of students staying and returning to their denominations by church attendance.

Church attendance	Stayed for other reasons	Stayed because parents stayed	Returned for other reasons	Returned because parents stayed
Never	92	8	1	1
Once or twice year	74	26	2	2
Monthly	60	40	0	0
Bi-monthly	45	55	1	0
Weekly or more	40	60	2	3
Column Total	N=223	N=211	N=9	N=10

Of those surviving the adolescent rebellion and returning to their familial denomination, 44 percent were Catholic, one-third were Protestant, and 11 percent were Jews. Students who prayed the most, had friends who did likewise. The influence of the significant others who confer identity cannot be denied. Satisfactory relations with significant others in the denomination help to build one's own identification to the denomination. Even students who leave their familial denomination are encouraged to return under the influence of favorable parental relations.

Mol defines identity on the personal level as "the stable niche that man occupies in a potentially chaotic environment which he is therefore prepared vigorously to defend."[8] However this identity occurs on the social level also. "Similarly, on the social level, a stable aggregate of

basic and commonly held beliefs, patterns, and values main-
tains itself over against the potential threat of its envi-
ronment and its members."[9] Both the individual and social
identity are connected by the search for meaning. "Without
meaning we are incomplete and unfinished animals, and man
without culture and without meaning is not man."[10] The cul-
ture patterns, which are historically created systems of
meaning, give direction to the lives of individuals and
groups.

However one cannot deny the possibility of con-
flict between personal and social identities. Individuals
and groups can differ with their interpretations of meaning
systems that were designed to unite them.

Yinger (1977; 69) conducted a cross-cultural study
in an effort to isolate, by empirical means, the substruc-
ture upon which religion rests - that is to measure the ele-
ments shared by religions. He reported that 751 college
students from five different countries said that religions,
in all their diversities, rest upon the common structures
of the persistent experience of injustice, suffering, and
meaninglessness. Yinger's respondents rated highest, the
ability of religion to cope with meaning in life, and
therefore the strongest substructure. The issue of mean-
ing seems to be part of mankind's individual and social
identity. Lefever (1977) extolls the religion of the poor
for the meaning function that it provides. He feels that

the religious poor offer an understanding of tragedy and suffering that is frequently lacking from the sensibilities of the more affluent.

Students who stayed with their denomination marked the categories "the denomination helps me to make sense out of my life" and "I was content with the church's teachings," the.highest. Even the students who left their denominations, and then returned, chose first, "I found I was able to harmonize in my life the beliefs and practices that differed from church" and "felt I could accept the teachings and doctrines of the church." The meaning and faith dimension of religiosity received higher acclaim than the liturgical, spiritual or community dimensions.

Religious doctrine has both an integrating and segmenting influence on religious or denominational identity. It tends to gather together the initiated and to segregate them from those who do not share the same faith. The message proclaims the experience of the sacred and those who understand it are beneficiaries of the experience. They associate with one another and consider themselves distinct from others who do not share the symbols, rites and communal worship with them. However, Greeley (1972; 264) from empirical data reports that the American experience with denominations has not shown that the segmenting influence overpowers the integrating influence.

Because religion favors the forces of integration

over differentiation (Mol, 1977;31), the meaning element of religious faith would increase the holding power of religious denominations.

"Protestant identity and in particular, Catholic identity rests upon religiosity, i. e. belief in the dogma of religion."[11] Caplovitz blames the apostasy of Catholics on loss of their religious belief, meaning and faith. He feels that the meaning dimension is not as important to Jews, whose ethnic tradition supersedes their belief system.

Similar beliefs, doctrines and meaning systems provide the members with a common identity. This common identity becomes stronger as the meaning systems are examined together by the members. There is an interaction of beliefs and community that mutually reinforce each other and strengthen the identification of the group. These beliefs are especially meaningful when they pertain to values, priorities and philosophical systems that touch the lives of the members.

Loyalty to a denomination is increased by public worship. It was hypothesized that the holding power of the denomination would increase as church attendance increased. A cross-tabulation of the holding power on church attendance verified the hypothesis. However, when controlling for denominations, there were no consistent patterns of attendance.

Table 48:   Percentage of students remaining in their de-
            nomination by frequency of church attendance
            and present religious affiliation.

Frequency of church attendance	Denomination		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Never	14	5	36
Once or twice a year	29	20	44
Monthly	13	10	12
Bi-monthly	11	13	8
Weekly	33	52	0
	100 N=98	100 N=328	100 N=25

Although some students do not attend church at all,
they retain membership in their denominations. Those who
attend more regularly, i.e. monthly and bi-monthly, do not
show much difference from those attending only once in a
while, yet they claim the same affiliation. Protestants
and Catholics who attend most often likewise report the
highest holding power. Catholics with the highest weekly
attendance, have a higher holding power than Protestants.
Yet Jews, with no weekly church attendance, are equal in
holding power to Catholics. Therefore a cluster of vari-
ables must be examined to determine degrees of affiliation.

When considering the religiosity of the members of
the denominations, shades of difference emerge. Clusters
form when looking simultaneously at all four variables, the
holding power of the denomination, beliefs, public and pri-
vate worship. The sample seems to fall into four categor-
ies named appropriately:

committed affiliate - respondent who remained in his/her

denomination, prays often, goes to church regularly
and says that belief in God plays a dominant part in
his/her life.

participating affiliate - respondent who remained in his/her
denomination, prays sometimes, goes to church irregu-
larly and say that belief in God has a moderate influ-
ence in his/her life.

nominal affiliate - respondent who remained in his/her de-
nomination, seldom prays, seldom attends church and
says that belief in God has a neglible influence in
his/her life.

separated - left his/her familial denomination.

It is presumed that the committed affiliates who
comprise 24 percent of the population would have a stronger
identification to their denomination than the participat-
ing affilates who comprise 32 percent of the population.
The nominal affiliates who comprise 22 percent of the popu-
lation would have the weakest identification to the denom-
ination, followed by the separated group which has no identi-
fication with the denomination.

When controlling for denomination on these cate-
gories, Catholics show the highest percentage of committed
affiliates. Half of their members claim to attend church
weekly, pray frequently, and say that belief in God plays
a dominant part in their lives. Eighteen percent of the
Protestants fall into this same category, but no Jews.

Participating affiliates have closer percentages for each
of the denominations. There still is a significant differ-
ence between Protestants and Catholics, but the numbers are
too small for the Jews to measure significance. Only 10
percent of the Catholics fall into the nominal category as
compared with 24 percent of the Protestants and 61 percent
of the Jews.

Table 49: Percentage of students in categories of committed,
participating, nominal affiliates and separated
by denomination.

Denominations	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
Protestant	18	26	24	32
Catholic	50	21	10	19
Jews	0	20	61	19

It is assumed that the high proportion of committed
and participating Catholics and Protestants is related to
the meaning and belonging dimensions of religious identity.
Previous religious education would not only acquaint the
students with the teachings of the denomination, but would
also build identification to the community of support who
shared these teachings. New York State has a release-time
policy where all students are allowed to leave school one
hour a week for religious instructions. Most denominations
take advantage of this policy.

Table 50:   Percentage of students receiving religious in-
struction by denomination.

Quantity of religious instruction	Present Denomination		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
None	17	2	12
Elementary school only	21	29	44
Elementary & high school	34	66	40
Home	28	2	4
	100	100	100
	N=92	N=329	N=25

Catholics receive the most religious instructions
which in turn influences their holding power and their level
of involvement in their denomination.   Protestants who re-
ceive less religious education than their Catholics or Jew-
ish counterparts also have less holding power **than either and
less committed members than Catholics.**

The categories show an increase in committed and
participating affiliates and an accompanying decrease in
nominal affiliates and separated when controlling for pre-
vious religious education.   Quantity of religious instruc-
tion is important because only elementary school religious
education produced more departees or separated than commit-
ted religionists.   Religious education at home did likewise.
There was a significant difference between those with high
and elementary school religious education and the other two
categories in that the more educated were almost twice as
likely to produce committed religionists.   The reasoning
ability of the high school student is much better developed
and so therefore could better understand the religious doc-

trines which are based on more abstract ideas.

Table 51: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal affiliates and separated by amount of previous religious education.

Amount of religious education	Category				
	Commit-ted	Partici-pating	Nominal	Separated	
None	0	10	10	80	N=46
Home	19	25	25	31	N=58
Elementary school only	15	29	26	30	N=173
Elem. and high school	33	35	16	16	N=294

One of the variables measured for the categories was frequency of church attendance. Although the other variables of private prayer and agreement that belief in God is an important dimension of one's life, are included to form the categories of committed, participating and nominal affiliates, church attendance shows the most variation. When controlling for denomination on church attendance and amount of religious education, Catholics showed the most influence. Sixty-four percent of the Catholics with the most religious education attended church weekly as compared with 48 percent of the Protestants. This significant difference partially explains the 12 percentage point difference in holding power between Catholics and Protestants. Although Jews do not attend their synagogues as frequently, it appears that those with the most religious education are likely to attend more often.

Table 52: Percentage of students attending church by denomination and religious education

Denomination

Amount of religious instruction Frequency of church attendance	Protestant				Catholic				Jewish			
	None	El. sch	El. & high Sch	Home	None	El. sch	El. & high school	Home	None	El. sch	El. & high school	Home
Never	50	0	6	15	15	8	0	0	33	45	37	0
Once or twice a yr.	12	52	22	32	57	29	14	28	33	55	37	33
Monthly	12	21	10	11	0	13	9	28	34	0	0	67
Bi-monthly	6	5	14	8	0	18	13	0	0	0	26	0
Weekly	20	22	48	34	28	32	64	44	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	(16)	(19)	(31)	(26)	(7)	(9)	(217)	(7)	(3)	(11)	(18)	(3)

If the amount of religious education influenced
the holding power of the denomination, which was especially
apparent when dividing into the committed, participating
and nominal categories, the type of high school attended by
the respondent must have a similar effect. Mol (1971;184)
reported that more Catholic school Catholics in Australia
went to church regularly, prayed regularly, had religious
experiences and had fewer doubts about God's existence than
Catholic governmental school graduates. Greeley and Rossi
(1967;158) reported similar results for Catholics in Amer-
ica.   Mol, Greeley and Rossi were careful not to at-
tribute the increased religiosity of Catholic school grad-
uates to the schools alone, but noted also the influence of
the religious behavior of their parents.

My data showed that private and parochial high
school graduates were more likely to be committed affili-
ates than public school graduates. Most private high schools
are administered by Catholic religious communities. Only
Catholics graduated from private high schools and they com-
prise 95 percent of the parochial high school graduates.
There was a significant difference between the percentage
of committed public school graduates and the committed pri-
vate school graduates. There was likewise a significant
difference between the nominal private and parochial schools
graduates and their public school counterparts.

Parochial elementary school graduates comprise less

of the committed category and more of the nominal category than the combined parochial and private high school graduates. However there are less of the elementary parochial school graduates in the separated category than the combined parochial and private high school graduates. There is a significant difference between the public and parochial elementary school graduates in the committed and nominal affiliates categories. Almost twice as many parochial elementary school graduates are committed as public elementary school graduates. Only 19 percent of the parochial elementary school graduates are located in the nominal category as compared to 30 percent of the public school elementary graduates.

Table 53: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal affiliates and separated by type of high school and elementary schools.

Type of high school	Category Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated	
Public	14	31	33	22	N=482
Parochial	26	33	13	28	N=53
Private	38	36	7	19	N=57
Type of elem. school					
Public	18	28	30	24	N=408
Parochial	30	31	19	20	N=161

Although parochial and private schools do not seem to increase the holding power of the Catholic church a great deal, they do serve to decrease the number of nominal Catholics and increase the number of committed Catholics. Catholics' increased loyalty to their church is especially evi-

dent in their following the teaching of mandatory weekly
church attendance. The private high school graduates are
significantly more likely to attend weekly church services
than their public high school counterparts. There is not
a significant difference between parochial and public high
school graduates. However the differences between Catholic
and Protestant public school graduates are also significant
for weekly church attendance which indicates that parochial
and private high school education does partially explain
some of the difference in the holding power of the two de-
nominations.

Catholic public elementary school graduates show
a similar pattern to Catholic public school graduates re-
garding church attendance. Catholic elementary parochial
school graduates show a more committed church attendance
behavior than parochial high school graduates. In the Buf-
falo and New York City areas, many of the parochial high
school applicants are rejected by the private schools and
have to attend the high school that was not their first
choice. Sometimes this rejection at such a young age, can
cause hard feelings. It is possible for the rejected ones to
project their resentment on the church.

Parochial elementary schools increased church at-
tendance for Jews and Protestants, but their numbers were
too small to be significant.

Table 54:   Percentage of students attending church by denomination and type of high school education.

Denomination Types of school Frequency of church attendance	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
	Pub.	Pri.	Par.	Pub.	Pri.	Par.	Pub.	Pri.	Par.
Never	13	0	50	4	0	10	36	0	0
Once or twice year	29	0	0	22	13	15	44	0	0
Monthly	13	0	0	11	9	6	12	0	0
Bi-monthly	11	0	0	14	9	19	8	0	0
Weekly	34	0	50	49	69	50	0	0	0
Total	100		100	100	100	100	100		
Number	N=96		N=2	N=243	N=45	N=38	N=25		

Table 55:   Percentage of students attending church by denomination and type of elementary school education.

Denomination Types of school Frequency of church attendance	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
	Pub.	Pri.	Par.	Pub.	Pri.	Par.	Pub.	Pri.	Par.
Never	15	0	0	5	0	5	37	0	0
Once or twice year	30	0	0	22	44	14	42	0	100
Monthly	15	0	0	14	12	5	13	0	0
Bi-monthly	10	100	25	11	0	18	8	0	0
Weekly	30	0	75	48	44	58	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100
Number	N=93	N=1	N=4	N=182	N=18	N=127	N=24		N=1

Factor analysis revealed a close association among the questions designed to measure the meaning dimension of religion. The correlation was very high between the responses that students gave for staying in the denomination, as "content with the church's teachings" and "the denomination helped them to make sense out of their lives". The teachings of the denomination form the logical basis for meaning. It was expected that students who chose these two reasons for remaining in their denomination would show similar characteristics in their religious behavior.

One-fourth of the student body affirmed the reason that they were "content with the church's teachings" as their reason for staying with their denomination. Thirty-one percent of the Protestants, 35 percent of the Catholics and eight percent of the Jews chose this reason. A similar pattern followed for the other question regarding the meaning dimension of religion. Twenty-two percent of the student body gave as their reason for staying: "The denomination helps me to make sense out of life." One-quarter of the Protestants. 30 percent of the Catholics and 16 percent of the Jews chose this reason.

Students tended to act out their meaning dimensions of religion by attending their churches or synagogues more often. In fact there was a great deal of similarity in the church attendance ratios of those remaining in their denominations because they were content with

the church's teachings, and those who stayed because the denomination helped them to make sense out of their lives. Catholics especially were sensitive to their own teachings regarding weekly attendance at Mass. Those professing to be content with the church's teaching and meaning dimensions were most likely to attend church frequently.

Table 56 : Comparison between church attendance of students remaining in their denominations because they were content with the church's teachings and because the denomination helped them to make sense out of their lives.

Percentage of students by denomination who remained in their familial denomination because:

Frequency of church attendance	They were content with the church's teachings. Denomination			The denomination helped them to make sense of their lives. Denomination		
	Prot.	Cath.	Jew	Prot.	Cath.	Jew
Never	6	2	0	4	2	25
Once in a while	16	11	50	12	7	0
Monthly	23	4	50	20	8	75
Bi-monthly	6	21	0	16	9	0
Weekly	49	62	0	48	74	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N-31	N-115	N-2	N-25	N-98	N-4

A consistency was shown in answers to the two questions when controlling for denominations. In fact there were no significant differences between any of the categories of church attendance or denominations. There was a similar consistency in the responses when controlling for residence, year in college, nationality, previous religious education,

and type of high school education.

Factor analysis also revealed a correlation between the question "Religion gives meaning to my life" and the other meaning questions. It was hypothesized that the committed affiliates would be most likely to agree to the meaning function of religion. The hypothesis was fulfilled in that 87 percent of the committed affiliates, or those who attend church and pray regularly, remain in their denominations and say that religion plays a dominant part in their lives, agreed that religion gave meaning to their lives. Seventy-six percent of the participating affiliates or those who attend church and pray sometimes and say that religion plays a moderate influence in their lives did likewise. Even half of the nominal affiliates, who attend church and pray occasionally and say that religion or belief in God plays a neglible part in their lives, **affirmed** the meaning dimension of religion. Surprising results came from the separated group in that 29 percent of them said that religion gave meaning to their lives.

Table 57: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal affiliates and separated former affiliates who agreed that religion gave meaning to their lives.

Categories	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
	87	76	50	29

A high percentage of committed affiliates affirming the meaning dimension of religion in their lives was ex-

pected, but the large percentage of affirmation by the participating and nominal groups was not expected. Those affirming the meaning dimension of religion and yet separa- ting themselves from their denominations show especially the aspect of religious meaning that goes beyond the institution. Students do not have to belong to a denomination, yet religion gives meaning to their lives. They can relate to religion as a phenomenon, rather than as institutionalized, to serve as a meaning bestowing element for their personalized belief system.

Factor analysis also showed a strong association with another meaning question. Responses to the question, "How much do your religious beliefs influence your personal moral behavior such as sexual ethics, honesty, truthfulness etc?" correlated positively with the statements pertaining to religion giving meaning to life and the reason for staying in one's denomination that were concerned with the church's teachings and ability of the denomination to make sense of one's life.

Most committed affiliates acknowledged the influence of their religious beliefs on their personal moral behavior to a large degree. Most participating affiliates acknowledged that their religious beliefs affected their personal moral behavior to a moderate degree. Most nominal affiliates said their religious beliefs had a neglible effect on their personal moral behavior. The separated group

responded that their religious beliefs influenced them
greatly, moderately and negligibly, which again illus-
trates the supra-institutional aspects of religion.

Table 58:   Percentage of committed, participating, nominal
affiliates and separated from affiliation re-
sponding that their religious beliefs influenced
their personal moral behavior to a large or mod-
erate degree.

Categories	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
	80	65	40	47

However, when looking at the holding power of reli-
gious denominations, one would expect some correlation between
those who pray and those who attend church/synagogue services.
It was hypothesized that students who pray more frequently
are likewise more likely to attend church services. Although
students distinguish in theory between belief in God, and
adherence to a denomination, in practice there seems to be
some correlation. In fact, 71 percent of those students who
pray most frequently, also attend church services most often.
When one has interiorized one's religious beliefs, that per-
son often feels compelled to act them out in his life. When
one has interiorized his religious beliefs enough to pray
often, one can likewise feel impelled to witness this belief
outwardly by attending church services. One's self is divid-
ed by thinking one thing and performing something inconsist-
ent with these thoughts. If one prays in private, one should
have no fears about praying in public as both aspects, pri-
vate and public comprise one's view of self. As the personal

identity of students strengthen this consistency between in-
ner thoughts and outward behavior should become more appar-
ent. Table 59 shows the relation between church attendance
and frequency of prayer.

Table 59: Percentage of students who pray frequently and
attend church or synagogue.

Frequency of church attendance	Frequency of prayer.				
	Never	Special occasion	Once in a while	Weekly	Daily
Never	59	17	20	13	9
Once or twice a year	32	33	34	18	13
Monthly	3	12	13	16	6
Bi-monthly	1	15	13	21	17
Weekly or more	5	23	20	32	55
Total	100	100	100	100	100 (587)
Number	(80)	(48)	(174)	(154)	(131)

Missing 10 cases

It is important to acknowledge that frequency of
prayer does not necessarily mean quality of prayer. Like-
wise frequency of church attendance does not always reflect
a quality of behavior. Extrinsic, ultilitarian motives can
be attached to both behaviors, but on the operational level,
frequency, not quality nor interiority, can be measured.
However, consistency, which is a measure of quality, can be
investigated. The Seniors, who should possess the strong-
est individual identities, should show the most consistency
between their inward and outward behavior. The Seniors do
show most consistency in that 39 percent of them attend

church weekly, and 42 percent pray at the same rate. The
Freshmen who are younger in age showed the least consist-
ency with 15 percentage points separating their private
and public religious behavior.

Table 60: Percentage differences between students' fre-
quency of church attendance and frequency of
prayer by year in college.

Year in college	Students attending church weekly	Students praying weekly
Freshman	33	40
Sophomore	36	42
Junior	34	44
Senior	39	42

The Seniors displayed the most consistency when de-
termining the categories of committed, participating, nom-
inal affiliates and separated former affiliates. They were
more likely to fall into the committed or separated cate-
gories than the participating or nominal ones. It appears
that they made up their minds one way or the other after
four years in college. The denominations are proportion-
ally distributed through the four college years, which
lessened the influence of the higher Catholic and Jewish
holding power affecting the Seniors' choice. Likewise
there is a proportional distribution of academic majors
among the classes so that the professional studies stu-
dents who have the highest holding power do not have an
overly strong influence. The one variable that influences
the year in college most is age. Younger students have
the most holding power and older students have the least.

There is an equal percentage distribution of denominations
and academic majors among the age group.

Table 61:   Percentage of students who are committed, par-
ticipating, nominal affiliates and separated
former affiliates by years in college.

| Year in college | Categories | | | |
	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
Freshman	22	34	25	19
Sophomore	21	36	24	19
Junior	24	31	17	28
Senior	28	27	16	29

The Juniors who are closest in age to the Seniors
show a similar pattern of consistency to the latter in that
they seem to have made up their minds whether to leave the
denomination or retain their nominal affiliation. Freshmen
and sophomores who are mainly under 21 years of age are more
likely to remain in their denomination, but their degree of
affiliation is more spread over the spectrum of committed,
participating and nominal categories. The older students
who have the advantage of a more developed personal iden-
tity also seem to have a firmer identification with the
religious denomination.

Part of the identification that is operationalized
for religious denominations is the frequency of church par-
ticipation as measured by church attendance. If one identi-
fies with the group, one will show that the beliefs are im-
portant by externalizing those beliefs in behavior. Fre-
quent church attendance is a practice of major importance
for Christians, and lesser importance for Jews. Part of the

holding power of religious denominations is demonstrated by
the frequency of church attendance. Catholics showed the
strongest attendance when adding the weekly and bi-monthly
attendance together, 64 percent. Protestants followed with
44 and Jews were last with eight percent. When separating
into weekly attendance, the Protestants were 33 percent as
compared to Catholics with 52 percent. Forty-four percent
of the Jews attended synagogue on holidays. The doctrine
of mandatory weekly Mass attendance influences the Cath-
olics who also had the largest percentage of students at-
tending church. About half the Jews attended on the high
holydays which again is reflective of the teachings of the
denomination.

Since both personal and corporate identity are
formed by not only what we are, but also in what we do,
church attendance is a good measure of religious identifi-
cation to the denomination. College students whose per-
sonal identities have been better formed than high school
students show a greater stability in their choice of reli-
gious affiliation. The large number of college students,
78 percent, remaining in their denominations of socializa-
tion, reveals a development of identity formation that can
display some continuity from their past to their future
lives. Seventeen percent of Junior and high school stu-
dents who are in the throes of identity formation departed
from their familial denomination. College students' de-

parture rate of five percent is reduced by a return rate of three percent.

The meaning and belief dimension of religion is important to reinforce individual and group identity. Crucial to identity formation is the example of those who are considered significant others. The witness value of persons who externalize their beliefs through public group worship will increase the identification of individuals to the group.

Table 62 Summary table of the Meaning Dimension of Religion and its influence upon the holding power of denomination.

Percentage of Students who	Gen.Pop.	Denomination Prot.	Cath.	Jews	Weekly church goers	Daily prayers
stayed in their denomination because they were content with the church's teachings	26	31	35	8	55	38
stayed in the denomination because it helped them to make sense out of their lives	22	25	30	16	61	36
agreed that religion gives meaning to their lives	48	57	55	35	71	76
agreed that their religious beliefs influenced their personal moral behavior	74	74	83	42	93	74

Footnotes   Chapter V

1. Erik Erickson, "Identity and Life Cycle" _Psychological Issues_ (New York: International Universities Press, 1959) p. 11

2. _Op. Cit._ p. 34

3. Gregory Baum, _Religion and Alienation_ (Paulist Press: Paramus, New Jersey 1975) p.149

4. Christopher Smith, Andrew Weigert, Darwin Thomas, "Self Esteem and Religiosity: An Analyses of Catholic Adolescents from Five Cultures." _Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion_ Vol 18 (1) 1979 p. 57

5. Harold Fallding, _The Sociology of Religion_ (McGraw-Hill: Toronto, 1974) p. 26

6. Thomas O'Dea, _The Sociology of Religion_ (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1966) p. 15

7. Harry LeFever, "The Religion of the Poor: Escape or Creative Force?" _Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion_ 1977, 16 (3) p. 234

8. Hans Mol, _Identity and the Sacred_ (Free Press: New York, 1977) p. 65

9. _Ibid._

10. Andrew Greeley, _The Persistence of Religion_ (SCM Press: London, 1973) p. 83

11. David Caplovitz and Fred Sherrow, _The Religious Drop Outs_ (Sage: Beverly Hills, 1977) p. 157

Chapter VI Forces that Build a Religious Identity (Continued)

B. Group Cohesion - a sense of belonging provided by community.

The quest for identity gives the young person a strong desire for autonomy and a concern for the adult values of the society which he is trying to enter. Adolescence is thus not only a search for identity, but also a search for acceptance from a group. Religious organizations that stress communal support of the members provide this function. Sometimes there is a conflict between personal and group identity, but for those who stay in their denomination, harmony would prevail over conflict.

In his studies of religion, Durkheim found that religion did not exist apart from a collectivity. He felt that religion was a source of social identification because it linked people together in a common history and strengthened them in their common task.

Durkheim, who contends that religion is created by the community would also concede that in turn, religion creates the community, that it confirms its members in the common value.

Religion is able to help bind society together because it is symbolic celebration of the values, ideals and hopes of the group. In this way, it encourages the self-

consciousness of individuals, groups, and society at large.

> "For a society to become conscious of itself and main-
> tain at the necessary degree of intensity the sentiments
> which it thus attains, it must assemble and concentrate
> itself. . . ,. A society can neither create itself nor
> recreate itself without at the same time creating an
> ideal. This ideal has the ability to transcend the soci-
> ety which created it in that there is something eternal
> in religion."[2] "All of us encounter within ourselves a
> reality which transcends us, to which we belong, and
> which exists beyond our death."[3]

Religion is the transcendent ideal that becomes the source

of social identification because it binds the community to-

gether. The shared values, hope and ideals form the meaning

system upon which this faith community is based.

This faith community provides a sense of belonging

that is integral to the member's religious commitment. The

members can encounter the support from shared beliefs, cele-

brations and search for meaning that is impossible to exper-

ience alone. The denomination stresses values, ideals and

hopes that transcend selfish individualism. As the members

realize their participation and existence in the communal

life of their denomination, they can more easily overcome

instinctual egoism and experience a stronger dedication to

the common good.

The personal and social identities formed by the re-

ligious communities, can stabilize or deteriorate under cer-

tain conditions. "There is a tendency for personal and so-

cial identity to become sacralized and this is particularly

so when changes, upheavals, and uncertainties make a specif-

ic identity both fragile and precarious."[4] For instance,
there can be both segmmenting and/or cohesive effects on
collective behavior when religious groups perceive them-
selves in minority or majority positions. A group which is
considered a minority can quite easily disappear by simple
assimilation just as it can become more tightly knit and in-
definitely resist majority pressure. Persecution will at
times weaken affiliation to a religious group, but it can
also confirm and reinforce the bonds between the persecuted
faithful. The conflict between religious and secular values
can be a cause of internal disintegration for a community of
believers, but it can also provoke a redefinition and a
deepening of religious loyalties.

Lenski (1963) found that the greater an individual's
involvement in his religious group, the more influence the
group had over him. Intense involvement brought an internal-
ization of the norms of the group, which the parents passed
on to their children. The recent Gallup poll, (1979;44) re-
ported that 75 percent of the parents favor the home over
any other institution as the key factor in the religious and
spiritual development of children. The need of shared sup-
port for religious ideals is obvious on all levels of soci-
ety.

This same Gallup poll (1979;44) reported that the
level of shared religious activities in the home, i.e. Bible
reading together, grace at meals, conversations about God

and religion was "very high". The influence of parents'
religious upbringing continued to influence favorably the
religious atmosphere of their own homes. The holding power
for Buffalo State students was highest for students living
at home, 86 percent. Eighty-two percent of the dormitory
students remained in their denominations. Sixty-one per-
cent of students sharing apartments with others did the same.
But only 34 percent of the students living in apartments by
themselves remained in their denominations. Younger stu-
dents who have the highest holding power comprise most of
the dormitory population. Upperclassmen, who have the low-
est holding power, comprise most of the apartment dwellers
where mostly seniors live alone.

Controlling for denomination showed that the hold-
ing power of Protestants, Catholics and Jews who live at
home was very similar. There was a significant difference
between Catholics, Jews and Protestants who live in apart-
ments with others in that Protestants retained less of their
members. None of the Jews who lived alone in apartments
chose to belong to their denomination. About one-third of
the Protestants and one-quarter of the Catholics living
alone in apartments remained in their denominations. Place
of residence appears to have a strong influence on the hold-
ing power of denominations. The home and family-type atmos-
phere of the dormitories have a positive effect. The iso-
lation of individuals living in apartments alone appears to

have a negative effect on the holding power of all denominations.

Table 63: Percentage of students remaining in their denomination by their present residence and denomination.

Place of present residence	Present Denominations		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Home with parents	83	86	87
College dormitory	79	83	83
Apartments with roommates	33	69	75
Apartment alone	37	23	0
	N=90	N=321	N=24

The influence of the home is stronger than the dormitories or apartments in producing committed affiliates. Although the holding power for the home and dormitory residents is similar, the degree of religiosity is significantly different. Twelve percent more dormitory than home residents claim nominal affiliation to their denominations in that they attend church and pray infrequently and claim that belief in God and religion plays a negligible influence in their lives. Students living in apartments with roommates contain few committed affiliates and many participating affiliates who attend church and pray some of the time and say that religion and belief in God have a moderate influence on their lives. There are no committed affiliates, who attend church and pray frequently or say that belief in God and religion has a strong influence on their lives, living alone in apartments. A group of like-minded individuals who share the same reli-

gious outlook and activities contribute to the holding pow-

er of denominations.

Table 64: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal
and separated former affiliates by present res-
idence.

| Present residence | Categories | | | |
	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
Home with parents	28	37	21	14
College dormitory	23	27	32	18
Apartment with roommates	16	24	11	49
Apartment alone	0	10	24	66

Controlling for national background, home residence,

previous religious education and types of high school did

not reveal any significant differences regarding residence.

Even the sexes were divided pretty evenly among the res-

idences.

It was expected that more women would be in the

committed affiliates category because of their involvement

in many campus ministry activities such as retreats, days

of recollection, etc. However there were more men in the

committed category and more women in the nominal category.

The differences were significant which makes one wonder if

future homes will be as religiously oriented as today's

homes are. Gallup poll (1979;44) reported that 44 percent

of the parents talked about God and religion with their

children, 42 percent said grace before meals, 38 percent

attended church services with their children, and 31 per-

cent prayed or meditated with their offspring.

"Looking to the future, we can gain encouragement

from survey findings which show that homes where
religion plays a central role today are producing
persons whose future homes in turn will in all
likihood be religiously oriented."   5

One may question the quality of this future religious ori-

entation when the future mothers do not exhibit a strong

religious orientation at present.

Table 65: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal
           and separated former affiliates by sex.

Categories	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
Male	30	32	19	19
Female	18	22	31	29

It was hypothesized that students would respond

favorably to the statement "I find support and gratifica-

tion in worshipping God with a community of like-minded

persons." Forty-three percent of the students agreed and

25 percent disagreed. The upperclassmen reported the

greatest need for a worshipping community. Many of the

older students live in apartments and might appreciate the

community of the home or dormitory. Students from large

urban backgrounds revealed the largest need for a support

group, which might indicate that they were dissatisfied

with large urban impersonal parishes. Past experience of

communal worshipping groups seemed to influence the choice

for more of the same. Parochial school graduates and stu-

dents with the most religious education background ex-

pressed the highest desire for a worshipping community.

Controlling for denomination revealed some significant

differences. Students remaining in their denomination were more affirming of their desire for a worshipping community than students departing. There was a significant difference between Protestant and Catholic affirmation of their desire for a worshipping community of like-minded persons.

Among those disagreeing with the statement, the percentage difference for Catholics who remained in their denomination is 31 percentage points higher than Protestants who stayed. Catholics who do not find support in worshipping God with a community are more likely to remain in their denomination than Protestants who do not find support. Disagreeing with the statement seems to influence some of the departure behavior on the part of Protestants which could explain part of the higher holding power of Catholics. Perhaps Catholics are more influenced by the meaning, rather than the belonging dimension of religion than Protestants.

Table 66: Percentage of students' remaining in or leaving their denomination responses to "I find support and gratification in worshipping God with a community of like-minded persons", by denomination.

	Home Denomination								
Students remaining in their denomination	Protestant			Catholic			Jew		
	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree
	77	82	24	91	85	55	83	88	67
Students leaving their denomination	23	18	76	9	15	45	17	12	33
Total	(53)	(38)	(25)	(158)	(151)	(107)	(12)	(8)	(9)

It was hypothesized that students who attended church services in public worship would be the most likely to agree to the need of a community. Over two-thirds of the weekly churchgoers desired to worship God with a community of like-minded persons. However eight percent of the weekly church-goers disagreed that they needed a community for their worship indicating that they perhaps prefer a more privatized religion. The very high percentage of don't knows might suggest that students have not considered the communitarian dimension of religion. The placement of this question at the end of the questionnaire accounts for the large number of missing cases as well as perhaps some of the "don't knows."

The categories of committed, participating, nominal and separated former affiliates showed some significant difference in their affirmation of a worshipping community. The committed category reported the lowest agreement and the participating affiliates reported the highest agreement. Even 22 percent of the separated group agreed that they needed a worshipping community. The lower percentage of the committed group might indicate that they find more satisfaction in the meaning aspect of religion over the belonging element.

Table 67: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal and separated former affiliates agreeing to the statement "I find support and gratification in worshipping God with a community of like-minded persons."

Categories	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
	16	40	22	22

Students bring part of their community to services with them which may say something about the ability of liturgical rites to intensify the community as well as the ability of the community to form the liturgy. Sixteen percent of the students coming to church/synagogue services are accompanied by a friend. Ten percent bring two friends. Eleven percent bring three friends to services with them and five percent bring all of their friends. The combined 43 percent who come with friends to church exceed the 28 percent who come alone and the 29 percent who do not attend at all. Community worship provided by institutional religious services appears to intensify the relations that already exist among college students.

Eight percent of the students chose as a reason for remaining in their denomination, "strong support for the community of the church." More women than men chose this response, but twice as many men as women said that they returned to their denomination after a period of absence because they "felt a lack in their life as a result of separation from the church community of persons." More Freshmen returned to their denomination after a period of absence because they "felt a lack in their life as a result of separation from the church community of persons." More Freshmen stayed with their denominations for community reasons, but Seniors were more likely to return to their denomination because they missed the community support.

Students living in apartments with roommates reported desire for community often as the reason for staying with their religious affiliation. The dormitory students were most likely to cite this reason for returning. Students educated in religion at home cited most often community reasons for staying and returning to their denominations. They were followed by those receiving religious education in elementary and high schools. Parochial school graduates gave the highest affirmation to community for staying, but private high school graduates cited it the most for returning.

The Jews did not stress the community dimension for staying or returning to their denomination as expected. They failed to support Caplovitz's finding (1977). However, the belonging dimension of religion was strong enough to persuade 19 students who had left their denomination for a period of time, to return.

Table 68: Percentage of students citing the need of a religious community as a reason for staying in and/or returning to their denomination.

Religious affiliation	Reason for Staying Strong support of church community. Left or stayed Other reasons	Applies	Reason for Returning Felt lack in life as result of separation from church community of persons. Other reasons	Applies
Protestant	88	12	94	6
Catholic	92	8	97	3
Jewish	92	8	100	0
Other	93	7	98	2
None	98	2	98	2
Column	(592)	(45)	(578)	(19)
Total	92	8	97	3

As hypothesized, the students who attend communitarian services regularly chose that reason for staying. Likewise the returnees who attend the most, chose the community reason most frequently. A similar pattern emerged for those who prayed most frequently, both for the unchanging and the returnees. The desire for a community of support was apparent from all the answers which expresses the validity of the need for belonging.

Students were asked to rate expectations from campus ministry. Thirty-five percent chose "opportunities for fellowship or community." Sixty-two percent of the students who were already participating in campus ministry activities reported this expectation. Thirty percent of the students who never participate in campus ministries did likewise. Protestants and Catholics held higher expectations for community opportunities from Campus Ministries with 38 percent

as compared to Jews and those who gave no affiliation with
28 percent.

Men and women had similar expectations that campus
ministry would provide opportunities for community. Pri-
vate high school graduates and students with the most reli-
gious instructions were most likely to report community ex-
pectations. It was hypothesized that students whose friends
accompanied them to campus ministry affairs and services
would express this need most frequently. Forty percent of
the students with one friend in accompaniment, and 42 per-
cent with two, three, or all of their friends in accom-
paniment chose the opportunity for community. It was like-
wise hypothesized that students who were active in extra
curriculars would choose the need for community because they
were already involved in fellowship building activities.
This hypothesis was verified also in that 38 percent of stu-
dents in one extra curricular, 39 percent in two, 55 percent
in three and 63 percent in four or more extra curriculars
expressed this desire for community.

One aspect of community is concerned with membership
by invitation. Persons who are marginal to a society or
group would not always remain that way if an invitation to
membership were extended. Fifty-two percent of the students
said that they would be willing to participate in campus
ministry activities if they were asked. Only 23 percent
of them said that they presently participated in similar

activities. Fifty-two percent of the unchurched also said
they could see a situation where they could become "fair-
ly active members of a church now and would be open to an
invitation from the church community." (Gallup 1979:14)

These persons could be called marginal in that they
neither belong to the community, nor suffer harassment from
it. If these persons were to be invited to the denomination-
al society, some change in the composition of the community
would occur.

> "The primary means by which the forces of change have
> broken through the tendency towards consolidation,
> sacralization, and petrifaction has been what is called
> marginality a term borrowed from sociological litera-
> ture on race relations. It refers to persons or groups
> who stand on the boundary of larger groups or societies,
> neither completely belonging nor suffering outright
> rejection." 6

Incorporating these marginal persons into the denom-
ination would change the group cohesion and group density,
but would build the identification of the new members to the
group. Greater involvement brings a greater commitment
which in turn develops a stronger religious identification.
The older members would benefit by the newer ideas and also
experience the satisfaction of passing on their religious
traditions.

1. Impact of Events on the social integration of groups.

Religion has been studied as the dependent and inde-
pendent variable when examining changing events. Especially

in the investigation of changing events, religion has been
considered a barrier as well as a creator of change. Social
scientists have also insisted that religious change only re-
flects the changing conditions that are present in society.
Either way, whether religion initiates or is affected by so-
cial change, most sociologists will admit to some interde-
pendence. "The relationship between religion and the rest
of society is a reciprocal one: the social structure affects
religion, and religion affects the social structure." [7]

Societal changes affect the group cohesion of any
institution. Religious institutions are likewise affected.
In the attempt to deal with change, religious denominations
risk their very identity. When trying to cope with societal
and culture changes, religious denominations must make accom-
modations and assimilations that often require compromise.
It is often the prophetic stance of the denomination that
is impaired when this compromise is accepted.

Denominations that stress similarities over differ-
ences are considered more ecumenical. However ecumenism can
challenge the identity of the religious group in that dis-
tinctive beliefs and practices become blurred. As Mol (1977)
says, the boundaries around foci of identity are capable of
becoming stronger or weaker. If there is no accommodation to
society, these boundaries become sacralized or hardened and
inflexible to change. If there is too much accommodation,
the boundaries of religious identity of the denomination can

disappear. The current Gallup poll (1979) asked Catholics if they felt that their church should become more ecumenical. The respondents revealed their desire for accommodation to societal changes because 84 percent answered in the affirmative. When asked for their opinions regarding specific changes within the church that reflect changes in society, such as divorce, birth control, abortions and Latin Masses, 67 percent of Catholics approved of these changes. The impact of social events on the most orthodox of denominations has been apparent in recent history.

Students were asked to agree - disagree with the statement, "Because of the modernization taking place in Christian churches, Christianity will play a more important role in the future than in the present." It was expected that students would see the need for adaptation of the churches to modern society. This modernization of the churches would in turn increase their impact on a changing society. Only 31 percent of the student body agreed to the statement. Fifty-six percent were undecided which indicated that perhaps either they did not know that modernization was occurring or did not desire to have it occur. Students could also be uninformed about the effects of Christianity on society at present, and may not have considered the future.

Table 69: Percentage of students remaining in or leaving their denomination responding to the statement "Because of the modernization taking place in Christian churches, Christianity will play a more important role in the future than in the present" by denomination.

Students remaining in their denomination	Denomination								
	Protestant			Catholic			Jew		
	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree
	78	70	47	85	82	54	100	79	75
Students leaving their de-nomination	22	30	53	15	18	46	0	21	25
Total	(55)	(69)	(17)	(132)	(230)	(37)	(6)	(13)	(12)

Students from all the denominations who remained in their religion of socialization were more likely to agree with the statement than those who left. Even some of the Jews who remained in their denomination agreed that Christianity would have a future if it continued to adapt. However a higher percentage of Jews disagreed that Christianity will play a more important role in the future than did Christians. There was a significant difference between the optimism of Catholics and Protestants remaining in their denominations. A higher percentage of students who left disagreed with the statement which might indicate that they were either disillusioned with the efforts of their churches to adapt to modern times or perhaps did not perceive the effects of changing events in society on their churches. Seven percent more Catholics than Protestants remaining in their denomination agreed to the statement. Catholics are

more likely to stay in their denomination and also more
likely to agree to the statement concerning the future of
Christian churches which might explain some of the differ-
ence in the higher holding power of Catholics.

Sometimes these social events direct individuals to
more unselfish behavior and less egotistical attitudes.
Durkheim noted the impact of such events on the integration
of society.

> "Great social disturbances and popular wars cause col-
> lective sentiments, concentrate activity toward a single
> end, and cause at least temporarily a stronger integra-
> tion of society. The struggle forces men to close ranks
> and confront the common danger, the individual thinks
> less of himself and more of the common cause." 8

Mol emphasizes this same effect of social disturb-
ances when he says, "There is a tendency for personal and
social identity to become sacralized and that is particu-
larly so when changes, upheavals, injustices, and uncer-
tainties make a specific identity both fragile and precari-
ous." [9] There is a connection between religious commitment
and social disturbances in that these commitments are
strengthened as the religious identification is increased.

Hoge (1974;188) found that the temporary rise of
religiosity in the 1950's was connected to the cold war
threat and McCarthy era. Communism was viewed primarily as
a religious threat from atheists, secondarily, a political
or economic threat from a non-capitalist country. Today's
threat of poised missiles and disintegrating foreign re-
lations could exert a similar effect. Economic tensions at

home with high competition for fewer jobs cause students to withdraw to more stable and comforting relations of home and religion. If social, political and economic events cause confusion and chaos, students try to compensate by making their personal lives as meaningful and orderly as possible. Family and religious commitments are strengthened because the need for meaning and belonging is intensified during times of conflict and confusion in the larger society.

2. Disenchantment with the Political, Social and Economic Situation in the country.

It is possible that disillusionment with radicalism as a political movement and education as an institution could be a cause of the perceived return to religion in the late seventies. Other institutions previously provided outlets for one's commitment in the form of social action, concern for civil rights, new left politics and anti-war sentiments. Most movements for social concern in the sixties originated at Universities. Some would argue that universities replaced churches in this function.

Yankelovich (1974:20) reported that universities have changed their focus in the seventies from liberal education to one of job-training. He found that students were less critical of universities than in the 1960's. Rather, criticisms were leveled at business for being too-concerned with profits and not with public responsibility. By the early 1970's the New Left became a negligible factor

on campus, Yankelovich found. In fact the number of radical students had declined sharply.

In contrast to the 1960's, Buffalo State's only recent demonstration focused on the possible repeal of the draft laws. There is very little concern shown for political or social issues of justice other than those suggested by local churches. Students were involved in boycotts of wine, lettuce and Nestle products that campus ministry introduced as issues, but there was nothing else of signicance. The University has suggested some concern and activities for special education students such as special olympics and learning disability volunteer work, but these activities are usually done for classroom credit in the fields.

Students are beginning to look to churches again for experiences of social actions. Hoge examined trends in political activies and religious orthodoxy among college students. He found (1974;152) that "the periods of greatest political activism were the periods of lowest traditional religious orthodoxy and participation, and vice versa." The late seventies appear to be in the period of "vice versa" with less political activism and more religious orthodoxy.

The recent Gallup poll (1979) pointed to the "church or organized religion" as the highest in public confidence of ten key institutions. Many of the governmental

and social organizations that had been entrusted with funds
for equal opportunity and for the needy have been indicted
for misuse and waste of the monies. Churches have proved
more reliable and honest when dispensing these same services.
At present, the churches seem more active in accepting and
relocating the Vietnam boat people than governmental or
social agencies.

The social gospel is part of the meaning system of
many church denominations. Although interested, only 20
percent of the students at Buffalo State wanted to involve
themselves in campus ministry's efforts at social justice
concerns. However, 30 percent of them were interested in
community action projects sponsored by campus ministry.
Johnstone feels that conditions in society itself are the
cause of lack of concern for the social gospel.

> "There is some indication that the interest in social
> concerns has fallen victim to the mood of the nation,
> as people have become more concerned with such urgent
> personal goals, as keeping a job when others are los-
> ing theirs, maintaining financial solvency while in-
> flation forges ahead, and staying healthy as new dan-
> gers from cancer-inducing agents are made public con-
> stantly." 10

He also suggests that the extreme positions taken by Gay
Rights, Black Power and Women's Liberation groups frighten
those who only wanted to help the helpless.

In response to the question concerning their ex-
pectations from campus ministry, regarding concerns of so-
cial justice, more women than men responded positively,
which might reflect the attitudes of the women's movement.

Catholics showed the most concern for social justice from
campus ministry and so did the parochial school graduates.
Protestants were next and the Jews followed those register-
ing no religious preference in their concern for social
justice. This was an unexpected result in the light of the
anti-Semitiism literature. The nondenominational groups
showed less expectation from campus ministry to be engaged
in social justice concerns, than the denominational groups.

Concern for social justice increased as frequency
of church attendance increased. Frequency of prayer follow-
ed a similar pattern. Expecting that family income would
have a bearing on the desire for social justice sponsored by
campus ministry, family income was controlled. Students in
the $15,000 to $20,000 income bracket showed the most con-
cern, followed by those under $10,000. It was expected that
those who suffer the most inequality economically, would be
interested in social justice. However, the families of un-
skilled laborers showed the least interest as compared to
the families whose fathers were involved in clerical and
sales. The latter group showed the most interest, even
though both groups were mostly in the $15,000 to $20,000
a year income bracket.

The students whose family income is in the $15,000
to $30,000 bracket had the highest holding power, 82 per-
cent. Students in the lowest income brackets reported the
lowest holding power. However, if students whose family

income was under $10,000 showed a high percentage of social concern, it was hypothesized that they might be more committed religionists than some of their wealthier counterparts. The lower income brackets did report the lowest number of nominal members, and the lowest and middle income brackets reported the highest number of committed members who attend church and prayed frequently and said that belief in God and religion played a dominant part in their lives. The highest income group had the least number of committed members and the largest number of nominal members.

Denominations partially explain the categories of the income groups. The "Others" who are mainly the nondenominational groups and the no religious preference group compose most of the two lowest income groups. The nondenominational groups are likewise the most committed and the no preference group comprise most of the separated former affiliates. Catholics and Protestants mainly comprise the $15,000 to $20,000, and $20,000 to $30,000 groups which are the most committed. Jews have the largest percentage of over $30,000 a year category and likewise exhibit the most nominal behavior.

Table 70: Percentage of committed, participating, nominal and separated former affiliates by annual gross income of parents.

Income	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
Under $10,000	31	26	12	31
$10-$15,000	23	28	18	31
$15-$20,000	21	35	25	19
$20-$30,000	25	34	23	18
over $30,000	20	29	30	21

Thirty percent of the students said that they would be interested in community action projects which would aid others. Perhaps the element of community would deter the concept of national organizations and extreme leftist movements that social justice concepts designate. More men than women chose community action. Catholics were most desirous of their church's participation in community action concerns. Protestants were next, but again the Jews trailed those designating no religious preference. Students praying the most and attending church services most often were most concerned about community action. They would be expected to participate in the social gospel dimensions of the religion in which they seemed most involved. Parochial school graduates and those educated in religion at home chose community concerns most often.

Tt was hypothesized that students who were active in extra-curriculars would be most likely to extend themselves in matters of community concern. Students active in three, four or more extra-curriculars, designated community action most frequently. Whether this is part of a joiners' syndrome, or a genuine habit of selflessness, it is difficult to tell. Families from unskilled laborer fathers, and in the lowest income bracket, along with those on the other end of the spectrum, the highest income and professional status, chose community concerns most frequently.

Tt was gratifying to see that students still ex-

pected the churches to involve them in activities of social justice and community action concerns, especially when they do not place such confidence in other institutions. The Oxford University movement to relieve hunger (Oxfam) which engages students in fasting and sending their meal money to reduce world hunger is a popular movement on State's campus. This program, sponsored by campus ministry, involves about 3000 students yearly with the number increasing annually.

Although the students do not always translate the social gospel into action, they are quick to acknowledge the influence of their religious beliefs on their attitudes toward social justice. Over two-thirds of them accept the influence of their religious beliefs for their concerns for prejudice, war, civil rights, environment pollution, etc. Seniors were most willing to grant this influence to religion and Freshmen the least. Students from suburban backgrounds were most likely to affirm that religion influenced their social justice attitudes with 71 percent as compared to the rural students with only 57 percent. Yet these same rural students polled the most in wanting campus ministry to supply them with opportunities to put these ideals into action. Perhaps the desire expresses a need that had not been fulfilled in their local parishes.

More men than women acknowledged the influence of religion on their social justice attitudes. Catholic women and those professing no religious affiliation were the least

likely to accept the influence of religion on their atti-
tudes toward social justice. It would be difficult for some
women who are victims of social injustice within their
churches to affirm the denomination's stance on social jus-
tice. About 75 percent of the Protestants and Catholics
affirmed the influence of religion on social justice con-
cerns. About 40 percent of the Jews and the no preference
group attributed their social justice concerns to religion.

Group cohesion can occur when a minority group per-
ceives pressure from the outside majority. Perhaps the
Jews and no religious preference group may lack interest in
reinforcing their own group identity. However, the no re-
ligious preference group would probably be less concerned
with the influence of religious beliefs on attitudes or be-
liefs than the Jews. Both groups, the Jews and the no re-
ligious preference cluster, could feel marginal to a so-
ciety composed of denominational members that dictate the
policies for most of the members in that society. The mem-
bers of the nondenominational groups who comprise most of
the "Other" category were most likely to affirm the influ-
ence of their religious beliefs on their attitudes toward
social justice. This outcome was expected because the non-
denominational members are usually susceptible to the in-
fluence of their religious beliefs on many of their atti-
tudes.

Table 71: Percentage of students by sex and denomination
responding to the influence of religious beliefs
on their attitudes toward justice.

Religious beliefs influence attitudes toward justice	Denomination and Sex									
	Protestant		Catholic		Jewish		Other		None	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agree	76	75	79	68	21	0	87	79	44	35
Don't know	8	5	4	5	38	0	0	6	8	7
Disagree	16	20	17	27	41	100	13	15	48	58
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total numbers	(62)	(35)	(224)	(105)	(22)	(2)	(23)	(20)	(52)	(45)

Students from the lowest income group affirmed the
most influence of religion on their attitudes toward social
justice. Students from the highest income group were least
likely to do the same. The intervening variables of denom-
ination and fathers' occupation influence this finding be-
cause more Jews comprise the highest income group and they
did not agree that their religious beliefs influenced so-
cial justice attitudes. Also the skilled laborer occupa-
tion group was highest and the managerial and clerical oc-
cupations were lowest in affirming religious beliefs as an
influence of social justice attitudes.

The most religiously committed students come from
families where fathers are skilled or service workers.
Again denomination seems to be the most important variable
in that when all other demographic background variables are
controlled, there are no significant differences. The only
significant difference is the number of Catholics whose

fathers are employed in this category. This group has the highest holding power and one of the lowest number of nominal affiliates.

The second most religiously committed group are the children of unskilled workers. Again denomination seems to be the most important variable in explaining the difference. All other demographic background is similar, but the group called "Others" who are mainly nondenominational, comprise most of the unskilled workers.

Children of professionals are the least committed religiously and have more of their members in the nominal category. Denomination again seems to make the difference because most of the Jewish parents are professionals. All other demographic background is similar except that more of these students cite suburban as their home residence. There are only 43 students whose parents are from the clerical and sales category so there were no significant differences between them and other occupations. The managerial and proprietor occupations were pretty evenly divided among all variables including denominations, except that they contained more students identifying as Protestant.

Table 72:   Percentage of students in the committed, par-
             ticipating, nominal and separated former
             affiliates categories by occupation of fathers.

	Categories			
	Committed	Participating	Nominal	Separated
Professional	22	24	28	26
Proprietor or manager	24	32	24	20
Clerical and sales	24	27	23	26
Skilled or service workers	31	31	20	18
Unskilled workers	29	30	14	27

Persons who participate in church worship have not
always been known to be active in social justice concerns.
In fact, the influence of their religious beliefs on their
attitudes toward social justice, has been shown to be neglible
in some empirical studies (Glock and Stark 1965, Spilka and
Renyolds 1965, Tisdale 1967)

However, 53 percent of committed affiliates agreed
that their religious beliefs influenced their attitudes
towards social justice. Thirty-six percent of the partici-
pating affiliates and 18 percent of the nominal affiliates
did likewise. Even 18 percent of the separated former affil-
iates acknowledged that their religious beliefs influenced
their attitudes towards social justice. Glock and Stark,
Spilka and Tinsdale surveyed mainly adult Protestants in
the early sixties before churches emphasized doctrines of
social justice. The large number of committed Catholics in
my sample, many of whom graduated from parochial schools
where social justice issues are part of the curriculum,
could partially account for the difference in our findings.

Denominational members show more consistency in their attitudes towards social justice and church attendance than the student body as a whole. The more frequent church attenders from Catholic and Protestant denominations were most likely to affirm the influence of their religious beliefs on their social justice concerns. It is likely that they would hear more sermons directed to social justice at their church services. Collections for world hunger, bishops' relief funds, and poverty programs are taken up at liturgies and services which in turn raise the consciousness of the attenders to concerns for social justice. There was not much difference between the Jews who attend services and those who do not as they were equally divided in their acceptance of religion as an influence on their attitudes of social justice.

Table 73: Percentage of students responding to the statement "How much do your religious beliefs influence your attitudes toward social justice such as prejudice, war, civil rights etc." by denomination and frequency of church attendance.

Frequency of church attendance	Denomination								
	Protestant			Catholic			Jewish		
	Very much or moderately	Don't know	Negligibly or not at all	Very much or moderately	Don't know	Negligibly or not at all	Very much or moderately	Don't know	Negligibly or not at all
Never	12	13	29	1	7	9	33	50	44
Once or twice a yr.	23	50	17	14	22	41	44	50	44
Monthly	12	13	16	11	7	13	23	0	0
Bi-monthly	11	0	8	14	7	0	0	0	12
Weekly	42	24	30	60	57	37	0	0	0
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	N=63	N=8	N=13	N=244	N=28	N=59	N=9	N=4	N=9
	Total N=94			Total N=331			Total N=23		

Table 7 4   Summary Table on Belonging

Percentage of students who	Student Body	Denomination			Weekly church-goers	Daily Prayers
		Prot	Cath	Jew		
agree that they need to worship God with a like-minded community of persons	43	54	47	43	67	62
Cited "strong support from the community of the church" as a reason for staying	8	12	8	8	13	12
Wanted campus ministry to provide opportunities for fellowship	35	38	38	38	46	43
Would participate in campus ministry if invited	52	77	67	36	48	49
Agree that religious beliefs influence attitudes of social justice	68	75	74	41	88	85
Desire community actions projects sponsored by campus ministry	30	29	33	16	38	30
Attend church services accompanied by friends	43	40	53	28	38	40
Are active in extra curricular activities	44	39	29	64	35	45

3. Tendency to Conservatism and Orthodoxy

Hoge (1974) in studying changes in college students' religious attitudes felt that these changes must be part of the total meaning and commitment system of the individual.

The students' changing commitments to life styles, political programs, etc., will affect their religious commitment also. Therefore, he took survey information regarding fear of communism, conformity to college norms, other-directedness, commitment to family life, political activism, criticism of college, etc., and traced these attitudes over the 1920's through the 1960's to ascertain whether patterns of religious orthodoxy and religious commitment were similar. He found that the period of the 1920's and the 50's were conservative, personal, and privatistic. The 1930's and the 60's were liberal, social and political. He found that traditional religious commitments were associated with conservative, personal and privatistic commitments that were not oriented to social change. He likewise discovered that religious unorthodoxy is associated with political action toward radical social change.

"Traditional religious commitments are diverse, and they change in emphasis over time. Yet the data show that in the most global terms, they were strongest in periods of conservative, personal, and privatistic emphasis." 11

Students today are displaying more conservative attitudes and likewise show more personal and privatistic commitments. It would be expected that students should show an interest in traditional religion at this same time. Although Hunt (1973) argues that there is an elusive relationship between conservatism and religion, he admits that his empirical evidence showed a positive relation between the communal dimension of religion and conservatism. Hoge's theory that the religious orthodoxy evident during the early 50's was

probably a part of a broader tendency toward conservatism, was not totally negated by Wuthnow.

Yankelovich (1974) noted a trend away from the radicalism of the 60's to a more conservative attitude regarding privacy, authority, drugs and life style. "The most significant changes in the past few years include an increased emphasis on privacy as a very important personal value, and a declining commitment to a changing society."[12] Students were more willing to accept authority and prohibition against heroin and mind-expansion drugs. Fewer students were interested in communal living designs. Even the military, a traditional object of student criticism, was found by Yankelovich, to be less an object of reproach. Astin (1977) supports Yankelovich in finding that students have moved from the self-classification of liberal or radical, to moderate or middle-of-the-road positions. However, they both found an increasing liberalization toward the social issues of women's role in society, sexual behavior and the legalization of marijuana.

Rice and Cramer (1977) claim that students at Harvard and Hampshire universities are looking for more control and structure. They designate the reasons for this shift to a more conservative stance to:

"(1) Rapidly rising tuition costs have turned many students into educational consumers concerned about 'getting their money's worth.' (2) Students seem to be more serious about their education and careers than the radical campus spokesmen of the late 60's, and more willing to listen to the advice of college authorities. (3) Frustrated and confused by their new freedom, young people making the difficult passage from late adolescence to adulthood have discovered they need guidance and order."[13]

As a result, Harvard has tightened up the require-
ments for a core curriculum in order to insure students of a
broad-general background, rather than the narrow specific
areas they had been selecting in the sixties without fac-
ulty guidance. Rice and Cramer (1977) claim that more than
400 college deans have requested reports of Harvard's cur-
riculum reform. Buffalo State offered faculty guidance for
course selection to students for the first time in twelve
years this past year. Most students readily availed them-
selves of the opportunity and even the college newspaper
lauded the effort as showing "concern for the students,"
not repression of their individuality. Rice and Cramer
(1977) found also that students were more interested in
vocational and practical goals which would be more con-
sistent with the job opportunities.

Buffalo State has fostered occupational guidance
days where representatives from various businesses, service
groups, and even the military appear to advertize their job
opportunities. Students willingly avail themselves of the
information with no repercussions, with the exception of one
letter to the editor of the college newspaper when ROTC ap-
peared. The department at the college that is attracting
most students is criminal justice. A few years ago, the
military, ROTC and the police would have been run off the
campus.

Now there is a growing concern for security and

safety on Buffalo State's campus. The dormitory locked
door policy was imposed upon students by the office of res-
idence life and has received no objections. Security offi-
cers are looked upon as friends who can be called for es-
corts. Students are working part-time for security which
is considered a status job since a girl student security
officer caught a thief last year. Stereos, radios, bikes
and other valuables are taken to security offices for iden-
tification numbers. Most questions at parent orientations
are directed toward the security personnel who are con-
sidered responsible for personal safety. The security offi-
cer in charge, who has been in the position for fifteen
years, marvels at the turnabout attitude toward college
police who were considered the enemy by students of the late
sixties. Many students of the seventies are willing to give
up their personal autonomy for the sake of security and
safety.

Another aspect of increasing privatization is shown
in the return of the social sororities and fraternities to
campus. National organizations of this type had been expel-
led from the State campuses because of anti-discrimination
laws during the sixties. Students are showing more interest
in dinner dances and other social events of the fifties.
Almost one-fourth of the students said that they would like
campus ministries to sponsor social functions as parties etc.
Students did not expect churches to provide socialization

activities during the sixties, but their successors of the
seventies show more conservation, personalism and privatism.
Hoge's (1974) findings suggest that the seventies should be
a period of increased religious conservatism, and this con-
servatism does not only consist of a clearly articulated
base of doctrine but includes personal experience as well.
The role of ecstasy and private religious experience was em-
phasized over abstract or doctrinal principles in the seven-
ties. Dean Kelley says that the growing churches are the con-
servative ones such as Southern Baptists, Assemblies of God,
Pentecostal and Holiness sects, Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses
and Black Muslims. The sources of this growth and vitality
are personal religious experience, accompanied by doctrinal
strictness and simplicity, guarding the entrance and member-
ship requirements and dependency upon a central personality
or small group of personalities for leadership.

The aim of the Full Gospel Businessmen's association
and their division on the campuses in the form of Campus
Crusade, is personal evangelism in the manner of personal
witnessing. Their goal of conversion and commitment to
discipleship is dependent upon the activity of the Holy
Spirit and literal interpretation of the Bible. These Full
Gospel Businessmen own and operate a radio station where
this personal witnessing to their religious experience oc-
curs all day and night. This very conservative group has
attracted college students to its membership who speak

glowingly of the religious experience provided by the witnessing and biblical elements.

Johnstone (1975) questions Kelley's contention that the conservative churches are growing at the expense of the liberal denominations. Stark and Glock (1968) found that the general tendency for those who change religious affiliation is to move from more conservative bodies to those who are more liberal theologically. Johnstone feels that Kelly's hypothesis is questionable because the source of the new members in the conservative groups is not known whether they are defectors from liberal denominations, converts from irreligion, or the result of an average natural reproductive increase. Of the nine percent membership of the nondenominational groups in Buffalo State's campus, two-thirds came from the Protestant and Catholic denominations. These students found something in the non-ecumenical groups that was lacking in their own traditions. The biblical and personal experience emphasis, which is another form of religious orthodoxy, appears to attract students from liberal denominations.

Conservatism and orthodoxy were found to be associated in a study by Glock and Wuthnow (1973). They found that students who retained their religious preference and did not defect, were more conventional in other areas of their lives. They were less likely to be involved in radical politics, experiment with drugs or support sexual and

family experimentation.

The Gallup poll, 1979, concluded that the home is a very important facet of religious development where activities such as discussing God, prayers before meals, attending church services, and church-related activities, meditation and bible reading are shared by parents and children together.

"Furthermore, 63 percent of parents whose upbringing was "very religious," say that religion has greatly strengthened family relationships, while 62 percent of this group feel that religion is helping their children a "great deal" in regard to problems in their lives." 14

A concern for religion in the home, which is considered the private area of one's life is consistent with Hoge's (1974) emphasis on conservatism and privatism.

A question was asked in the same Gallup poll (1979; 56) "Whom do you talk to when you have worries?" Priests, ministers and rabbis were included with near relatives, spouses and friends. Students at Buffalo State showed this same confidence in their clerical counselors when they gave their highest choice to (37 percent) "counselling opportunities from the clergy" as the expectation from campus ministry in regard to institutional religious activities. Many of the college counselors refer their students to the clergy for counseling in matters of a religious nature.

The responses to their expectations from campus ministry as recorded by the frequency distribution are as follows:

What are your expectations from campus ministry in regard to institutional religious activities? Darken all blanks that apply.

(1)   Religious church services   36
(2)   Sacramental and/or Scriptural opportunities   22
(3)   Counselling opportunities from clergy   37
(4)   Retreat and reflection opportunities   31
(5)   Opportunities for religious experience   32

The answers add up to more than 100% because of the multi-choice responses.

Table 75 carries the breakdown of these responses by residence because campus ministry does not usually serve students who live at home. These responses could be called orthodox in that they are concerned with private personal experiences as opposed to the liberal, other-directedness aspects of the social gospel.

Table 75:   Percentage of students who expect traditional religious services from campus ministry compared to students who do not have such expectation by residence.

		Students' Residence	
Students expecting campus ministry service	Home	Dormitory	Apartments with roommates	Apartments alone
	33	50	40	17
	N= 117	N=60	N=20	N=6
Students not expecting campus ministry service	66	50	60	83
	N=220	N=60	N=31	N=28

One-third of the students living at home requested the traditional services from campus ministry as compared to one-half of the dormitory students who made the same request.

Forty percent of the students living in apartments with room-
mates and 17 percent of the students living alone would like
church services performed by campus ministry. The high per-
centage of dorm students asking for religious services could
be accounted for by the fact that many of them, 48 percent,
are Catholic. Twenty percent are Protestant, 14 percent
claim no religious preference and 13 percent are Jews. The
students living in apartments with roommates follow a simi-
lar pattern, 40 percent Catholic, 34 percent "None", 8 per-
cent Protestant and 6 percent Jews. Students living alone
in apartments are mainly the "no preference" group, 41 per-
cent, and Jews 33 percent, Catholics with 18 percent and
Protestants with nine percent which might account for their
lowest choice of answers for religious services. The rather
high percentage of home residents could be due to their
Catholicity, 68 percent, as compared to Protestants with 16,
no religious preference with 10 and Jews with two percent.
Catholic campus ministry offers holy day and daily litur-
gies which are attended by commuters as well as residents.

The dormitory students were most concerned about
Sacramental and Scripture opportunities. There was very
little difference among residences desiring counseling op-
portunities from the clergy. Students living alone in
apartments chose this response less often, but the highest
percentage of students with no religious affiliation live
in apartments alone and would somewhat account for this

choice. Retreat and reflection opportunities were asked for
mostly by dormitory students and apartment dwellers with
roommates. These are the students who mostly avail them-
selves of the weekend retreats and days of recollection of-
fered by Catholic campus ministry, but open to anyone de-
siring to attend. Finally opportunities for religious ex-
perience were mostly desired by students living in apart-
ments with roommates. Those living alone expressed the
least desire for this dimension of religiosity.

Denominational membership influenced the choice of
expectations from campus ministry. In most categories Cath-
olics showed the highest expectations, except for religious
experience which attracted most Protestants. The Jews fol-
lowed Catholics in their expectations for religious church
services, but had very few other expectations from campus
ministry.

Another item for the index for traditional ortho-
doxy was the statement that students stayed with their de-
nomination "because organized religion was important to
them." Students living at home and in the dorms, along
with Seniors and Freshmen chose this alternative most often.
Twice as many Catholics as Jews or Protestants chose this
reason for staying. Twice as many Protestants as Catholics
chose "church related activities as choir, or social serv-
ices were satisfying", for their reason for staying. No
Jews chose this alternative at all. It seems the belonging

dimension of church activities is more important for Protestants than Catholics or Jews.

Mol says, "concentrating as heavily as we have done on the sacralization process contains the risk of a conservative bias."[15] We have been concentrating on conservative elements in order to stress the stabilizing and sacralization process. Religious identification to denominations are strengthened during periods of conservatism in the nation as well as during conservative periods within the churches themselves. Traditional religious commitments tend to become strengthened in periods of personal and privatistic interests and activities, rather than in periods of great social unrest and change. However, it is also possible that a search for stability and structure can occur during periods which lack these very qualities.

Table 76:   Summary Table of Conservative Attitudes

Percentage of students who	Student body	Denomination Pro.	Cath.	Jews	Weekly church goers	Home	Dorm	Residence Apt. with others	Apt. alone
Stayed in denomination because "organized religion is important to me"	17	12	25	12	31	19	16	4	3
Agreed that they need an organized church to help them practice their religion.	64	70	76	50	70	62	60	37	46
Would like campus ministry to sponsor social functions as parties, dinners, etc.	22	24	24	28	28	22	26	31	12
Have traditional expectations from campus ministry as:									
Religious church services	36	32	45	32	46	35	49	39	15
Sacramental and scripture opportunities	22	17	28	16	32	21	29	24	17
Counselling opportunities from clergy	37	38	41	32	43	38	37	37	29
Retreat and reflection opportunities	31	32	33	16	38	30	35	41	29
Opportunities for religious experience	32	37	34	28	39	30	35	37	42

Footnotes for Chapter VI

1. Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (Free Press: New York, 1965) p.470

2. Durkheim, Op. Cit., p. 474

3. Op. Cit., p. 29

4. Hans Mol, Identity and the Sacred (Free Press: New York 1977) p. 62

5. Religion in America (Gallup Poll, Princeton Research Center 1979) p. 44

6. Mol, Op. Cit., p. 31

7. Ronald Johnstone, Religion and Society in Interaction (Prentice-Hall: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979)p. 133

8. Durkheim, Op. Cit., p. 8

9. Mol, Op. Cit., 52

10. Johnstone, Op. Cit., p. 303

11. Dean Hoge, Commitment on Campus (Westminister Press: Philadelphia, 1974) p. 182

12. Daniel Yankelovich, The New Morality (McGraw-Hill: New York, 1974) p. 58

13. Berkeley Rice and James Cramer, "Comes the Counterrevolution" Psychology Today, Sept 1975, p. 56

14. Religion in America, Ibid.

15. Mol, Op. Cit., p. 262

Chapter VII   Mechanisms of Sacralization

A. Objectification

Mol defines objectification as "the tendency to sum
up the variegated elements of mundane existence, in a trans-
cendental frame of reference where they can appear in a more
orderly, more consistent, and more timeless way."[1] Objecti-
fication is an important feature in the sacralization proc-
ess because it is a device for ordering and digesting the
multiple ambiguities and confusions that cause havoc to the
human psyche.

College students who are trying to form an orderly
conception of reality need reference points that connect
the known and the unknown. They need to find locations out-
side of themselves for points of reference in order to sort
out and assimilate the confusion that is often found within
their own psyches. Religion in the abstract can help them
to do this, but religious institutions which teach an order-
ly and coherent doctrine provide this service also. Stu-
dents are not always able to organize their beliefs objec-
tively and yet realize subjectively that they need something
else in order to find fulfillment in life.

The sacralization mechanism of objectification helps
individuals to respond to and enter into a relationship with
something that lies beyond the empirical, "It is a human re-

sponse at the "limit-situation" - where man breaks through
to some kind of beyond"[2] O'Dea describes these limit situa-
tions as the breaking points that go beyond established re-
lationships and accepted answers to significant questions.

Almost half of the students agreed to the statement,
"Because of His presence, we can know that God exists."
They moved to a level of experience where they could objec-
tify their concept of God as Someone who had an existence in
Himself apart from any attributes they might have subjec-
tively attributed to him.

Individual religious experience is an important di-
mension of one's religiosity. The presence of God can be
experienced alone without support of a community. The com-
munity can act as a reality check for the individual's con-
cept of his personal religious experience, but there should
be less conflict between the individual and the group if
they both objectify their experience of the sacred in the
same manner.

Fifty percent of the Catholics and Protestants
agreed to the statement, "Because of his presence, we can
know that God exists", but only one-fourth of the Jews did
likewise. The experiental dimension of a concept that one
has objectified should increase the attachment of the be-
liever to his chosen system of meaning. The holding power
for students who affirmed the statement was 85 percent as
compared to 15 percent of those who agreed with the state-

ment and are separated from their denominations. More of
the committed affiliates agreed to the experience of God's
presence than the participating, nominal or separated former
affiliates. The nominal affiliates were least likely to
agree with the experience of God's presence, which might ac-
count for part of their nominal stance. It is difficult to
become involved with a denomination that represents a con-
cept which is not part of one's own meaning system.

Two-thirds of the returning students chose the reason
for returning to their denomination as "I missed the contact
with God through Sacramental or Scriptural opportunities pro-
vided by the churches". They expressed a need for this expe-
rience of God to be related to institutional religion. Reli-
gious organizations evolve out of the individual's response
to the ultimate and sacred power. "Such institutional reli-
gious forms express the human answer engendered at the break-
ing points while putting men into ritual relationship with
sacred and ultimate power."[3] However, the number of students
returning (19) was too small to show significant differences.

B Commitment

Another mechanism of sacralization is commitment be-
cause it engenders predictable behavior which in turns makes
for stability and consistency. Mol emphasizes the emotional
dimension of commitment in that he defines it as "an anchor-
ing of the emotions in a salient system of meaning, social,
group, or personal, whether abstract or concrete."[4] Hoge

(1974) says that the term commitment includes both the cognitive and non-cognitive elements. Both, Mol and Hoge, stress the motivating force that commitment gives to consistent religious behavior.

In a study of college faculty religious commitments, Hoge and Keeter (1976) supported Mol's theory in that they associated religious commitment with identity formation.

> "Our study ... points to a rather Durkheimian interpretation of religious commitments, seeing them strongly related to personal identity, sex roles and family tradition. Such commitments are formed during childhood and sustained by non-cognitive forces."   5

The ability of the denomination to forge firm religious commitments would depend upon its ability to answer the identity, meaning and belonging needs of its adherents, along with its ability to forge and maintain its own denominational cohesion.

Both Mol (1976) and Erikson (1959) point to the sacrificial element necessary for commitment. Commitment calls for the sacrifice of one's desires and plans for the good of others. Erikson points to the need of sacrifice in the intimacy crisis that marks the development of the young adult. He claims that commitment to the other person with whom one is intimate requires much self-sacrifice and compromise. However, the young adult must have already achieved his identity formation before he can lay it on the line to be merged with another in marriage, etc. Many college students who are still trying to put their identities together, have not a-

chieved the stability to make firm religious commitments.

Some of the denominations have not formed firm enough corporate identities in order to elicit commitments from young persons. Often denominations themselves are evolving or adapting to modern times and in the process, undergo an agonizing self-analysis. The young person who has tried to gain an identity by adhering to a secure and stable religious tradition is left with only confusion and doubt. If the tradition itself is evolving, the confused individual would find it difficult to predict what he might be as a member. Secure salvation sects and cults with a formed, although rigid belief system, would attract individuals with identity problems because there are no unanswered questions, and rewards are promised for consistent behavior.

However, religion in the abstract sense has always been a motivating force for commitment. Religious motivation in the Judeo-Christian tradition has the added element of transcendence in that the person transcends his own often selfish motivation for the good of another. This motivation appeals to man's aesthetic tendencies and therefore takes on an inspirational characteristic. Dedication, self-control and self-sacrifice have been ideals that have been held in esteem for centuries. Religion advocates these ideals through their embodiment in religious leaders. Psychologists support these ideals by defining a mature person as one with a giving rather than receiving attitude. Religious

motives appeal to the noble in man and therefore elicit a
commitment that represents the total gift of self. The de-
nominations can become the focus of identity for these
worthwhile commitments. These commitments can be nourished
by the meaning and belonging elements of the tradition and
community.

Glock and Stark (1962) contend that commitment is
at the heart of religion. They discuss the dimensions of
religiosity to establish ways in which individuals can be
religious. Their experiential dimension includes direct
knowledge of ultimate reality and the experience of reli-
gious emotion. The ideological dimension encompasses the
beliefs that the adherents are expected to hold. The rit-
ualistic dimension includes the specific religious prac-
tices. The intellectual dimension comprises the basic in-
formation about the tenets of faith and sacred scripture.
The consequential dimension or the practices and influences
on behavior can be used as measures of the religious com-
mitment when they flow from the religious belief, ritual,
experience and knowledge. Many studies have been made
measuring the influence of one or the other dimension on
religious commitment. However when all five dimensions are
considered together, Glock and Stark say that the religious
commitment will be stronger.

Even the behaviorists, like B. F. Skinner, who say
that man does nothing without the promise of reward might

see religion as the most positive reinforcer. The promise
of reward in a future life and happiness in this one is an
appealing motive for behavior. Therefore religious motives
that promise this kind of reinforcement, both immediate and
remote, appeal to the commitment of many individuals.

Students were asked to agree/disagree with the
statement, "Religious commitment gives life a certain pur-
pose that it could not have otherwise." Almost half of the
student body answered in the affirmative. A little over
half of the Protestants and Catholics agreed, but less than
a third of the Jews did likewise. Freshmen were more likely
than the other classes to affirm religious commitments. Pri-
vate school graduates and students with most religious ed-
ucation agreed to the purpose dimension of their religious
commitments.

The holding power for denominations was greatest for
the students who agreed that religious commitment gave life
a purpose it could not otherwise have. More Catholics and
Jews who remained in their denomination agreed to the state-
ment than Protestants who stayed Protestant. However, a
higher percentage of Jews disagreed with the statement than
the other denominations.

There is a 15 percent difference between Protestants
and Catholics who agree to the statement, "Religious Commit-
ment gives life a purpose it would not otherwise have." The
difference between the unsure and disagree responses are

minus five percent each. The average of the three responses
is two percent which seems to account for nearly all of the
12 percent difference between the higher Catholic than Prot-
estant holding power. The fact that more Catholics than
Protestants or Jews who remain in their denomination do a-
gree to the value of religious commitment might indicate
the cohesion provided by shared religious meaning systems
on the part of Catholics.

Table 77: Percentage of students' remaining in and leaving
their denomination responses to the statement,
"Religious commitment gives life a purpose it
would not otherwise have", by denomination.

Students remaining in their denomina-tion.	Denominations								
	Protestant			Catholics			Jews		
	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree
	75	67	58	90	62	53	81	75	76
Students leaving their denomina-tion.	25	33	42	10	38	47	19	25	24
Total	(62)	(41)	(38)	(184)	(93)	(106)	(8)	(4)	(17)

Students living in dorms who are most often exposed
to rival commitments were most likely to agree. Mol (1977;
231) says that pluralistic societies that offer competition
for religious commitments find more adherents than state sup-
ported religions. Students in such a pluralistic environment
must base their choices for religious commitment on voluntar-
ism which in turn promotes a stronger involvement.

Fifty-six percent of the committed affiliates said

that religious commitment gave purpose to their lives. Twenty percent of the participating affiliates and 8 percent of the nominal affiliates did the same. Even 16 percent of the separated former affiliates affirmed the position of religious commitment. It was expected that the committed affiliates would put their belief system into action which was consistent with their behavior and responses to other questions. One of the reasons for the high number of Catholics in the committed affiliates category is the frequency of their church attendance. They must associate religious commitment with participation in group rituals. The rituals in turn strengthen their commitment because they receive the support of the community who are present at public worship.

Table 78: Percentage of students responding to "religious commitment gives life a certain purpose that it could not otherwise have" by denomination and frequency of church attendance.

| | Denomination | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency of church attendance | Protestant | | | Catholic | | | Jewish | | |
	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree
Never	14	12	16	1	7	9	44	66	30
Once or twice year	24	18	48	11	26	33	28	34	46
Monthly	6	35	16	8	18	10	28	0	8
Bi-monthly	10	12	4	13	12	14	0	0	16
Weekly	46	23	16	67	37	34	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=50	N=17	N=25	N=167	N=82	N=69	N=7	N=3	N=23

C. Ritual

Another sacralization mechanism that preserves the identity, meaning and communal dimensions of individuals and society is ritual. Rituals ease the pain for individuals as they progress through time and space categories. Rites "restore, reinforce, or redirect identity."[6] They also introduce the individual into the community while at the same time demonstrating the community's system of meaning. Rituals consolidate the system of meaning by creating an awareness of the past, certainty in the future and confidence in the present.

Religious rituals contribute to the sacralization process by producing a unifying effect. A pattern of ceremonial behavior emerges which expresses the religious life and beliefs of the community. A relationship is established, through a symbolic form of communication which transcends empirical reality. Religious rituals also create an integration within the social structure by identifying the individual with the group. By the assigning of roles and statuses within the community of the faithful, an orderly structure is formed.

"Because religious ritual is oriented to nothing in the mundane world, the observance of it is cardinal evidence of men's distinguishing between the sacred and the profane."[7] Fallding feels that religious rituals are order idealized in that they reflect the great order of the sacred. Religious

rituals help man to bridge the gap between the sacred and the profane, as well as the transitions which occur during his own developmental life. The contact with the transcendent, however fleeting, is a promise held out by all religions. Many adherents to the denominations rely on this promise to be fulfilled at religious rituals. Complaints have been leveled at churches for performing substitute functions of governmental and social agencies. However, the one function that cannot be substituted by another agency is the performance of religious rituals which provide contact with God.

Christians and Jews expect some encounter with God as well as with each other in their religious rituals. Students were asked to agree/disagree with the statement, "Church services provide opportunities for me to encounter God." Forty percent of the students agreed. Twenty-eight percent were not sure, and 32 percent of them disagreed. Almost half of the Protestants and Catholics agreed, but only 10 percent of the Jews. The dorm students were in most agreement with the statement regarding contact with God through religious services and this agreement increased as attendance increased at church services provided by campus ministry. Eighty-eight percent of the students attending ministry services monthly agreed and 90 percent of those attending weekly did likewise. Campus ministry attempts to make these rituals relevant to students and their efforts appear to be effective.

Table 79:   Percentage difference in responses between students attending campus ministry services, and parish church services, and the general response to the statement, "Church services provide opportunities for me to encounter God."

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree
Student body	40	26	34
Students attending campus ministry services weekly	90	10	0
Students attending parish churches services weekly	70	5	25

It is difficult for most churches to have relevant rituals for worshippers of all ages and interests. Campus ministry has the advantage of a homogeneous worshipping group and therefore it is easier to make the services more relevant to students. However, the parishes must be offering some satisfactory rituals to students because the weekly attendees show a high percentage of agreement to the statement that their church services provide opportunities for them to encounter God. Thirty percent more Catholic weekly church-goers than Protestant weekly church-goers were satisfied with their religious rituals. There are no Jews attending weekly services, but only ten percent of those who attend at all agreed that their religious rituals provided an opportunity for them to encounter God. Perhaps the lack of religious experience for Jews through their rituals influences the low frequency of attendance at synagogue services.

Twelve percent of the students chose as their rea-

son for staying with their denomination, "the stimulating quality of religious services." Fourteen percent each of the Protestants and Catholics chose this reason, but only four percent of the Jews did likewise. Students from large and small cities stayed in their religious denominations for the religious rituals or services at a greater rate than urban and suburban students. Students from apartments with roommates, who would be most likely to attend campus ministry services chose the quality of rituals most frequently. Students, whose religious education took place at home, chose this alternative as their reason for staying with their denomination most often. Rituals which are geared to the needs and interests of the participants have a stronger holding power than other church rituals.

Campus ministry encourages students to participate in the planning and executing of liturgies. Students choose themes, readings, music, decorations etc. that are most meaningful to them. The active involvement on the part of the students increases their commitment to the services and rituals. The likelihood of students staying with their denomination because of the stimulating quality of the religious services would be increased for students active in campus ministry.

Twelve students or two percent of the student body returned to their denomination after leaving it because they missed the "spiritual stimulation that church services could

supply." In this small number there was a tendency for seniors, women and Protestants to be over represented. The very fact that students would return to a denomination because they missed the quality of the rituals stress the importance of religious services. Rituals have the advantage of uniting the identity, meaning and belonging functions of religion, an advantage, which is an effective deterrent for apostasy. Good religious rituals also perform the function of uniting the inner and outer person, as well as harmonizing the psychological conflicts present in humanity. Therefore, religious denominations could improve their holding power by increasing the quality of their religious rituals.

D. Myth

Myths explain and interpret reality. Lévi-Strauss (1962) found an amazing similarity between the myths of widely divergent groups of people from various cultures. The purposes and forces in the myths become the underlying symbols of identification embodied in those rituals which integrate the individual into the culture's explanation of life. Mol says that "myth sacralizes by recurrent narration."[8] Baum (1975) agrees with Mol regarding the emotional aspect of myths which appeal to both memory and emotions in contrast to the rationalist's school which stresses the intellectual aspects. The rationalists feel that reason ante-dates myths and therefore supersedes them.

O'Dea says that institutional religion combines the

intellectual and emotional aspects of religion to form its belief system. He then designates the belief system as the intellectual expression of the denomination. "We may divide the intellectual expression of religion into two major modes, the mythic and the rational."[9] O'Dea includes the mysterious elements of religious intellectual expression under myth and the more logical and empirical elements under rational. Baum, (1975) compares the development of doctrine in theology to the ongoing development of myths. Man's interpretation of reality is often subject to change, but Greeley (1973) feels that myths are central to religion and religious institutions.

Myths help to build a religious identity over time, because the truths and interpretations of reality are passed on to generations. The shared beliefs of these truths and the joint interpretations of reality by a group of people call forth a sense of social identity. Behavior flows from this identity as one is expected to act in accordance with one's belief system. This expectation is extended to other people in the denomination who share the same belief system and should result in consensual social behavior consistent with the shared myth.

Although myths provide meaning for life, their truths are often vague and hazy for many college students. They have a sense of identification to their denominations, but their belief systems are not always focused or sharply

committed to memory. After leaving their denominations, most students returned for the reason that "something was missing in my life." Students missed the religious identification provided by their shared myths. Andrew Greeley (1973) feels that unless theology is able to shape more adequate myths for its members, the apostasy rate will be greater.

Sometimes students are unable to accept the entire interpretation of reality offered to them by their denominations. They are able to integrate some of the myth into their lives but not all of it. This ambivalence causes a disharmony that sometimes leads to apostasy. However, some students are able to reorganize their interpretation of reality and return to their denomination. Three percent of the students who left their familial denomination chose the reason for returning, "I found that I was able to harmonize in my life even the beliefs and practices that differed from my church." Parochial school graduates and those educated in religion at home chose this alternative most often. Protestants chose this reason more frequently than Catholics. No Jews recorded this response. There was a positive correlation between frequency of prayer, church attendance, and ability to harmonize in their lives the beliefs and practices that differed from their churches.

Students who are often idealists tend to reject the whole myth when they are unable to accept parts of it.

Greater maturity which occurs with age and personal identity,
encourages a more realistic approach to life and the myths
that form its understanding. Religious myths, which are in-
terpreted through rituals, help form religious commitments
to the denominations. Therefore the denominations that de-
velop plausible myths that appeal to both the intellect as
well as the imagination, will increase the religious identi-
fication of their members.

Table 80:   Summary table of responses to objectification, commitment, ritual and myth.

Percentage of students who	Student body	Denomination Prot. Cath. Jew			Weekly church goers	Pray daily
Agree that because of His presence, we know that God exists	48	50	50	25	68	72
Agree that their faith in God makes them struggle for a new world order	26	25	25	5	32	35
Returned to their denomination after leaving for a while because they missed contact with God through sacramental or scriptural opportunities	2	1	3	0	7	4
Expected from campus ministry lectures on spiritual growth	25	29	26	12	35	33
Agree that religious commitment gives life a certain purpose it could not otherwise have	49	55	54	30	57	62
Agrees that church services provide opportunities for them to encounter God	40	49	47	10	70	62
Stayed in denomination because of stimulating quality of religious services	12	14	14	4	22	21
Returned to denomination because something was missing in their lives	3	4	4	0	4	5

Table 80 Continued
         Summary table of responses to objectification,
         commitment, ritual and myth.

Percentage of students who	Student body	Denomination Prot. Cath. Jew			Weekly church goers	Pray daily
Returned to denomination because they could harmonize in their lives even those beliefs and practices that differed from their churches	3	5	3	0	5	5

Footnotes   Chapter VII

1. Hans Mol, <u>Identity and the Sacred</u> (Free Press: New York, 1977) p. 206

2. Thomas O'Dea, <u>The Sociology of Religion</u> (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966) p.26

3. O'Dea, <u>Op. Cit.,</u> p. 27

4. Mol, <u>Op. Cit.,</u> p. 216

5. Dean Hoge and Larry Keeter "Determinants of College Teacher's Religious Beliefs and Participation" <u>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</u> (15) No. 3

6. Mol, <u>Op. Cit.,</u> p. 244

7. Harold Fallding, <u>The Sociology of Religion</u> (McGraw-Hill: Toronto, 1974) p. 81

8. Mol, <u>Op. Cit.,</u> p. 260

9. O'Dea, <u>Op. Cit.,</u> p. 41

Chapter VIII   Conclusion

A. Comparison between Buffalo State students and other pop-
ulations.

1. The national average.

Buffalo State students resemble the national aver-
age in many ways. In comparing the results of this survey
with the Gallup poll 1979, similarities include:

The national average of persons affirming the im-
portance of religion in their lives was 87 percent. Sev-
enty-six percent of Buffalo State students reported that
religion is important in their lives, which although a sig-
nificant difference from the general population, is identi-
cal to the reports of other college students. (Astin 1977).

Usually the involvement of college students with
religion is lower than the national average. Yet Buffalo
State students surpass the national average of individuals
affiliating with religious denominations by five percentage
points. Eighty-three percent of Buffalo State students
claim present affiliation with a religious denomination as
compared with 78 percent of the national population.

Weekly church attendance is usually a reliable in-
dicator of church involvement. The national average of
weekly church attendance is 41 percent. Buffalo State stu-
dents are not far behind the national average with 37 per-

cent. Catholics on the national level and Catholics at Buffalo State report an identical percentage of weekly church attendance, 52 percent. Protestant students at Buffalo State trail the national average of Protestants by 10 percentage points. Forty percent of the Protestants on the national level attend church services weekly as compared to 30 percent of State's Protestant students. Jewish students at Buffalo State reported the greatest difference from the National average in weekly attendance at the synagogue. None of the Jewish students attend their synagogues weekly as compared to the Jewish national average of 27 percent weekly synagogue attendance. Since Jewish students usually show the greatest drop in synagogue participation during college, these results would follow the general trend.

Regarding frequency of prayer, Buffalo State students and the national average differ considerably, with 89 percent of the nation praying weekly and 71 percent of State students doing likewise. Seventy-eight percent of the State students affirmed a belief in God.which is considerably lower than the national average of 94 percent.

Fifty-two percent of the respondents on the national level said that they would participate in denominational activities if they were invited. Fifty-six percent of Buffalo State students said they would do likewise if an invitation were extended from the denomination. Both sets of responses might suggest some urgent action to clergy and

members of denominations.

Family income is reflected in church attendance patterns. Those most likely to attend church services weekly on the national level are in the annual income brackets of $15,000 to $20,000. Those most likely to attend church service weekly at State are from families of this same annual income bracket, and from $20,000 to $30,000 gross income level.

2. Other College Students.

State students are similar to other college students who fail to affirm the negative influence of college on their religious life. Only five percent of the students left their denominations during college as compared with 16 percent who left their denominations before their college experience.

Buffalo State students were similar to Astin's four million college students (1977) who remained in their denomination. Astin reported an 80 percent holding power for the combined religious denominations and Buffalo State students' holding power was 78 percent. Catholic students at State resembled other Catholic students in that their denomination reported the highest holding power. More Jews than Protestants remained in their denomination at State. Astin reported a higher holding power for Protestants, but he did not take into account quality of membership.

Students with higher intellectual interests suffer the highest departure rates in most colleges, including Buffalo State. The alienated students were most likely to depart from organized religion at both State and other colleges. State students reflect the findings at other colleges which report that the conflict between science and religion has subsided. They also reflect less differences among denominations than between denominations and the non-denominational, fundamentalist groups.

The trend toward sexual permissiveness as reported by Yankelovich (1974) is continuing on State's campus. The nondenominational groups at State display similar qualities to the cults found in other universities in that student members display some dependency needs. Buffalo State students are similar to other college students also, in that they display a tolerance for others' belief systems that is associated with growing liberalism that is usually attributed to college education.

Table 81:   Summary table of comparisons between Buffalo
            State students and the American national aver-
            age reported by the Gallup poll 1979.

Percentage of persons who	National average	Buffalo State
affirm the importance of religion in their lives.	87	76
affiliate with a religious denomination.	78	83
believe in God	94	78
pray weekly	89	**71**
would participate in denomination activities if they were invited.	52	56
attend church weekly.	41	37

attend church weekly by denomination.	Prot.	Cath.	Jew	Prot.	Cath.	Jew
	40	52	27	33	52	0

family gross income of most frequent church attenders.	$15, to $20,000	$15, to $20,000 and $20, to $30,000

B.   Meaning and Belonging Dimension.

The most astounding finding of the survey was that in spite of so many reasons for students to leave their denominations, they still chose to remain in them. Although the holding power is high for the denominations, the quality of commitment varies with each denomination. Jews have more holding power than Protestants, but Protestants have more committed members than Jews. The higher holding power and largest number of committed Catholics seems to be associated with the strong internal cohesiveness of the denomination. Denomination, religious education, sex and age appear to be the most influential variables in determining the degree of affiliation as well as the holding power. Nationality, residence, academic major, family income, education of parents, year and purpose for attending college are less significant.

Increased holding power of the denomination seems to be connected to identification, both personal and organizational. Personal and group identity is associated with stability and continuity. Stability is connected to the identity side of the dialectic of the identity theory. Although Mol (1976) stresses the aspect of religion as a general phenomenon, a practical application of his theory can be made to denominations. Denominations with the highest holding power are those whose internal structures present a unified cohesive identity to their members. Catholics in my

study are more religious in that more of them go to church regularly, more pray daily and have more orthodox beliefs regarding God and church. They are more open to the influence of their religious beliefs on their personal and social moral attitudes and behavior. The smaller amount of Catholic traditional divergence than Protestant or Jews may be related to the greater capacity of Catholic religious authority to impose an international rationale of its belief system on its members. The strong affirmation of the Pope in his recent visit to America by the members of his church, did not always mean acceptance by each person of individual teachings, but it did portray a universal acceptance of the teaching office of the Catholic church.

1. Meaning Dimension.

Factor analysis determined that the meaning questions were related to each other, even though their correlations were low. The index of meaning questions is as follows: The coefficients provided by varimax rotation are:

.69 Stayed with my denomination because I was content with the church's teachings.
.79 Stayed with my denomination because it helped me to make sense out of my life.
.74 Religious beliefs influenced personal moral behavior such as sexual ethics, honesty, etc.
.68 Religious beliefs influenced attitudes towards social justice, such as prejudice, war, civil rights, environmental pollution, etc.
.66 Religion provides me with a code of ethics.
.74 Religion gives meaning to my life.
.64 Religious commitment gives life a purpose it would not otherwise have.

The reason chosen most frequently for leaving and

staying with denominations was discontent and contentment with the church's teachings. Even when determining a reason for returning to a denomination after a period of absence, students chose most frequently their ability to harmonize in their lives the beliefs and practices that differred from their churches.

The meaning dimension of religion is strengthened through increased religious education. Students with the most religious education were the most likely to stay in their denomination. These same students were more comfortable with questions and doubts which indicated a faith level that was built on knowledge. They were better able to incorporate new beliefs into their religious creedal system which indicated a more creative approach to religion. However, there may have been more allowance for flexibility on the part of the denomination.

Three-fourths of the students reported that their religious beliefs influenced their personal moral behavior. Two-thirds of them acknowledged the influence of their religious beliefs on their attitudes of social justice. Over 60 percent said that their religion provided them with a code of ethics.

Half of the students affirmed the meaning dimension of religion by responding that religion supplied this element to their lives. Over half of the students who left their denominations claimed the reason "my denomination did not help me to make sense of my life." Over half of the

students remaining in their denominations responded that they did so for the opposite reason. Religious myths help to make life meaningful by interpreting reality. In order to promote an identification to the denomination, these myths must be plausible to the education, experience and intelligence of the students.

Religious services usually interpret and ritualize the myths. Students chose as their third highest reason for leaving their denominations, "poor quality of religious services." Conversely, the third highest reason for staying in the denomination was the "stimulating quality of religious services." Campus ministry church services that were geared to the interests and involvement of students proved more satisfying to them than their home parish services. The need for meaningful rituals to express the belief or meaning dimension of religion cannot be ignored.

Another dimension of meaning involves religious commitment. Religious commitment appeals to the intellectual as well as the emotional aspects of individuals. Almost half of the students reported that religious commitment gave their lives a purpose that they could not otherwise attain.

Students seem to need the meaning elements that are provided by institutional religion. It had been hypothesized that students would distinguish a great deal between religion in the abstract and religion as an institution. It was expected that students would pray, but not attend church

services. Only nine percent of the students reported that they prayed frequently, but did not attend church. My data reported 71 percent of the students who pray most frequently also go to church most often, which indicates some propensity for institutional religion. However, five percent of the students reported that they attended church, but did not pray.

Another sacralization mechanism is objectification, which also contributes to the meaning dimension of religion. Students need religious institutions to clarify beliefs, develop doctrine and form religious concepts. Their concepts of God, their relationship to God and other members of society are articulated and organized by their religious denomination. On the other hand, students pray more often than they go to churches, which points to the empirical grounding for difference between religion as sacralization and religion as organization.

Christians, more than Jews, were concerned with the meaning dimension of their faith. Therefore it would be especially important for Christian denominations to articulate their belief systems in a manner that would be appropriate to the intellectuality of college students.

2. Belonging Dimension

Factor analysis revealed that the belonging questions were related to each other and distinct from the meaning questions. The cluster of belonging questions that

emerged were as follows: The coefficients provided by varimax rotation are:

.27 Stayed in the denomination because of the strong support from the church community.

.22 Stayed in the denomination because of the sympathetic and understanding attitude of the clergy.

.28 Stayed in the denomination because my parents stayed with the church.

.23 Stayed in the denomination because my peers and friends were members of the church.

.22 Stayed in the denomination because church related activities as choir, or social services were satisfying.

.24 The expectations from campus ministry were an opportunity for fellowship (community) and community action projects.

.38 I find support and gratification in worshipping God with a community of like-minded persons. (This question correlated with the meaning group as well as the belonging group.)

It was hypothesized that the denominations which supplied this belonging dimension through community elements would be most likely to build an identification and thus retain their members.

The need for a worshipping community seemed to be a universal one for all denominations. Over half of the Protestants expressed this desire as well as almost half of the Catholics and Jews. This need for a worshipping community was not limited to the alienated because the dormitory students who should have most access to a communal group chose this reason most often. It would follow that not all communities adequately fill the belonging dimension of religion, or that not all denominations form a cohesive identity.

One of the reasons chosen by students for leaving their denomination was a lack of support from the church

community. This reason affected more Protestants than Catholics or Jews. When asked to choose alternatives for returning to their denomination after leaving for a while, most students said that they felt a lack in their lives as a result of separation from the church community. More Protestants than Catholics or Jews chose to stay with their denominations because of the strong support they received from their church community. It was hypothesized that Jews would stress the communitarian dimension of organized religion more than the other denominations because of ethnic ties, but the hypothesis was negated from the data in this study.

The denominational community was already formed before students became actual members. In order of preference, students chose to stay with their denomination because their parents stayed with the church, their peers and friends were members of the church and the strong support they received from the church community. Most students returned to their denominations after a period of absence because they felt a lack in their lives as a result of separation from the church community. Many students bring their support group with them to church. Over two-thirds of them attend their churches accompanied by friends.

Students exhibited this same desire for community when citing their expectations from campus ministry. Community action projects, opportunities for fellowship and social functions were among the highest choices. Again,

the alienated were not expecting compensation for community
that could not be found elsewhere. Students who were al-
ready active in extra curricular activities were most inter-
ested in community building activities from campus ministry.
Church attendance and frequency of prayer showed a positive
relation to the larger community concerns and issues of so-
cial justice. The nondenominational groups who showed very
little interest in social justice concerns, were the excep-
tions.

However, churches may be losing part of their mem-
bership because of a violation of their stance on social
justice. The holding power of the denominations on women
was 10 percentage points less than men. This was the first
study that I examined where the women, with the same reli-
gious education, socio-economic, ethnic and residential
background as men, showed less religiosity and orthodoxy
than their male counterparts.

Students are becoming more conservative in a period
of political and economic crises. This conservative atti-
tude then increases their concerns for private and familial
groups. Church fellowships and communities could profit
from a period of conservatism by providing comfortable but
at the same time challenging experiences for their members.

Religious commitment is composed of both, the in-
tellectual affirmation of a belief system and the emotional
adherence to a community of persons who share and support

this meaning. However, I am convinced that the meaning dimension has priority for college students. My empirical evidence pointed to a higher percentage of committed affiliates responding favorably to the meaning over the belonging questions. More participating and nominal affiliates responded favorably to the belonging questions.

John Westerhoff (1976) describes four styles of faith that develop sequentially. He calls them experienced, affiliative, searching and owned. Although each one of these styles is independent in itself, it builds upon and incorporates the previously dominant styles.

He describes experienced faith as dominant in childhood where the individual learns through touch and experience to trust parental figures, the world, and God. Affiliative faith occurs during school years where one learns of his or her nurturing community. The individual not only depends upon, but also derives identity from affiliation with the community of which he or she is a part. When faith continues to develop, a period of searching faith occurs which is marked by questioning, experimentation, rebelling against the nurturing community and temporary commitments to various ideologies. The dominance of this type of faith usually begins in the late teen age years. Provided that the needs of experienced, affiliative, and searching faith have been met, owned faith may develop as the predominant style. A personal commitment is consistent with the owned faith stage

which in turn because of the witness value of the commit-
ment, can then strengthen the community.

Westerhoff claims that the process of moving from
affiliative faith to a searching faith to an owned faith is
parallel to the movement from dependence to independence to
interdependence in other areas of life. Therefore taking
leave of active participation in church activities appears
to be part of the process of developing independence and a
searching faith. Late adolescence and young adulthood fit
best in the developmental scheme at the stage of searching
faith. However, the developmental progress to an owned
faith can be arrested at any level. Even after students
depart from their denominations and then return, they can
return with the dependent affiliative type of faith. It
seems to me that the truths of the denominational faith
should provide enough information to allow this faith to
build on reason. In this way the informed faith would em-
phasize the meaning dimension of religion. Then the owned
faith of the adult would exhibit the interdependence that
is identified by the nurture and support of others.

It would seem that more meaning or intellectual
building activities than belonging or affiliative activities
should be undertaken by denominations who wish to retain the
membership of young adults. The affiliative activities and
community consciousness elements of youth groups are neces-
sary for the younger teenagers. However, in order to build

an identification with a denomination, young adults of college age need to find answers to their questions of meaning. They should have already progressed through the affiliative or belonging level to the searching faith stage. Nevertheless, because religious identity is composed of both intellectual and emotional elements, neither religious meaning nor religious belonging can be excluded.

C. Advantages of the Identity Theory.

Durkheim's prediction of the ongoing development of personal autonomy and individualization that would effect the eventual demise of religion is rather dismal (Durkheim, 1951;165). Mol's theory is much more optimistic in that he predicts that the forces of integration and cohesiveness will take precedence over the forces of division and differentiation. (Mol, 1975;266) The future of religion appears much more positive to Mol who is supported by Greeley (1973;261) Lenski (1963;322) and Wills (1978;81).

Greeley insists from empirical evidence that church attendance and religious participation in religious institutions is holding its own. He is supported by the Gallup poll (1979) that said "two indicators show that the religious climate in the United States remains solid:

"Confidence in the church/organized religion remains strong relative to nine other key institutions in American life.
Most Americans continue to place a great deal of importance on their religious beliefs."   1

Lenski underlines the religious factor that influ-

ence·s individuals and then in turn their economic, politi-
cal, educational and family life. Gary Wills claims that
America has always been a religiously inspired country and
present evidence supports this thesis, "America was born a
God-obsessed nation, and continues to be one - a datum that
certain professors find embarrassing."[2] Wills feels that
American religion does not consist of a born again evangel-
ism, but rather a vigorous old age commitment.

Seventy-six percent of the students at Buffalo
State claimed that they needed religion. Only 13 percent
did not affirm their need of religion. Almost 80 percent
of the students believed in the efficacy of prayer. Sev-
enty percent of them felt that God was revealed to them in
nature and through the people and events that come into
their lives. Seventy-eight percent said they believed in
God. Three-fourths of the students said that their reli-
gious beliefs influenced their personal moral behavior and
two-thirds of them said that religion influenced their at-
titudes toward social justice. Buffalo State students re-
flect an optimism toward religion that is similar to that
of Mol.

Their favorable attitude toward religion includes
institutional religion as well. Only 20 percent of the stu-
dents felt that institutional churches were parasites on
society. Forty percent felt that church services provided
opportunities for them to encounter God. Only 16 percent

of the student body said that they never attended church
services. Fifty-eight percent attend services monthly or
more. Almost two-thirds of the students agreed that they
needed an organized church to help them practice their reli-
gion. Very few students were dissatisfied with their cler-
gy.

Mol's theory of Identity that combines both the
disintegrating and integrating forces of religion, seem most
applicable to the study of religious denominations. Stu-
dents strengthen or weaken their identification to these
denominations for many reasons. When examining these rea-
sons, it is important to look at both, the forces rein-
forcing as well as hindering this identification. Denom-
inations should provide a meaningful interpretation of
reality through myths and objectification that are con-
ducted in creative rituals in order to build more permanent
religious commitments.

Footnotes   Chapter VII

1. _Religion in America_   Princeton Religious Research
Center 1979 p.20

2. Gary Wills, "What Religious Revival?" _Psychology
Today_ April 1978, p. 80

Future Research

Once the decision about survey questions is made, there is no turning back. Yet, when all the data are analyzed, it is inevitable that one would have structured one's research differently in order to answer more of the questions which emerged during the analysis. I would like to analyze further the relation between intellectualism and apostasy. If I had asked for the grade point averages of the respondents as well as their scholarship aptitude test scores, I could have constructed a better index for intellectualism.

I feel that most students enter the searching faith stage of their religious development when they try to cope with the problem of evil. In future research, I would ask a question concerning the ability of their denomination to answer the problem of evil in a manner that would prove satisfactory for students.

My questions measured autonomy and independence. However, I would like a more accurate measurement of interdependence. The meaning questions and belonging questions were separated by factor analysis. Some questions, such as "I find support and gratification in worshipping God with a community of like minded persons" showed the influence of both, meaning and belonging in factor analysis. I think that more questions of this nature would provide a fuller measurement of the interdependence that is necessary for an

owned faith or personal commitment.

In future research I would secure more information on the returnees, other than reasons for their coming back to their denominations after a period of departure. It would seem that although their proportion is small,(three percent,) their responses might have indicated a move from the searching to owned faith development. One third of the returnees marked "other" for reasons they would cite for coming back to their denominations. It would have been valuable to receive more information on those reasons. Although the computer could not have recorded written responses, the knowledge of these reasons would have been important to determine whether alienation and deprivation variables are of temporary duration.

I would like to see a replication study conducted to investigate future returnees. It would be interesting to pinpoint the time and situation in which their return to their denomination occurred. A longitudinal study would enable one to investigate the temporary or permanent duration of religious commitments to denominations. However, the anonymity of my questionnaire would make identification of the respondents impossible.

I would be especially interested in finding the reasons for the difference in attitudes toward religion of my students and of Hoge's students in his replication studies. Hoge sampled mostly ivy league colleges where the in-

tellectual and socio-economic levels would be much higher

than a state urban university. However, families from the

highest socio-economic levels and the professions at Buffalo

State did not report much difference in their rather posi-

tive attitudes toward religion than the middle income groups.

At first, I thought Buffalo State students were rather a-typ-

ical, until I compared them with the national average of

college students which they resemble very much. Many of the

studies that reported a decline in religious attitudes were

conducted before the 1950's or during the 1960's or early

1970's. (Hunt and King, 1969; Hoge, 1974; Hoge and Hastings,

1976; Moberg and McEnery, 1976; Caplovitz, 1977). My find-

ings are similar to Hunsberger, (1978) whose recent evidence

reports a more positive attitude toward religion than the

earlier studies. I feel this more positive attitude of col-

lege students is partially explained by their decision at a

younger age to depart from familial denominations. The

negative attitudes toward religion that had been previously

displayed during college have moved to the high schools

where the drop out rate is much greater.

A longitudinal or a replication study would secure

the advantage of determining whether the present historical

times reflect a temporary rise in traditional religious at-

titudes and behavior which is part of a larger pattern. If

this were the situation, then Hoge's finding would be sup-

ported as he found many periods of temporary high and low

religious interest over a fifty year duration.

It would be interesting to further investigate the influence of parents on college students. In future research, I would ask a question regarding parents' church attendance, in order to determine the effects on their children. The students of second generation college educated families seem to remain quite loyal to their religious denominations. A longitudinal study would determine whether this trend will increase. The denominational holding power is least for the lower income and least educated which might indicate the influence of alienation on any commitment.

Alienation could be further studied in investigating more fully the religious attitude and behavior of women. It would be interesting to find out if college women resemble other women in society with their less traditional religious behavior. Again, whether the negative religious attitudes held by Buffalo State women are of temporary duration because of the discriminatory practices of churches, or are part of a growing independence on the part of women in general, remains to be seen.

I would like to find out if the students' affiliation to the nondenominational groups is a permanent or temporary phenomenon An assessment of the role of these groups in the development of the life of the student might help to decide whether their contribution aids or retards the general as well as religious developmental progress of

their adherents.

I would like to devise a better method of determining the quality of the holding power of previous schooling for denominations. The Catholic church spends millions of dollars annually to maintain its parochial school system. Yet the holding power for parochial high school graduates, 75 percent, is less than public high school graduates, 80 percent. When private and parochial high school graduates are added together, the holding power increased to 82 percent because the private high school's holding power is 90 percent. A similar situation exists for parochial elementary school graduates. The holding power for public elementary school graduates is 79 percent for Catholics. Private school holding power is 95 percent and parochial school holding power is 81 percent. The combined elementary parochial and private school graduates' holding power is 83 percent, which although a significant difference, is only four percentage points over the public school graduates. However the Catholic school system is effective in producing more committed and less nominal Catholics. Denominational cohesion is strengthened by the reinforcement of similar teachings and inculcations of loyalty to norms which in turn promote the Catholic identity.

When controlling for church attendance by denomination and previous education, Catholic parochial and private high school and elementary school graduates show a marked

increase over their public school counterparts. Sixty-nine percent of Catholic private school graduates attend weekly church services and 50 percent of Catholic parochial school graduates do likewise. When combining parochial and private school graduates, the weekly church service rate increases to 60 percent as compared to 49 percent for public school graduates. When combining weekly and bi-monthly church services, the parochial and private high school graduates surpass their public school counterparts by eleven percentage points.

A similar situation exists for elementary school graduates. Eight percent more of the Catholic private and parochial elementary school graduates attend weekly Mass than Catholic public school graduates. Twenty-three percent more of the combined parochial and private elementary school graduates attend church bi-monthly than public elementary school graduates.

However, Catholic church doctrine teaches mandatory weekly church attendance and only 11 percentage points separate the combined private and parochial high school graduates from their public school counterparts for weekly church attendance. The elementary school graduates are only separated by eight percentage points for weekly church attendance. Either the Catholic church is letting up on its doctrine of weekly mandatory church attendance or church attendance might not be the most effective way of separating the nominal from the participating Catholics in order to deter-

mine quality of affiliation.

Finally a further investigation might be made into the attitudes of the searching faith students. Do they want help from the churches at this time in their lives or would they prefer to be left temporarily alone? Churches usually expect committed behavior from their young adult members, but do not always challenge them to the growth of an owned faith. It would be helpful to find out from students themselves what kind of support is necessary for them to build an identification to their denomination.

Appendix

General Plan of Research

Six hundred students from the State University Col-
lege at Buffalo answered an 82-item questionnaire which was
administered by their professors in the classroom. The 28
classes were chosen by systematic sampling, i.e. every
twenty fifth class from the Spring, 1979 schedule of class-
es. Of the 876 questionnaires distributed to the professors,
597 were returned, filled out. Those returned blanks were
accounted for, by the professors. Students were either ab-
sent or the professors had miscalculated the number needed.
Faculty research is promoted at Buffalo State and all mem-
bers were most cooperative in the distribution and return
of the questionnaires.

The sample resembled the statistics received from
the registrar's office. The class divisions were as follows:

	Survey Sample	College Records
Percentage of		
Freshmen	34	38
Sophomores	29	23
Juniors	22	22
Seniors	15	17
	100	100
Dormitory Residents	20	20
Residing at home	56	55
Residing off campus		
in apartments	24	25
	100	100

State University College at Buffalo, with an approximate student population of 10,000 is part of the State University of New York. Because the University is State subsidized, it tends to attract more students from the lower and middle socio-economic classes than do the private universities. This factor helps to make the college more representative of the college population in the United States as regards to social class.

Statistics from the registrar's office of the college show that about half of the students are resident students, and half commute from the Buffalo area. Census records from the Catholic Diocese of Buffalo, and the city of Buffalo and its suburbs, show that sixty-seven percent of households are affiliated with a Catholic parish. The religious affiliation of the college is influenced by this factor and shows a large majority of students who claimed affiliation with the Catholic church.

Conscious of the many problems confronting the measurement of religion, I limited the scope to the study to aspects of religiosity that could be measured by frequency and association. I refrained from categorizing the dimensions of religious behavior as intrinsic - extrinsic (Allport, 1960) or nuclear, modal, marginal and dormant Catholic (Fichter, 1967). I neglected the associational, communal, doctrinal, orthodox, devotionalism aspects (Lenski, 1961) or creedal assent, devotionalism, congregational involvement, religious

knowledge, and salience dimensions (Hunt and King, 1972) which concentrated on the multi-dimensional nature of religiosity.

I felt that a descriptive exploratory survey would best serve my purpose. I studied the characteristics that could be measured in a student's background such as year in college, current place of residence, familial home residence, ethnic background, age, sex, elementary and high school education, religious instructions, academic major and religious affiliation, familial and present, in order to determine their influence upon the holding power of religious denominations.

Inquiry was made regarding frequency of attendance at church services, prayer, and church-related functions. Questions were asked concerning the importance of religion in their lives, as well as its influence on personal and social ethics. Students reported on the degree to which they felt college experiences influenced their religious attitudes. Also, students' reactions were sought to questions of religion providing meaning, purpose and community.

The denominations are restricted to Protestant, Catholic and Jewish affiliates. However these denominations are so heterogeneous, that it is possible that many internal variations may be hidden within them. I felt it necessary to subclassify the data by social class as determined by annual income of parents and their educational background.

In this way, I hoped to make comparisons between individuals who are alike in most regards except religion.

The focus of the study concentrates on the leaving and staying behavior in the denominations. Questions are asked regarding the time of change, and reasons for staying or departing. Greeley (1972) says that religious affiliation is a means that people use to determine their identity in that it defines "who they are and where they stand in a large complex society."[1] Therefore I would like to use the results of the survey to explain the forces that build and diminish this religious identification.

Glock and Stark (1970) say that both organizationally and theologically, commitment is at the heart of religion. Their measurement of religious commitment comprised the belief, experiential, practice, knowledge, and consequential dimensions, because they realized that religion is a multiple dimensioned phenomenon. They feel that, historically, the primary concern of all religious institutions is to lead men to faith. Faith can provide the adherents of the denomination with meaning. If a religious denomination hopes to retain its members, it would follow that attempts would be made to strengthen this commitment.

Data cards were punched from the answer sheets and run through the computer at Buffalo State. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for data processing and analysis.

Footnotes   to Appendix

1.   Andrew Greeley, <u>The Denominational Society</u>
(Scott, Foresman: Glenview, Ill., 1972)   p. 41

Appendix

Summary Table of percentage of the Holding Power of religious affiliation by general student body and denomination.

Year in college	Student body	Denomination Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Freshman	81	69	83	100
Sophomore	81	71	86	69
Junior	72	59	77	50
Senior	71	76	67	75
Place of current residence				
Home with parents	86	83	87	87
College dormitory	82	79	83	83
Apartment with roommates	61	53	53	75
Apartment alone	35	38	38	100
Area of familial home residence				
Urban-large city	75	78	72	78
Urban-small city	74	61	82	100
Suburban	81	72	85	78
Rural	68	44	76	100
National background of family				
Polish and Northern Europe	82	67	84	75
Italian and Southern Europe	83	80	84	0
Anglo-Saxon and Irish	75	67	80	0
African and Asian	60	56	46	0
Other	77	68	81	92
Sex				
Male	81	75	83	88
Female	71	58	77	40
Previous High school education				
Public	78	69	80	81
Private	81	0	90	0
Parochial	72	100	75	0
Previous Elementary school education				
Public	76	69	79	80
Private	79	25	95	0
Parochial	80	50	81	100
Previous religious instrution				
Elementary school only	70	52	74	73
Elementary and high school	84	75	85	100
Instruction at home	69	65	71	100
Academic major in college				
Natural - applied sciences	74	53	80	100
Professional studies	81	70	84	93
Humanities and social sciences	75	73	78	67

Appendix

Summary Table of percentage of the Holding Power of religious affiliation by general student body and denomination.

Frequency of church attendance	Student body	Denomination		
		Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Never	45	52	31	64
Once or twice a year	68	57	68	100
Monthly	86	72	91	100
Bi-monthly	92	100	92	100
Weekly or more	91	81	95	0
Frequency of prayer				
Never	36	39	21	75
Special occasions or at church services	87	100	85	68
Once in a while	80	64	86	85
Weekly	82	81	83	100
Daily	85	65	91	100
Number of friends who attend services with respondent				
One	85	69	90	100
Two	98	89	100	100
Three	89	84	93	100
All	85	43	96	100
None	81	82	81	67
Family income annually				
Less than $10,000	69	61	69	100
$10,000 to $15,000	69	50	75	100
$15,000 to $20,000	81	72	75	67
$20,000 to $30,000	82	79	86	67
$30,000 or more	79	71	81	92
Occupation of fathers				
Professional	74	67	77	80
Proprietor or Manager	80	72	83	100
Clerical and Sales	74	67	76	67
Skilled Workers or Service Worker	82	77	84	60
Unskilled worker	73	44	83	50
Occupation of mothers				
Professional	78	68	82	90
Proprietor or Manager	79	62	90	100
Clerical and Sales	82	87	82	80
Skilled or Unskilled worker	71	75	69	50
Housewife	77	56	83	83
Education of fathers				
Elementary school	73	44	87	100
High school	75	67	79	64
Part college	80	82	77	100
College graduate	82	82	82	83
Graduate or professional degree	80	65	88	88

Summary Table of percentage of the Holding Power of religious affiliation by general student body and denomination

Education of mothers	Student body	Denomination Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Elementary school	69	44	76	75
High school	79	72	82	75
Part college	72	67	76	73
College graduate	82	68	86	100
Graduate or professional degree	80	69	78	100
Purpose in attending college				
Securing training and qualification for a career	82	67	86	87
Developing mental abilities and appreciation of knowledge	73	69	76	73
Present age				
18 years or under	89	88	89	91
19 years of age	83	71	88	86
20 years of age	88	85	89	100
21 years of age	71	86	64	100
22 Years of age or more	59	44	65	33
Responds that religion and beliefs in God is a dominant value in life.	85	75	90	77
Responds that religion and belief in God is not a dominant value in life.	50	32	23	40

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Russell and Spilka, Bernard "Committed and Consensual
    Religion" Journal for Scientific Study of Religion
    Fall 1967 Vol. 6 322-339

Allport, Gordon; Veinora, P. and Lindzey 1960 Study of Values
    manual (3rd Ed.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1960

Allport, Gordon The Individual and His Religion
    New York: Macmillan 1953

Argyle, Michael Religious Behavior London: Routledge and
    Kegan Paul, 1958

Astin, Alexander "The New Realists" Psychology Today
    Vol. II (64) Sept. 1977 50-53

Astin, Alexander Four Critical Years SanFrancisco:Jossey-Boss
    1978

Baum, Gregory Religion and Alienation Paulist Press;
    New York 1975

Bellah, Robert "New Religious Consciousness and the Secular
    University" Daedalus 103:110-15 Fall 1974

Bellah, Robert Beyond Belief New York:Harper & Row 1978

Berger, Peter The Sacred Canopy Doubleday ;Garden City 1968

Blalock, Herbert An Introduction to Social Research
    Englewood Cliffs, N. J.; Prentice Hall 1970

Bonjean, Charles M. et al Sociological Measurement: Inventory
    of Scales and Indices San Francisco: Chandler 1967

Brown, Constance and Ferguson, Leonard "Self Concept and
    Religious Belief" Psychological Reports 1968 (22) 266

Brown, L. B. "Toward a Classification of Religious Orienta-
    tion" Journal for Scientific Study of Religion 1964

Brown, L. B. "The Structure of Religious Belief" Journal
    for Scientific Study of Religion 1966 (5) 250-292

Buros, Oscar ed Personality Tests and Reviews Highland Park,
    N. Y.: Grypho Press 1972

Buros, Oscar Seventh Mental Measurement Yearbook 2 Vols.
    Highland Park, N. Y.: Grypho Press 1972

Caplovitz, David and Sherrow, Fred The Religious Drop Outs;
    Apostasy Among CollegeGraduates Sage Publications :
    Beverly Hills 1977

Christian, William A. Jr. Person and God in a Spanish Valley
    New York: Seminar Press 1972

Chun, Ki-Taek; Cobb, Sidney; French, John; Measures for
    Psychological Assessment Survey Research Center
    University of Michigan 1975

Clouse, Bonndell "Attitudes of College Students as a Func-
    tion of Sex, Politics and Religion" Journal of a Col-
    lege Student Personnel May 1973 Vol. 14 260-264

Coleman, James Introduction of Mathematical Sociology
    New York: Glencoe 1964

DeJong, Gordon and Faulkner, Joseph "Religion and Intellect-
    uals: Findings from a Sample University Faculty"
    Review of Religious Research 14 (Fall) 1972   15-24

Demarath, Nicholas S. II Social Class in American Protes-
    tantism New York: Rand McNally 1965

Denzin, Norman Sociological Methods Chicago: Aldine Press Co.
    1970

DiGiacomo, James SS "Why Teens are Church Drop Outs"
    New Catholic World Jan. 1972 21-25

Durkheim, Emile The Elementary Forms of Religious Life
    New York: MacMillan 1965

Edwards, David Religion and Change London: Hodder-
    Staughton 1969

Eister, Allen "Religious Institutions in Complex Societies
    Difficulties in the Theoretic Specifications of
    Functions" in The Social Meanings of Religion by
    Newman, William Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974

Erikson, Erik "Identity and Life Cycle" in Psychological
    Issues New York: International Universities Press 1959

Fallding, Harold The Sociology of Religion, Toronto:
    McGraw-Hill, 1974

Faulkner, Jos. E. and DeJong, Gordon F. "Religiosity in 5D;
    An Emperical Analysis" Social Forces 1966 (45) 246-254

Feldman, Kenneth "Change and Stability of Religious Orienta-
    tion During College" Review of Religious Research
    Fall 1969 Vol. 11 No. 1 41-57

Feldman, Kenneth and Newcomb, Thomas The Impact of College
    on Students San Francisco: Jossey-Boss 1969

Fichter, Joseph S.J. "Sociological Measurement of Religiosity"
    Review of Religious Research Spring 1967 Vol. 10
    No. 3 169-77

Fishbein, Martin ed. Readings in Attitude Theory and
    Measurement New York: John Wiley 1967

Fisher, Seymour "Acquiescence and Religiosity" Psychological Reports 1964 (15) 784-91

Foy, David; Loue, James; Heldman, Lee and Jacobs, Keith "Reliability Validity and Factor Analysis of the Religious Attitude Inventory" Southern Journal of Education Research Fall 1976 Vol. 10 235-41

Fromm, Erich Psychoanalysis and Religion New York: Banton Books, 1967

Freud, Sigmund The Interpretation of Dreams New York: Avon Books 1965

Fukuyama, Yoshio "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership" Review of Religious Research 2 No. 4 (1961) 154-61

Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 30 "Religion in America 1979" Emerging Trends Princeton Religion Research Center Vol. 1 No 3 March 1979

Gallup, George Princeton: Associated Press 1977

Goertz, Clifford The Interpretations of Culture Basic Books: New York 1973

Glaser, Barney and Strauss, Anselm The Discovery of Grounded Theory Chicago: Aldine Pub. 1967

Glock, Charles "On the Study of Religious Commitment" Religious Education Vol. 57 98-110

Glock, Charles Y. (ed) Religion in Sociological Perspectives Belmont: Wadsworth 1973

Glock, Charles Y. and Stark, Rodney Religion and Society in Tension Chicago: Rand McNally 1965

Glock, Charles; Bellah, Robert (ed) The New Religious Consciousness Berkeley: Univ. of California Press 1976

Goertzel, Ted "Changes in Values of College Students"
    Pacific Sociological Review (15) April 1972 232-43

Goode, William and Hatt, Paul Methods in Social Research
    New York: McGraw Hill 1952

Gorsuch, Richard and Smith, Rodger "Changes in College Stu-
    dents Evaluation of Moral Behavior" Journal of Per-
    sonality and Social Psychology 24 (3) 381-91

Greeley, Andrew The Persistance of Religion New York:
    Herder & Herder 1973

Greeley, Andrew The Denominational Society Glenview, Ill.:
    Scott Foresman 1972

Greeley, Andrew The American Catholic New York: Basic
    Books 1977

Greeley, Andrew and Rossi, Peter The Education of Catholic
    Americans Chicago: Aldine 1966

Hammond, Philip; Lipset, Seymour Sociologist at Work
    New York: Basic Books 1964

Hastings, Philip and Hoge, Dean "Changes in Religion Among
    College Students, 1948 to 1974" Journal for the Scien-
    tific Study of Religion, 1976 (3) 237-49

Herberg, Will Protestant, Catholic, Jew Garden City:
    Doubleday 1960

Hites, Robert W. "Change in Religious Attitude During Four
    Years of College" Journal of Social Psychology 1965
    (6) 51-63

Hoge, Dean R. "Changes in College Students' Value Patterns
    in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's" Sociology of Educa-
    tion 1976 Vol. 49 April 155-63

Hoge, Dean Commitment on Campus Philadelphia: Westminister Press 1974

Hoge, Dean R. and Keeter, Larry "Determinants of College Teachers' Religious Beliefs and Participation" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1976 15 (3) 221-35

Hoge, Dean; Carroll, Jackson "Determinants of Commitment and Participation in Suburban Protestant Churches" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1978 17 (2) 107-27

Hoge, Dean and Petrillo, Gregory "Determinants of Church Participation and Attitudes Among High School Youth" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1978 17 (4) 359-79

Hunsberger, Bruce "Background Religious Denomination, Parental Emphasis and the Religious Orientation of College Students" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1976 15 (2) 251-255

Hunsberger, Bruce "The Religiosity of College Students: Stability and Change Over Years at University" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1978 17 (2) 159-64

Hunt, Richard and King, Morton "Religiosity and Marriage" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1978 17 (4) 399-406

Hunt, Richard "Mythological-symbolic Religious Commitment": the Lam Scales Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1973 12 (2) 42-46

Jacobs, Philip Changing Values in College New York: Harper & Brothers 1957

Johnstone, Ronald Religion and Society in Interaction Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1975

Kaplan, Morton Alienation and Identification New York: Free Press 1976

Kelley, Dean "Why Conservative Churches are Still Growing"
    Journal for Scientific Study of Religion 1976 17 (2)
    165-172

King, Morton and Hunt, Richard "Measuring the Religious
    Variable: Amended Findings" Journal for the Scientific
    Study of Religion 1972 8 Fall 246-51

Labovits, Sanford and Hagedorn, Robert Introduction to
    Social Research New York: McGraw Hill 1971

Lazarfield, Paul and Rosenberg, Morris ed. The Language of
    Social Research Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press 1955

Lefever, Harry "The Religion of the Poor: Escape or Creativ-
    Force" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion
    1977 16 (3) p. 225-236

Lehman, Edward, Jr. "The Scholarly Perspective and Religious
    Commitment" Sociological Analysis 1972 33 (winter)

Lemon, Nigel Attitudes and Their Measurement   New York:
    Halsted 1973

Lenski, Gerhard The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study
    of Religious Impact on Politics, Economics and Family
    Life   Garden City: Doubleday 1963

Levi-Strauss, Claude The Savage Mind University of Chicago
    Press 1962

Maslow, Abraham Toward a Psychology of Being Princeton:
    Van Nostrand 1962

McCready, William and Greeley, Andrew The Ultimate Values
    of the American Population Beverly Hills: Sage 1976

McGaw, Douglas "Commitment and Religious Community, A Com-
    parison of a Charismatic and Mainline Congregation"
    Journal for Scientific Study of Religion 1979 18 (2)

Moberg, David; McEnery, Jean "Changes in Church Related
    Behavior and Attitudes of Catholic Students, 1961-71"
    Sociological Analysis 1976 (37) 53-62

Morris, Charles and Small, Linevool "Changes in the Concep-
    tion of the Good Life by American College Students from
    1952 to 1970" Journal of Personality and Social Psy-
    chology (20) 254-60

Mol, J. J.   "Secularization and Cohesion" Review of Reli-
    gious Research 1971 183-189

Mol, J. J.   Religion in Australia Melbourne: Nelson 1971

Mol, J. J.   Identity and the Sacred New York: Free Press 1977

Mueller, Charles and Johnson, Weldon "Socioeconomic Status
    and Religious Participation" American Sociological
    Review   40 785-800   1974

Murray, Charles "The Moral and Religious Beliefs of Cath-
    olic Adolescents" Journal for the Scientific Study of
    Religion 1978 (4) 439-447

National Council of Churches of Christ in USA The Unchurched
    American Princeton Religion Research Center 1978

Niebuhr, H. Richard The Social Sources of Denominationalism
    New York: Meridian Books   1957

O'Dea, Thomas The Sociology of Religion New Jersey:
    Prentice Hall, 1966

Parsons, Talcott The Social System New York: Free Press 1950

Peterson, Donald and Mauss, Armand "The Cross and the Com-
    mune; An Interpretation of the Jesus People" in
    Religion in Sociological Perspective ed. Charles Glock
    Belmont: California, 1973

Piaget, Jean Six Psychological Studies. Translated by
    Anita Tenzer and David Elking Random House: New York,
    1967

Plock, Donald R. "Religion as an Independent Variable: a
    Critique of Some Major Research" in Allen Eister, ed.
    Changing Perspectives in the Scientific Study of
    Religion 1975 . 275-295

Pohier, O. P. Psychologie et Theologie Paris: Editions
    du Cerf 1967

Potvin, Raymond; Hoge, Dean; Nelson, Hart Religion and Amer-
    ican Youth U. S. Catholic Conference Washington D. C.

Religion in America, 1979-80 The Princeton Religious Research
    Center Gallup Poll

Rice, Berkeley and Cramer, James "Comes the Counter-revolu-
    tion" Psychology Today Sept. 1977 56-60

Rosenberg, L. The Logic of Survey Analysis New York: Basic
    Books 1968

Sacks, Howard "The Effect of Spiritual Exercises on the
    Integration of Self Systems" Journal for the Scien-
    tific Study of Religion 1979 18 (1) 46-50

Shaw, Marvin E. and Wright, Jack ed. Scales for the
    Measurement of Attitudes New York: McGraw Hill 1967

Shriner, Larry "The Concept of Secularization in Emperical
    Research" in The Social Meanings of Religion Chicago:
    Rand McNally 1974 ed. by William Newman

Sjoberg, Gideon and Matt, Rodger A Methodology for Social
    Research New York: Harper and Row 1968

Smith, Christopher; Weigert, Andrew; Thomas, Darwin, "Self
    Esteen and Religiosity, An Analysis of Catholic Ado-
    lescents from Five Cultures" Journal for Scientific
    Study of Religion 1979 18 (1) 57-60

Spilka, Bernard and Reynolds, James F. "Religion and Preju-
    dice: A Factor-Analytic Study" Review of Religious
    Research 1965 (6) 163-8

Stark, Rodney "On the Incompatibility of Religion and
    Science: a Survey of American Graduate Students"
    Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 3
    (Fall) 1963   3-20

Stark, Rodney and Glock, Charles American Piety: The Nature
    of Religious Commitment Univ. of Cal. Press 1968

Steinberg, Stephen The Academic Melting Pot, New York:
    McGraw Hill 1974

Stinchcombe, Arthur Constructing Social Theories
    New York: Harcourt Brace 1968

Summers, Gene Attitude Measurement Chicago: Rand McNally 1970

Survey of College Professors, American Council of Education
    on behalf of the Carnegie Foundation 1969

Thurstone, L. L. and Chave, E. J. The Measurement of
    Attitude Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press 1959

Tisdale, John R. "Selected Correlates of Extrinsic Religious
    Values" Review of Religious Research 1966 (7) 78-84

Tisdale, John "Students with Extrinsic Religious Values? A
    Study in Contrasting Groups" Review of Religious
    Research Fall 1967 Vol. 9 No. 1   11-17

Weber, Max The Sociology of Religion Boston: Beacon Press
    1964

Westerhoff, John H. Will Our Children have Faith? New York:
    Seabury Press 1976

Wheelis, Alan The Quest for Identity Norton Co. ;Vail
    Ballow Press 1956

Wilensky, Harold and Ladinsky, Jack "From Religious Com-
    munity to Occupational Group" American Sociological
    Review 32 (August) 1967   541-61

Wills, Gary "What Religious Revival?" Psychology Today
April 1978   74-81

Wilson, Bryan Religion in a Secular Society Pelican Books.
London 1969

Wingrove, C. Roy and Olston, Jos. "Cohort Analysis of Church
Attendance" 1039-69 Social Forces 53 Dec. 1972 324-31

Wuthnow, R. and Glock, Charles "Religious Loyalty, Defection
and Experimentation Among College Youth: Journal for
the Scientific Study of Religion 1973 (12) 157-80

Yankelovich, Daniel The New Morality; A Profile of American
Youth in the 70's New York: McGraw Hill 1974

Yinger, Milton The Scientific Study of Religion New York:
Macmillan 1970

Yinger, J. Milton "A Comparative Study of the Substructures
of Religion" Journal for the Scientific Study of
Religion 1977 16 (1) 67-86

Zeisel, Hans Say It With Figures New York: Harper and Row
1947

Zelan, Joseph "Religious Apostasy, Higher Education and
Occupational Choice" Sociology of Education 41
(Fall) 1968 p. 370-9

questionnaire was designed by a faculty member as part of a doctoral dissertation in the hope that information about religious des and motives of college students would help the Campus Ministry meet more fully the need of college students.

questionnaire consists of four parts: Part I: Demographic information about you and your religious affiliation.
 II: Shifts in religious affiliation.
 III: Influence of Religion.
 IV: Religiosity

ANSWERS SHOULD BE BLACKENED IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE NEXT TO THE NUMBERED QUESTION ON THE SCANNING SHEET.
SE NOTICE THAT THE NUMBERED QUESTIONS ON THE SCANNING SHEET ARE PLACED IN A HORIZONTAL POSITION.
SE LEAVE ALL INFORMATION ON THE TOP OF THE SCANNING SHEET BLANK IN ORDER TO INSURE ANONYMITY.

Part I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

What year in college are you?
  (1) Freshman
  (2) Sophomore
  (3) Junior
  (4) Senior
  (5) Other

What is your current place of residence?
  (1) At home with parents
  (2) College dormitory
  (3) Apartment with roommates
  (4) Apartment by yourself
  (5) Other

How would you describe your area of familial home residence?
  (1) Urban-large city
  (2) Urban-small city
  (3) Suburban
  (4) Rural
  (5) Other

How would you describe your family's background?
  (1) Polish and Northern Europe
  (2) Italian and Southern Europe
  (3) Anglo-Saxon and Irish
  (4) African and Asian
  (5) Other

Your sex:
  (1) Female
  (2) Male

Your previous High School education
  (1) Public
  (2) Private
  (3) Parochial

Your previous Elementary School education
  (1) Public
  (2) Private
  (3) Parochial

Your previous religious instruction
  (1) Elementary School only
  (2) High School only
  (3) Elementary and High School
  (4) Instruction in the home
  (5) None

Your academic major now
  (1) Natural and Applied Sciences
  (2) Professional studies
  (3) Humanities/Social Sciences/Arts
  (4) Undecided
  (5) Not matriculated

What religious affiliation were you brought up in?
  (1) Protestant
  (2) Catholic
  (3) Jewish
  (4) Other
  (5) None

With what religion do you affiliate now?
  (1) Protestant
  (2) Catholic
  (3) Jewish
  (4) Other
  (5) None

Do you maintain affiliation with any of the non-denominational groups?
  (1) Campus Crusade for Christ
  (2) Inter-Varsity Christian Associates
  (3) Pentecostal or Charismatic groups
  (4) Other
  (5) None

How frequently do you attend church services?

(1) Never
(2) Once or Twice a year
(3) Monthly
(4) Bi-monthly
(5) Weekly or more frequently

How often, if ever, do you pray?

(1) Never
(2) On special occasions or at church services only
(3) Once in a while
(4) Regularly, several times a week
(5) Regularly, once a day or more

How often would you participate in church related or campus ministry activities if you were asked to participate in a specific activity that interested you as Choir, Liturgical planning, Social Service activities?

(1) Daily
(2) Weekly
(3) Bi-weekly
(4) Monthly
(5) Never

How many of your best friends attend church services or church-related functions with you?   *(Leave blank if you do not attend.)*

(1) One of them
(2) Two of them
(3) Three of them
(4) All of them
(5) None of them

In how many extra-curricular activities and volunteer work at this campus (including Resident Assistant and Desk Registrant) are you now, or have you been an active member?

(1) None
(2) One
(3) Two
(4) Three
(5) Four or more

How often do you participate in the activities of the Campus Ministry of your group or church?

(1) Once a year
(2) Two or three times a year
(3) Once a month
(4) Once a week
(5) Never

Which of the following is the income category for your parental family? Please consider annual income from all sources before taxes.

(1) Less than $10,000 per year
(2) $10,000 to $15,000 per year
(3) $15,000 to $20,000 per year
(4) $20,000 to $30,000 per year
(5) $30,000 or more per year

Which of the following categories best describes the usual occupation of your father?

(1) Professional
(2) Proprietor or Manager
(3) Clerical and Sales
(4) Skilled Worker or Service Worker
(5) Unskilled worker

Which of the following categories best describes the usual occupation of your mother?

(1) Professional
(2) Proprietor or Manager
(3) Clerical and Sales
(4) Skilled or Unskilled Worker
(5) Housewife

What was the last year of school that your father completed?

(1) Grade School
(2) High School
(3) Part College
(4) College Graduate
(5) Graduate or Professional degree beyond the Bachelor's

What was the last year of school that your mother completed?

(1) Grade School
(2) High School
(3) Part College
(4) College Graduate
(5) Graduate or Professional degree beyond the Bachelor's

Does religion or belief in God play a dominant part in your life?

(1) Yes, it definitely does
(2) Yes, it probably does
(3) Undecided
(4) No, it probably does not
(5) No, it definitely does not

Which one of the following purposes or results of college is the most important for you personally?

(1) Getting the information, training and qualification needed for a career
(2) Develop my potential creative mental ability and appreciation of knowledge and ideas
(3) Help develop moral capacities, ethical standards and values
(4) Develop the ability to get along with a variety of people
(5) Other

26. Your present age
(1) 18 years of age or under
(2) 19 years of age
(3) 20 years of age
(4) 21 years of age
(5) 22 years of age or more

Part II: SHIFTS IN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

If you changed from your original familial religious affiliation to another affiliation or to none at all, when did it occur? *(If you did not change, leave answer sheet blank)*
- (1) Junior High School
- (2) High School
- (3) College Freshman
- (4) College Sophomore
- (5) College Junior or Senior

Some of the reasons that caused you to change religious affiliation may have to do with circumstances within the church itself. *(Darken as many spaces as necessary. Leave answer sheet blank if question does not apply.)*
- (1) Poor quality of religious services
- (2) No support from the church community
- (3) Unsympathetic attitude of the clergy
- (4) Discontent with the church's teachings
- (5) Denomination did not help me make sense out of life

Some of the reasons that caused you to change religious affiliation may have to do with circumstances outside the church itself. *(Darken as many spaces as necessary. Leave answer sheet blank if it does not apply.)*
- (1) Non-enforcement by parents
- (2) Peers and friends were not interested in church activities
- (3) Too many pressures claiming my time as school and part-time jobs
- (4) Saw no need for organized religion in my life
- (5) Other reasons

Some of the reasons for staying with your original or familial religious affiliation may have to do with circumstances within the church. *Darken as many blanks as necessary or leave answer sheet blank if this question does not apply.)*
- (1) Stimulating quality of religious services
- (2) Strong support from the church community
- (3) Sympathetic and understanding attitude of the clergy
- (4) Content with the church's teaching
- (5) The denomination helps me to make sense out of life.

Some of the reasons for staying with your original or familial religious affiliation may have to do with circumstances outside the church itself. *(Darken as many blanks as necessary or leave the answer sheet blank if question does not apply.)*
- (1) My parents stayed with the church
- (2) Peers and friends were members of the church
- (3) Church-related activities as choir, or social services were satisfying
- (4) Organized religion is important to me
- (5) Other reason

After leaving your original familial religious affiliation and then later returning to it, the reasons for returning may have to do with the Church itself. *(Please darken as many blanks as necessary and leave answer sheet blank if it does not apply.)*
- (1) Felt the need of an organized church
- (2) Missed the spiritual stimulation that church services could supply
- (3) Missed the contact with God through Sacramental or Scriptural opportunities provided by churches
- (4) Felt a lack in my life as a result of separation from church community of persons
- (5) Felt that I could accept the teachings and doctrines of the church

After leaving the original familial religious affiliation and then returning to it, the reasons were circumstances outside of the Church itself. *(Darken as many blanks as necessary or not at all if not applicable.)*
- (1) Survived the adolescent rebellion against parents
- (2) Decided that fear of rejection by peers was no longer a deterrent to church participation
- (3) Something was missing in my life
- (4) I found I was able to harmonize in my life even the beliefs and practices that differed from my church (I did not accept the whole packaged deal).
- (5) Other reasons

What are your expectations from campus ministry in regard to institutional religious activities? *(Darken all blanks that apply)*
- (1) Religious church services
- (2) Sacramental and/or Scriptural opportunities
- (3) Counselling opportunities from clergy
- (4) Retreat and reflection opportunities
- (5) Opportunities for religious experience

What are your expectations from campus ministry in regard to circumstances other than institutional religion?
- (1) Community Action projects
- (2) Social Justice concerns
- (3) Lectures on Spiritual growth
- (4) Opportunities for fellowship (community)
- (5) Social function as parties, etc.

How much do your religious beliefs influence your personal moral behavior as sexual ethics, honesty, truthfulness, etc.

(1) Very much
(2) Moderately
(3) Negligible amount
(4) Not at all
(5) Don't know

How much do your religious beliefs influence your attitudes toward social justice as prejudice, war, civil rights, environmental pollution, etc.?

(1) Very much
(2) Moderately
(3) Negligibly
(4) Not at all
(5) Don't know

To what degree do you feel that you need an organized church to help you practice your religion?

(1) Large degree
(2) Moderate degree
(3) Some degree, perhaps
(4) Very little degree
(5) Not at all

To what degree do you feel that your college experiences have influenced your religious attitudes?

(1) A large extent
(2) Moderate extent
(3) Some extent
(4) Very little extent
(5) Not at all

To what degree is religion important in your day to day living?

(1) Very important
(2) Moderately important
(3) Somewhat important
(4) Not very important
(5) Not important at all

Because of the modernization (adaptation to society) and the liberalization taking place in Christian churches, Christianity will play a more important role in the future than in the present.

(1) Strongly agree
(2) Agree
(3) Undecided
(4) Disagree, Christianity is irrelevant
(5) Strongly disagree, Christianity will disappear

If it is not required to save the life of the mother, having an abortion is always or nearly always immoral

(1) Strongly agree
(2) Agree
(3) Undecided
(4) Disagree
(5) Strongly disagree

Some people believe that since the advent of reliable contraceptives there is no longer any sound moral reason why sexual intercourse should be restricted to married couples. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion?

(1) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible only in marriage.
(2) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible only for married or engaged couples.
(3) Undecided.
(4) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for any couple who are in love.
(5) Sexual intercourse is morally permissible for any couple assuming proper precautions against pregnancy.

E DARKEN THE SPACES ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CODE:
(1) **Strongly agree**
(2) **Agree**
(3) **Don't know**
(4) **Disagree**
(5) **Strongly disagree**

do not need religion.

t times I have felt guilty because of my religious upbringing.

feel a growing power to achieve my ideals as I reflect upon the way of God.

eligion has brought me peace of mind.

eligion makes me feel safe and secure.

y loyalty to God is very dependent upon my being with good religious persons.

ligion provides me with a code of ethics.

eligion gives meaning to my life.

never have doubted the teachings of my church.

y church is too strict in some ways.

have given up the idea of God but the old customs still have a pull on me.

don't think that it makes any difference if one is religious so long as he has good will for others.

sometimes feel disloyal to my parents because I cannot accept their religious beliefs.

ometimes religion is the only thing I can rely on.

is hard to reconcile science with belief in a personal God, who is Creator and Sustainer of the Universe.

ly faith in God makes me struggle for a new world order.

o me, God is the constant inspiration and support of the best we try to achieve.

eligious commitment gives life a certain purpose it could not otherwise have.

omen should not preach or lead church services.

am not very interested in the church, but religious beliefs and some form of a Deity are important to me.

o be comfortable with one's belief system, but at the same time to incorporate new beliefs into it, is a sign of a mature person.

believe that prayer is probably just a waste of effort and time.

t times my belief in God has prevented me from feeling hopeless.

ecause of His presence we can know that God exists.

feel secure in the knowledge that God is always with me.

respect any church member's sincere beliefs.

believe that God controls everything that happens everywhere.

think God is revealed in every person who feels and acts unselfishly.

think God is revealed in nature, the people, and events that come into our lives.

wish I could be sure my religious beliefs are correct.

believe in a merciful God, not a punishing one.

believe in God but I find that God helps me when I help myself.

believe that every word in the Bible is the inspired word of God.

think that Institutional Churches are parasites on society.

od is an abstract Force, rather than a Person to me.

find no need for a belief in God or a Diety.

find support and gratification in worshiping God with a community of like-minded persons.

find that Charismatic or Pentecostal fellowship groups are the most meaningful form of expressing my relationship to God.

hurch services provide opportunities for me to encounter God or the Transcendent.