

LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE RELIGION AS DIFFERENT
SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL STRATEGIES

BY

INGRID STORM

BA, University of Oslo, 2005

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology
in the Graduate School of
Binghamton University
State University of New York
2007

© Copyright by Ingrid Storm 2007

All Rights Reserved

Accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology
in the Graduate School of
Binghamton University
State University of New York
2007

May 7, 2007

David Sloan Wilson, Department of Biological Sciences and Department of
Anthropology, Binghamton University

Thomas M. Wilson, Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University

Abstract

In evolutionary theory, the existence of religion has been explained as a behavioral strategy adaptive on the group level. This theory can also be used to account for the differences between religious groups. From an evolutionary and ecological perspective, one would expect different environmental and social factors to result in different forms and degrees of religiosity. Unique data collected using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), where participants report their behaviors and experiences on a moment-by-moment basis were used to examine differences between liberal and conservative Protestant middle school and high school students in the United States. The results show that conservative Protestant youth are generally more satisfied, family-oriented and sociable than liberal Protestant youth, but also more dependent on their social environment, which is reflected in a deterioration of their mood when they are alone. Using an independent set of data, linguistic analysis of sermons and mission statements show that liberal churches refer more to individualism, diversity and nurturance, whereas conservative churches focus more on authoritarianism, unity and obedience. The numerous differences between conservative and liberal Protestant denominations suggest that they cannot be ranked along a single continuum of religiosity from “weak” to “strong”, nor that one is more universally adaptive than the other. Instead they appear to be qualitatively different socio-ecological strategies, both adaptive in a multiple-niche environment.

Acknowledgements

To Dr. David Sloan Wilson, who not only inspired the idea for the research project, but has given invaluable advice throughout the research and writing process. Whenever I was stuck, I always knew a conversation with David would encourage me and give me new ideas on how to proceed. His classes on evolution and human behaviour have also been extremely helpful. Special thanks also for the inspirational interdisciplinary Evolutionary Studies (EvoS) programme at Binghamton University, and everyone who contributed to and supported it.

To Dr. Thomas M. Wilson for very helpful comments and advice, and for reminding me to keep the anthropological perspective in mind.

To the Fulbright Foundation who funded my tuition expenses and provided continuous support throughout my stay in the US.

To Mihaly Csikszentmihaly and Barbara Schneider, who graciously made their database available to David Wilson and his students. This project would have been impossible without their data.

To all the churches in Greater Binghamton who let me record their Sunday services and analyze the sermons.

To Nathan Schmidt for teaching me how to use Filemaker and DataDesk, the software used for most of the analysis.

To Dr. Shalini Shankar for her very inspirational class on language and identity, which inspired me to examine the linguistic aspects of religion.

To my parents, Kristin and Johan Storm for their encouragement and support. Special thanks to my father for inspiring my interest in evolutionary theory and supporting my interest in religion.

To all my student colleagues in anthropology and other departments who have contributed by their support and encouraging conversations. Special thanks to David Gerstle whose conversations on the unification of social sciences and evolution have been very helpful, and to Sarah Walker who was always willing to encourage my research and twice gave me a ride to conferences.

Table of contents

Introduction	1
1. Theoretical background	4
1.1. The social science study of religion	5
1.1.1. Categorization of religion	7
1.1.2. Correlations with other social variables	9
1.1.3. Religious variation	11
1.1.4. Functionalism revisited	13
1.2. Evolutionary theory and the study of religion	16
1.2.1. What is an evolutionary perspective and why is it useful?	17
1.2.2. The religious group as an adaptive unit	19
1.2.3. How does a religion survive?	23
1.2.4. Socioecological niches	26
1.3. Liberal and conservative religion	27
1.3.1. Transmission biases and the conservative strategy	27
1.3.2. The Liberal strategy	30
1.3.3. American Protestantism	31
1.4. Conclusion	33
2. Study of American Protestant youth	36
2.1. Data and method	36
2.1.1. The database	36
2.1.2. Religious categories	38
2.1.3. Statistical analysis	39

2.1.4. Confirming the social science literature	40
2.2. Family values and internal experience	43
2.2.1. Liberal individualism and conservative authoritarianism	43
2.2.2. Happiness and control	44
2.3. Time budgeting and sociality	46
2.3.1. Alone vs. not alone	46
2.3.2. Individual differences	50
2.3.3. Friends and family	51
2.3.4. Stress and independence	55
2.3.5. The more religious they are, the more different they become	56
2.4. Discussion	59
2.4.1. Different experiences of control	59
2.4.2. Anger and authoritarianism	62
2.4.3. Success, concentration and tolerance	63
2.4.4. Whose religion?	65
2.4.5. The importance of religious identity	66
2.5. Conclusion	69
3. Language use in Liberal and Conservative churches	71
3.1. Theoretical background for the study	72
3.2. Data and method	75
3.3. Results of word counts	77
3.3.1. Long and unique words	77
3.3.2. Strictness and authority	78

3.3.3. Use of pronouns	78
3.3.4. Positive and negative emotions	83
3.3.5. Cognitive processes	85
3.4. Sermons	88
3.4.1. Differences in style	88
3.4.2. Complexity, diversity and relativism	92
3.4.3. Simplicity, absolutism and insecurity	95
3.5. Conclusion	101
4. Concluding comments	104
4.1. Limitations and possible criticisms	104
4.2. Future directions	105
4.3. Conclusion	107
Appendices	109
Appendix A: History and theological characteristics of denominations	109
Appendix B: Experience sampling method questionnaire	113
Appendix C: List of websites used in word count study	115
References	122

List of tables

Table 1: Denominational categories and sample sizes	39
Table 2: Religiosity	40
Table 3: Education and class	41
Table 4: Family values	44
Table 5: The Future	44
Table 6: General ESM results	45
Table 7: Differences between individuals when alone and not alone	51
Table 8: ESM time budgeting	54
Table 9: Default dictionary word count	87
Table 10: Self-defined dictionary word count	87

List of figures

Figure 1: Time spent alone	47
Figure 2 (a-f): Alone vs. not alone	48-49
Figure 3: Time budgeting	52
Figure 4: Stress and independence	56
Figure 5: Religiosity and family values	57
Figure 6 (a-c): Liberalism scale	58

Introduction

This thesis compares liberal and conservative Protestantism from an evolutionary perspective. Its main objectives are to study the correlations between denominational background, social variables and family values and attitudes about the future as well as day-to-day experience in a variety of social situations.

In the existing social science literature, strong correlations have been found between liberal and conservative religion and socioeconomic class, educational levels and a number of other social variables. Liberals are generally found to be wealthier and more educated, but less religious than conservatives. Psychological research has described religious liberalism and conservatism as different cognitive and moral systems, correlated with different political ideologies, family values and child rearing methods as well as different styles of reasoning and decision making. Briefly summarized, conservatism is characterized as authoritarian, and liberalism as individualistic. In order to create a unified theory of liberal and conservative religion, I bring to these bodies of scholarship the perspective of cultural evolution. Following David Sloan Wilson's (2002, 2005) evolutionary approach to religion, I propose that evolutionary theory should be able to explain not only the existence and adaptiveness of religion, but also its cultural diversity. The main hypothesis of this thesis is thus that variants of religion in general and liberal and conservative Protestantism in particular may be seen as qualitatively different strategies for the survival and reproduction of the religious group. These strategies may both be adaptive, but to different niches in the environment.

The main study was done with an existing database from a nation wide study of middle school and high school students. Teenagers are particularly well suited for an evolutionary study of religion as the experiences of this age group are particularly important to the future survival and transmission of a religion. Parts of the data were collected using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM). This method, where participants are prompted at random intervals to fill out short questionnaires, allows one to separate and compare data from the same individuals in different social situations. Due to the higher value placed on individualism in liberal denominations, I hypothesized that the conservative teenagers would be more affected by their social surroundings than the liberals, and display a greater variation in emotional experience according to who they were with. This hypothesis was supported by the data. In addition I found that the differences between the denominational groups could not be attributed to levels of religiosity alone, but must be seen in context with the overall values and identifications of the denominational category.

To substantiate my findings with a different set of data, an additional study of language use in churches was conducted by collecting and analyzing mission statements from the internet and recording sermons from local churches. My hypotheses that the language of liberal churches would refer more to individualism and diversity, whereas the conservative churches would emphasize authoritarianism and unity were supported by both the word count of mission statements and the qualitative analysis of sermons.

The thesis has three main parts. In the first theoretical section, I introduce the multidisciplinary background to the evolutionary study of religion in general and liberal and conservative Protestantism in particular. The second part of the thesis concerns the methods, results and discussion of the main study of Protestant American school students.

The third part presents the study of language use in Protestant sermons and mission statements. Finally, I will end with some general discussion and concluding remarks.

1. Theoretical background

In this comparative study of Protestant denominations in the USA religion is studied from an evolutionary and ecological perspective. This approach entails viewing different religious cultures as analogous to different species in a multiple niche environment. Human behavioural and cultural diversity are in other words explained in the same way as biological diversity, as different ecological strategies. “Because there is no single best strategy for all situations, a mix of strategies will be maintained in the population” (Wilson and Csikszentmihaly, 2007: in press). I suggest that liberal and conservative Protestantism may exemplify such different strategies adapted to different social situations and environmental conditions. This perspective will be described in more detail in this chapter, but it should be noted that the term “strategy” is used as an ecological concept without implying anything about individual consciousness of the possible adaptiveness or strategic advantage of the religious behaviour.

In this theoretical introduction I will first present a more general overview of the study of religious variables in the social sciences, including a brief discussion of religious categories, correlations with other variables, religious variation and the functionalist approach. The second part of this section concerns the study of religion from an evolutionary perspective, religion as a possible adaptation, and the survivability of religious variants. In the third part I show how liberal and conservative religion may be interpreted as strategies for survival and cultural transmission. In order to situate the study

within a historical and geographical framework, I will also briefly present some of the historical particularities of American Protestantism.

1.1. The social scientific study of religion

The topic of this thesis is the social and cultural phenomenon or group of phenomena commonly classified as religion. Religion as an area of research has been of profound importance to the development of the social sciences, and continues to be of great interest to current scholars. However, for many the focus has shifted away from Émile Durkheim (2001 / 1912) and Max Weber's (1993 / 1922) inquiry into the ultimate meanings and functions of religious belief and practice. Instead the study of religion has moved towards "an enquiry into the way in which religious beliefs and thoughts are structured and expressed" (Lessa and Vogt, 1979: 3) as well as more typological treatments of religion as a social variable among others.

In the field of anthropology, religion as a subject area has in many ways become marginalized. One explanation may be that as increasing amounts of ethnographic fieldwork are conducted "at home" in western and metropolitan rather than tribal settings, anthropologists find themselves in competition with other social scientists (Glazier, 1997: 3). The sociology of religion is still a thriving field, and the topics of current research include religious demographics, secularization, spirituality and multiculturalism. Nevertheless, with the notable exception of evolutionary and cognitive anthropology (Sosis, 2000; 2006; Boyer: 2001) and economic market-theory (Stark and Bainbridge, 1997; Stark and Finke, 2000; Iannaccone: 1994), few anthropologists and sociologists are currently attempting to explain the existence and possible functions of religious phenomena. Since the general rejection of structural-functionalism after the Second

World War, social scientists and particularly cultural anthropologists have largely analyzed religion with a focus on individual agency (Moore, 2003: 15). Furthermore, with the move towards reflexivity in the last decades of the 20th century, the agency of the anthropologist herself is increasingly scrutinized within the same framework as that of the informants, creating new ways of interpreting subjectivity and religious identification (2003: 15; see for example Harding, 2001). Led in part by a feminist critique of false dichotomies, many anthropologists have also attempted to move away from “artifactual distinctions such as that between biological and social facts” (Franklin, 1995: 169). This has primarily been done through cultural studies of science, but I would argue that the reverse, that is scientific studies of culture, should be just as worthwhile.

In this study, I attempt to reintroduce some of the fundamental questions about the general phenomenon of religion through asking some more specific questions about a sample of Protestant youth in the USA. My work follows anthropology in that it makes an attempt at deconstructing the boundaries between biology and culture and emphasizes the importance of cultural diversity. While thus realizing the importance of individual particularities and historical, political and geographical context, I also propose a revival of “functionalism” and reintroduction of the religious group as a unit of analysis. My findings indicate that religion not only has a strong effect on the experience and behaviour of teenagers, but also that these effects are profoundly different depending on the person’s particular religious denomination. Before introducing the results, however, let me first explain some of the theoretical issues involved in categorizing and studying religion.

1. 1. 1) Categorization of religion

Existing categorizations of religion, and of Protestant denominations in particular, often assume that different religious traditions can be aligned along a single continuum, from weak to strong. An example of this is T. W. Smiths (1990) liberalism-fundamentalism scale, the most widely used classification scheme for survey research (Steensland et. al., 2000: 291). That is, conservative Protestants are often assumed to be *more* religious than liberal Protestants. The alternative, to treat religiosity as a nominal rather than an ordinal variable, “guards against mainline Protestantism being treated as a diluted form of orthodoxy” (2000: 295). At the same time, employing a purely nominal taxonomy requires an alternative conceptualization of the differences between religious denominations. When this is lacking, it may be unclear which criteria for classification is relevant for any particular analysis of denominational affiliation.

In contrast, I suggest applying an evolutionary or ecological framework of analysis, in which different denominations and traditions are understood as qualitatively different “cultural species” in a multiple-niche environment. The advantage of this approach, which will be outlined below, is that it allows for religious traditions to be conceptualized as qualitatively different without necessarily being ranked as stronger or weaker than each other. At the same time, I do recognize the advantage of classifying denominations ordinally, and I have based my denominational categories on a conservative-liberal continuum put forward by Iannaccone (1994). Religious variants such as liberal and conservative Protestantism may be seen as analogous to species distributed along gradients of resources and habitat complexity. On the one hand they can be ranked quantitatively along a continuum, but on the other hand their ecological strategies are qualitatively different. I am in other words not suggesting a new

classification scheme for religious denominations. Instead I am advocating a new way of understanding existing categories as multidimensional and simultaneously ordinal on some dimensions and nominal in others.

Iannaccone (1994) identified a strong positive correlation between denominational growth and the “strictness” of religious denominations. The strictness and demands of the denomination also correlated strongly with the levels of religiosity and church attendance of its members. With the help of 16 experts, he rated 16 Protestant denominations on a series of scales measuring strictness, and based on this grouped them into four categories, which he referred to as 1) liberal mainline, 2) moderate mainline, 3) conservatives and evangelicals and finally, 4) fundamentalists, Pentecostals and sects. The original scale (Hooge and Roozen, 1979) was developed by 21 experts fifteen years prior to Iannaccone’s replica survey, but the ranking remained unchanged, with an “astonishing .99” correlation between the 1979 and 1994 scales (Iannaccone, 1994: 1191). The reliability of the denominational scores was more than .98 (1994: 1191). My hypothesis is that these denominational groups are qualitatively different with respect to cultural strategies, and that affiliation with each of them will be reflected in the moral values, behaviours and experiences of the respondents in my sample. Based on the social science and psychology literature mentioned above, I expect conservative Protestants to display a greater reliance on external rules and authorities than liberal Protestants, who I expect to show greater levels of individualism.

My reason for using denominational affiliation as the variable to distinguish between different Protestants, is that I wish to capture the respondent’s cultural background in a religious tradition rather than their current individual commitment to that religion. I recognize that this variable is a potentially problematic one as it does not

capture the great amounts of variation on a number of other religious and social variables within each denomination. Wuthnow (1988: 221) describes the split between conservatives and liberals within each denomination as frequently greater than between denominations. Stark and Bainbridge (1997) similarly hold that while denominations are decent indicators of religiosity, “(t)here is no point in using proxy variables when direct variables are available” (1997: 71). However, I justify my choice of variable with the idea that what matters in an adaptive group is not just individual level of religiosity, but the entire ethos of moral values and behavioural codes. As my results will show, membership in a denominational category and individual level of religiosity are both important variables, but measure quite different things, and thus one cannot easily be substituted for the other. If different denominations are to be seen as different strategies corresponding to different niches in the social environment, I predict that high degrees of religiosity within each denominational culture will have different outcomes.

1. 1. 2) Correlations with other social variables

Religiosity and denominational affiliation have been found to correlate with a number of other demographic variables including gender, age, race, education, socioeconomic status, income, geographic location, political party affiliation, and opinions and attitudes on a number of social issues (see for example Greeley and Hout, 2006; Gunnoe and Moore, 2002; Stark, 2002). That religion should influence and be influenced by these other aspects of human life should come as no surprise. However, the specific patterns of correlation that have been found are interesting for the purposes of understanding possible functions that religion may serve. While there are important exceptions, religiosity is generally found to be negatively correlated with education, income and social status.

Despite a general agreement about such results, the reasons for and even the causal relations in these correlations remain unresolved.

One of the most intriguing attempts to make sense of these patterns comes from political scientists Norris and Inglehart (2004). They identified strong correlations between degrees of religiosity and socio-economic variables such as levels of poverty, unemployment, education and economic equality in a large number of countries, based on analyzes comparing 191 nations worldwide from the longitudinal World Value Survey. On the basis of their results they postulate a theory of religion as a reaction to vulnerability and threat. A key concept in their theory is “existential security”, which they define as “the feeling that survival is secure enough that it can be taken for granted” (2004: 4). While this is admittedly a difficult concept to measure in large scale survey data, they do find evidence that people who experience direct threats to their own life or the lives of their families and communities during formative years “tend to be far more religious than those who grow up under safer, comfortable and more predictable conditions” (2004: 5). That this correlation is significant on a global scale as well as within most countries and regions, is a strong indication that existential security is of considerable importance in understanding religiosity and secularization. Norris and Inglehart intended their study partly as a contribution to the sociological debate about secularization, and point out that a decline of religion is far from universal. While secularization in almost all senses of the word has indeed taken place in most advanced industrial nations in pace with a higher standard of living, “the world as a whole now has more religious people than ever before” (2004: 5). The reason they suggest for this variation and growing polarization of religion, is that religiosity and secularism are linked to different “survival strategies” (2004: 23). It should be noted that the word “strategy” is

used loosely, about aggregate demographic trends rather than conscious decisions on the part of individuals. Rich secular societies produce fewer people, but more is invested in each individual, so that survival into adulthood is almost guaranteed. In contrast, poorer traditional societies have higher fertility rates, but they also have high infant mortality rates and overall death rates. (2004: 23). If religion is to be seen as a reaction to existential insecurity, one would expect rates of religion to be much higher in societies associated with the second “strategy” of higher fertility and mortality rates, and one would also expect religiosity to be declining in societies of the first type where it would be increasingly less relevant. These are precisely the trends supported by the World Value Survey data (2004). What remains to be explained is what it is about religion that would make it such a popular response to existential insecurity. I will make an attempt at answering this question by appealing to evolutionary theory, but first let me sketch out some important points about religious variation.

1. 1. 3) Religious variation

So far, I have treated religion as if it were a single phenomenon, and a single “strategy” in opposition to secularism or non-religion. However, this is clearly an oversimplification of what is better described as a myriad of different complex phenomena of both individual and social character. First of all the sheer number of different religious traditions and the variation between them complicates any “general” analysis. This is perhaps made particularly difficult because the differences lie not only in the practices and beliefs themselves, but also in the relative value put on each of these. For example one common problem in comparative religion is how to measure religious participation in a way that is comparable across traditions.

In my analysis I have circumvented some of these difficulties by focusing solely on Protestantism in the United States. But even within a “single” religion, different traditions abound, and American Protestantism is anything but homogenous. My analysis focuses on a comparison between different denominations. By grouping these denominations together into categories of “liberal” and “conservative”, I have simplified the analysis in order to make some generalizations about possible different adaptive strategies *within* a religion. Just as religiosity and secularism can be described as being suited to different social, cultural and environmental situations, and thus can be found to correlate with different socioeconomic variables, so I hypothesize that different variants of one religion are adapted to different sociocultural niches in human society. I am not the first to employ this concept in the study of religion. Stark and Finke (2000) introduced the concept of religious “niches” in their economic model of religious pluralism, and defined them as “market segments of potential adherents sharing particular religious preferences” (2000: 195).

Since this is ultimately a question of different strategies of survival and reproduction of the religious adherents as well as the religion itself, I will explore this concept further, using theories about cultural evolution. It should be emphasized that I use the term “cultural evolution” in the sense of cultural change taking place due to a process of selection, and *not* as a theory of progress or advancement in culture. The idea that religions may be adaptive strategies has as a fundamental premise that religion may serve a function. Describing any cultural system as “adaptive” thus requires at least a partial revival of functionalism.

1. 1. 4) Functionalism revisited

The legacy of functionalism as a theoretical approach in anthropology and sociology is ambiguous. On the one hand, its early history is associated with great advancements in both methodology and knowledge. On the other hand, it has been largely rejected in the second half of the 20th century primarily on the ground that it fails to account for cultural change and individual agency. However, I argue that functionalism in the broader sense has explanatory power beyond how it has been used by the early ‘functionalists’, and that an evolutionary and ecological functionalist approach can be used to account for cultural diversity and change.

The search for functional interpretations of cultural practices may be seen as the most important motivation for the earliest modern studies of social life. There are two main schools associated with early functionalism (McGee and Warms, 2004: 154). The psychological functionalists emphasized the way in which cultural institutions worked to fulfil basic human psychological and physical needs. For example, Malinowski explained the existence of myth in the following way:

Myth fulfills in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization (Malinowski, 1954/1926: 101)

The structural functionalists such as Radcliffe-Brown on the other hand focused on discovering social laws for the underlying structure and organization of societies. For

example good deal of ethnographic and comparative study was concerned with kinship structures and alliances.

After the Second World War, functionalism, and structural functionalism in particular, gradually lost its appeal. In its place emerged an increased focus on individual agency as well as symbols and meaning, as in Clifford Geertz' (1976) interpretative anthropology and Victor Turner's (1995 / 1969) analysis of ritual, The primary explanation for the failure of functionalism was an increased recognition among scholars of the complex, fragmented and continually changing nature of social life and cultural behaviour. The enormous political and cultural transformations brought on by the war and decolonization made laws of stability and social equilibrium seem less relevant to the observed data. The rejection of functionalism is thus understandable, but was it justified? In this study I advocate a return to a new kind of "functionalism" informed by evolutionary theory, on the following grounds.

A focus on stability and social laws was indeed a prominent aspect of the theoretical tradition of functionalism. However, an attempt to get rid of the anomaly between the empirical and theoretical does not really necessitate an outright rejection of the entire approach. As David Sloan Wilson (2002) points out, "Functionalism wasn't falsified; it merely went out of fashion." (2002: 83) The recent advances in evolutionary theory may be a foundation on which to build a new and improved functionalist approach. Indeed, if by functionalism one understands a search for social functions in culture, it is very possible to imagine that functionalism could be used to account for both stability and rapid change, homogeneity and diversity. In my use of the functionalist approach, all that is required is evidence in favour of interpreting cultural developments and complexities as functional for groups or individuals in their environment. In other words, from an

evolutionary or ecological “functionalist” perspective, one should precisely expect war and political upheaval to bring about change in all aspects of social and cultural life. Social practices unable to change and adjust to new contexts would be less than functional, and would likely be replaced by other kinds of behaviour. That said, I am not advocating the view that every single cultural trait is necessarily functional or adaptive. Such a view would be very misleading. What I *am* arguing is that the functionalist hypothesis should be tested in each instance before it is rejected, and evolutionary theory may assist in this.

Anthropologist Richard Sosis (2000, 2003, 2006) has conducted precisely these kinds of empirical studies to test his and Irons’ (2001) functionalist hypothesis that religion fosters intragroup cooperation and trust. Sosis argues that religious adherents, regardless of whether they are conscious of it or not, signal commitment to the group through religious custom such as ritual and dress. What makes his argument convincing however, is not primarily its theoretical appeal, but rather its support in empirical data. For example, a survey of religious and secular communes during the 19th century shows that religious communes were between two and four times more likely to survive than secular ones at every stage of their life course (Sosis, 2000: 77). A follow up study (Sosis and Bressler, 2003) showed that costly signaling (e.g. dietary restrictions) increased the likelihood of survival for religious communes, but not for secular communes, suggesting that costliness is a necessary but not sufficient condition for religion to promote solidarity and cooperation (2003: 227). This is just one example of how the validity of functionalist interpretations about religion can be tested empirically.

1. 2. Evolutionary theory and the study of religion

Regardless of what functional theories one accepts and rejects, it must be acknowledged that the very existence of religion demands some kind of explanation. One might wonder how and why it originated, and indeed how and why it survived, changed, diversified and spread, or to put it more simply – how it evolved. Evolutionary studies of human behaviour is a rapidly expanding field, and provides a promising theoretical framework for the study of religion. Unfortunately, and in spite of its explanatory power, the use of evolutionary theory as a tool for studying social and cultural phenomena is often contested on the grounds of its historical legacy. Past theories of cultural evolution are justly accused of a naïve understanding of culture, failed assumptions about technological and moral progress and unfortunate affiliations with racial theories and eugenics. Nevertheless, as with functionalism, I see little reason to throw the baby out with the bathwater. Thus I regard it as a primarily positive development that recent years have seen a great upsurge in evolutionary studies of human behaviour and psychology. There are at least two reasons why evolutionary theory can advance the study of culture. Firstly, the study of human culture is incomplete if one does not acknowledge humans as physical beings, part of the animal kingdom, and subject to many of the same laws of nature, including evolution by natural selection. Secondly, human cultural behaviours are *themselves* shaped by evolutionary mechanisms such as selection, heritability and adaptation. Without understanding these processes, it is difficult to account for such questions as why some religions survive while others are discarded (Richerson and Boyd, 2005: 4).

1. 2. 1) What is an evolutionary perspective and why is it useful?

Evolutionary theory is a holistic theoretical framework that attempts to account for the existence of physical and behavioural traits by reference to Darwinian processes of selection, adaptation and survival. As such, “evolution” may be seen as an accounting system that includes all kinds of change. Thus it is not sufficient to claim that a trait is a product of evolution, since this is in some way true of all traits. Rather, one must introduce meaningful subcategories by differentiating between adaptations and non-adaptations, individual level selection and group-level selection. In so doing, one can create competing hypotheses that can be tested against each other.

In taking an evolutionary approach to a cultural trait such as religion, one must first review the alternative hypotheses about how religion evolved. In other words, studying it from an evolutionary perspective does not require seeing it as an evolutionary adaptation. It is also possible to regard it as a byproduct of some other adaptive trait. Many cognitive anthropologists, for example, view religion as a byproduct of the way the human mind works. Particularly they regard the idea of gods as a byproduct of an adaptive natural tendency to look for causal links and ascribe agency (see for example Atran, 2002; Boyer, 2001). Even if one holds that religion is likely to be an adaptation, it does not follow that it is currently adaptive. For example, it is possible to imagine it as having served an important function in our evolutionary history that is no longer relevant due to changes in the environment or in other cultural behaviours. An example of such a trait is our sweet tooth, which would be useful for getting the nutritious benefits of fruit as hunters and gatherers, but is less ideal in an environment abundant with ice cream and chocolate cake. In a similar fashion it is possible to regard religion as adaptive in some current environments and situations, but not in others.

There is also more than one way that religion could be seen as an adaptation. One option is that it could be seen as an individual level adaptation. By this I mean a trait that benefits individuals who have the trait and make them survive and reproduce more efficiently than those who lack the trait. In order to argue this, one would have to find evidence that religious people have higher survival and reproduction rates on average than non-religious people within the same group. The second possibility is that religion may be seen as a group-level adaptation. Wilson (2002, 2005) argues that selection on the group level has been an important force in the evolution of religious behaviour. The distinguishing point of this theory is that it treats social groups as adaptive units. Thus, according to this view, religious individuals do not necessarily have higher fitness than non-religious individuals within groups, but religious *groups* of individuals may still have better chances of survival than nonreligious groups due to the way in which religion makes the group function as a unit. An example that may be used to understand the distinction between an individual adaptation and a group adaptation is the case of altruism. In a classic economic game such as the Prisoner's dilemma, individual players who are altruistic and cooperative, will always lose to non-cooperative cheaters and defectors. However, if separated into different teams, groups of altruists will fare far better than groups of non-altruists, simply because they help rather than hurt each other within the group (Sober and Wilson, 2003: 80-82). Lastly, religion may in itself be seen as an adaptive unit subject to cultural evolution. According to this view, advocated recently by Dennett (2006) and Dawkins (2006), religious beliefs and behaviours do not survive because they enhance the fitness of human individuals or groups, but self-replicate solely for their own benefit, like "cultural parasites" (Dennett, 2006: 84).

With such a complex phenomenon as religion it is of course also possible that different explanations are required to account for different aspects of religion. For example, it is very probable that the cognitive anthropologists are right in pointing out that the common religious belief in supernatural agents may be a byproduct of our adaptive cognitive processes. Nevertheless, this explanation does not account for the social and moral aspects of religion, and thus it needs to be supplied with additional explanations.

Still skeptics might enquire as to what exactly evolutionary theory contributes to a study of religion. What, for example is the difference between socio-ecological niches and simple cultural variation? The main point to make is that all the aforementioned evolutionary hypotheses can to some degree generate testable predictions about the very *raison d'être* of religious belief and practice. Despite a reluctance to add new terms to the already abundant collection theoretical concepts in the social sciences, I do believe that the incorporation of evolutionary theory into the study of religion is an important step towards a holistic study of culture. Particularly significant in this regard is the way it encourages a view of culture in terms of adaptability, heritability and survival. These are qualities that normally receive remarkably little attention in the social sciences although most would agree that that they by definition are necessary for the very existence of cultural traditions and groups.

1. 2. 2) The religious group as an adaptive unit

The evolutionary hypothesis advanced by Wilson (2002; 2005) explains religion as an adaptive cultural system that has been favoured by multilevel natural selection largely operating at the group-level. Through studies of theological, historical, ethnographic and

sociological scholarship, religion is shown to enhance communication, trust and cooperation, thus benefiting the community of believers as a whole. The main idea is that religion has been selected for in our evolutionary history primarily because members of religious groups *on average* had a fitness advantage over members of non-religious groups. By enhancing altruism and social control within the group and promoting reproduction, religion may promote cooperation among its members to such a degree that it makes religious societies function better as organic units than societies less influenced by religion. Wilson (2005) tested his hypothesis with a random sample from Eliade's (1987) Encyclopaedia of Religion and found that most of the religions, even those that initially seemed to promote dysfunctional and unhealthy individual behaviours such as ascetism, in some way contributed to the welfare of the group as a whole.

This theory employs a metaphor of religion as a “social organism” that is reminiscent of Herbert Spencer's analogy of human societies from 1860 (Spencer, 1981/1860). While such a view may seem outdated and irrelevant, considering its disregard for individual agency and the so-called “imponderabilia of actual life” (Malinowski, 1984/1922: 18), this is reason only to reject it as a complete and ultimate account of religion. As a model to understand the possible adaptive properties of religiosity however, it may still hold water. It is instructive moreover, that biological metaphors are very often used by religious groups themselves to promote and legitimate their social activities and sense of community. For example:

Quartz Hill Community Church desires to be a dynamic spiritual organism empowered by the Holy Spirit (Quartz Hill Community Church, 2007)

Church should be a living-breathing organism not a sterile 'organization'. We are a fellowship where people are connecting with each other, ... (New Life Christian Fellowship, 2007)

Quite different from the caste system is varnashrama, which is legitimate and virtuous. It is meant for the progressive organization of society as a single cooperative organism like the human body. (Vedic Friends Association, 2007)

In this thesis, I suggest that Wilson's (2002) theory can also be used to explain the existence of different religious communities, either as responding to different ecological challenges, or offering different proximate strategies in the same environment. While the *ultimate* function of different religions may be similar, the *proximate* mechanisms may be very different, as long as they succeed in fulfilling this function. Similarly, individual levels of commitment and motivation for religiosity, may be vastly different without this impeding the functionality of religion at the group level. As such I am trying to examine *diversity* in religion, in contrast to a more rigid structural-functionalist model that fails to account for individual agency, environmental variation and social change. By examining differences in values and behaviour between denominational categories of Protestant middle school and high school students in the USA, the main study of this thesis addresses the possibility that different religious groups occupy different niches in the social ecology.

This is not to say that a religious group is necessarily a bounded unit whose members are incapable or unwilling of mingling with other groups. However, one can still talk about different "groups" just as we talk about different "religions", despite the fact that the precise boundaries between one religion and another may be open for debate. For the possibility of cultural selection to work it is enough that there is a difference between belonging to one group and another and that this difference is recognized in some way by the members. As long as a Methodist is aware that she belongs to a community of Methodists, and recognizes that there are others that may not belong to this

group, this group identity alone may be enough to create a barrier between for example Methodists and Baptists, even if they mingle outside of church. Differences in doctrine and practice are additional factors that are likely to strengthen the barrier. This barrier is in no way insurmountable, but it does make this Methodist more likely to continue being a Methodist than to convert to Baptism, it makes her more likely to listen to and imitate other Methodists, and it also makes her children (all else being equal) more likely to become Methodists than Baptists. Of course, if one were to focus on another trait, it may be that the Methodist and Baptist in this example belong to the same group. They may for example speak the same language or live on the same street. In any case they both belong to the group of “Christians”. To make it clear that “group” by this definition only refers to a single trait, Wilson (2002: 15) uses the term “trait-group”. While it may seem obvious, the distinction is important because it means that differences in survival for different religious variants do not depend on their complete isolation from other variants. On the contrary – contact between groups is central both to the theory of a multiple niche cultural ecology, competition between different cultural variants, and last but not least, cultural evolution over time.

Differences between groups may in itself be a result of evolution. As Richerson and Boyd (2005: 212) point out, symbolic markers that define groups, such as language, custom and beliefs, are important in enhancing selective social interaction, which perpetuate the differences between groups. Because the rules are slightly different in every group, people who interact with and imitate the people in their own group will on average be more locally successful than people who imitate others. “Thus, once reliable symbolic markers exists, selection will favour the psychological propensity to imitate and interact selectively with individuals who share the same symbolic markers” (2005: 212).

Thus, one can agree with Durkheim (2001 / 1912: 42) that religious beliefs “belong to the group, and unite it”.

1. 2. 3) How does a religion survive?

The survivability of a religious variant could be said to depend on two main factors. Firstly, its ability to retain its members and prevent them from dying, leaving or converting to other religions, and secondly, its recruitment of new members through either biological reproduction or proselytizing. Like any demographic process, this can be summarized in two inputs: birth and immigration and two outputs: death and emigration. Since the vast majority of religious recruitment takes place within families, and since the majority of children adopt the faith of their parents or guardians, these survival strategies are closely linked. A successful religion is thus one whose members both maintain their faith, and successfully transmit it to their children. Much has been made of the conservative upsurge in American Protestantism, but as Greeley and Hout (2006:105) have shown, the recent growth in conservative denominations does not reflect conversions from mainline Protestantism, but stems primarily from the higher rate of reproduction in conservative families compared to liberal families. Reproduction rates are higher both literally in the number of children per couple, and figuratively in the number of people who retain their childhood religion into adulthood. Thus, while this thesis is primarily concerned with research on the morphological features of each religious variant, that is, how they affect the experiences and behaviours of members, this cannot be completely understood without also considering the behaviours and cognitive biases involved in transmission of information. As Tremlin (2005) points out, “It may be the case that common events of religious change, even the stability and durability of public

religious systems themselves, are linked to the same cognitive constraints that govern private religious thought.” (2005: 74)

For a religious variant to achieve this degree of successful reproduction it is necessary to adopt a cultural strategy that encourages both kinds of reproduction and adapts it to its local environment. By carving out a social niche, religions may effectively prevent members from converting because the strategy they employ will be unsuited for other niches in the social ecology. One such strategy that I propose is central to religious difference concerns transmission of information. According to Richerson and Boyd (2005), evolved capacities for “biased cultural transmission” minimize the cost of learning, particularly in risk-filled environments where decisions have to be made quickly. Conformity to the majority view and reliance on authorities, family members and successful members of the community are examples of such adaptive strategies of information acquisition. Religion may be seen as a way of facilitating these transmission biases, insofar as it often puts a premium on family values, submission and obedience to authorities. As I will show, the conservative religious model of society encourages a division of labour in which authorities have access to information and do most of the reasoning necessary for decision-making. The majority of the population thus escapes the high costs of independent reasoning by being obedient to the authorities. In contrast, liberal religion tends to emphasize individual independence and responsibility, suggesting a different adaptive strategy catering to a different socio-ecological niche. This niche could for example be a secure and stable environment with opportunities for individual creativity and the development of innovative ideas. The correlation between higher education and liberalism is not surprising when seen in this light.

Sanctions for deviance from cultural norms represent another important factor in preserving religion. Norms are not just upheld through social control, policing and punishment, but through belief in supernatural sanctioning, such as bad luck, divine intervention or eternal bliss in the afterlife. In Malinowski's somewhat outdated words

The savage does not keep his taboo for fear of social punishment or public opinion. He abstains from breaking it partly because he fears the direct evil consequences flowing from the will of divinity, or from the forces of the sacred, but mainly because his personal responsibility and conscience forbid him doing it (Malinowski, 1954 / 1925: 57).

The combination of socialization of norms, social control, and belief in supernatural sanctioning is clearly more effective than any one of these by itself. Moreover, it is far less costly for a group to have individuals disciplining themselves and each other than to rely solely on sanctions from the ruling powers. Much evidence indicates that religion facilitates the continuation of traditions and norms through both supernatural belief and social control in most socio-ecological conditions (See for example Stark and Bainbridge, 1997). Nevertheless, religious groups clearly differ with respect to the effectiveness of these mechanisms. Stark and Bainbridge (1997: 67-72) compare a number of studies on religion's effect on delinquency. The results differ widely, from religion having no effect to a substantial negative effect on delinquency. By including church membership rates of the geographical regions, they were able to explain the seemingly contradictory results. Religion was only effective in areas where church membership rates were high (1997: 74). They conclude with the following observation: "That the five published studies seem to vary not only in their findings, but also in the apparent religious climates of the communities studied strongly suggest that ecology influences the effect that religion has

on delinquency” (Stark and Bainbridge 1997: 73). How effective religion is in preventing deviance from norms may affect both the survivability of the group and of the religious norms and traditions themselves. However, there is more than one strategy for achieving this.

1. 2. 4) Socioecological niches

Before I go on to explain the liberal and conservative strategies that I have identified in my study of Protestants, let me first define the concept of the socio-ecological niche. The conceptual model I use for understanding religious diversity is borrowed from ecology, in that I imagine a social environment with multiple niches. For a species to succeed in any environment it must adapt not only to physical conditions such as climate, altitude and soil composition, but must also find its place among other species in the same environment. For this it needs an ecological “strategy” that gives it opportunity to coexist with these other species, or successfully compete with them over resources. In this model, the religious groups are to be seen as cultural “species” in the sense that they coexist, partly by appealing to different segments of the population, and partly by competing for attention from the same population. To go back to the concept of the “group”, the group is *not* a bounded unit without interactions with other groups. On the contrary, it is precisely its interactions with other groups that define its properties.

The socio-ecological niches are to be understood as different parts of the population, defined by such demographic variables as geography, socioeconomic class, education level, economic sector, age, race, etc. Clearly, the socio-ecological niches overlap greatly with each other, but as Norris and Inglehart’s (2004) study indicates, they can nonetheless

be useful for understanding the particular cultural strategies that are associated with different kinds of religiosity.

1. 3. Liberal and conservative religion

In the study of Protestants I have identified two different cultural strategies, or cultural “species”, which I labeled ‘conservative’ and ‘liberal’. By terming them species, what I primarily want to call attention to is their different “morphological” characteristics. In other words, I find that they induce different kinds of structural organization, physical behaviour and psychological experience. However, the analogy also implies that they may evolve in different ways through cultural transmission. These two connotations are often closely linked. For example, liberal individualism and conservative authoritarianism are traits which govern both individual behaviours and the transmission of religious beliefs and practices over time. Thus, I will first explain some basic principles of cultural evolution and transmission, before I go on to describing the particular traits of the liberal and conservative strategies. Finally, I will discuss the particular historical case of American Protestantism.

1. 3. 1) Transmission biases and the conservative strategy

The most thorough account of a Darwinian theory of cultural evolution comes from biologist Peter Richerson and anthropologist Robert Boyd (Richerson and Boyd, 2005). The aim of their project is to understand how culture evolves. By “evolve” I simply mean “develop and change over time”, not “improve” or “advance” as it is unfortunately often translated. In their attempt to account for cultural diversity through the use of Darwinian

principles, Richerson and Boyd emphasize the adaptive properties of culture, while maintaining that “cultural variants are only loosely analogous to genes” (2005: 60).

Richerson and Boyd suggest that all humans are equipped with innate cognitive “transmission biases”, that guide our choices in acquiring information from our surroundings. Our tendency for social learning is likely to have evolved because the cost of individual learning is often too great, but how we learn socially varies. One example of a transmission bias is the conformity bias. Often, and due to Darwinian principles, the most common behaviour is often the most successful, and hence we have a tendency to imitate the behaviour of the majority. Another example would be model based bias, such as imitating authorities and other high-status, observably successful individuals. There are thus several models and strategies for social learning, and each of them may be adapted to different situations and environments. Here I suggest that liberal and conservative religion not only are different cultural strategies, but that these strategies may originate in different modes of transmitting knowledge and making decisions.

By viewing religiosity as a reaction to existential uncertainty, Norris and Inglehart (2004) suggest that the security and wealth provided by the modern welfare state, particularly in Northern Europe have the effect of promoting secularization by limiting the need for religion as a system of organization and cultural transmission. Jost et. al. (2003: 365) point to a number of studies indicating that conservative and authoritarian attitudes to religion and politics are strongly correlated with uncertainty and stress. In periods of severe economic threat, such as the Depression years (1930-39), more people joined conservative churches such as Southern Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists and less joined more liberal churches compared to periods of relative prosperity. Moreover, psychological experiments have shown that priming people to think about their own death

causes them to express more conservative attitudes than people who had not been reminded of their own mortality (2003: 349). The strict authoritarianism of the military compared to other social institutions is a classic example of the same tendency. In the context of war and other threatening situations, acting quickly as a team may be crucial to survival, and there is little room for accommodating individual differences of opinion.

Because following simple rules and avoiding uncertainty and ambiguity may facilitate more rapid decision making in certain environments, they are likely to have been adaptive cognitive mechanisms in our evolutionary history. It is thus interesting to note Greeley and Hout's (2006) finding that "Conservative Protestants are more likely to consider following the teachings of the church more important than following their own consciences" (2006: 31). In a variety of studies reviewed by Jost et. al. (2003) intolerance of ambiguity, need for cognitive closure and general preferences for the simple and familiar over the complex and unknown have been shown to correlate strongly with social conservative attitudes and beliefs. More specifically relating to religion, Shaffer and Hastings (2007: 151) show that conservative and authoritarian attitudes measured by Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale are strongly correlated with religious fundamentalism and few doubts with respect to religious beliefs. Moreover, participants in their study who were exposed to "threat", scored significantly higher on both fundamentalism and identified more strongly with their own religious affiliation than those not exposed to threat, regardless of their individual level of authoritarianism. (2007: 156) These results all support the hypothesis that religious conservatism may be seen as a cultural, cognitive, and behavioural strategy adapted to deal with situations of threat and uncertainty.

1. 3. 2) *The Liberal strategy*

Religion comes in a variety of forms, and conservative authoritarianism is but one strategy that religion may provide. Just as a forest will accommodate different species than a desert, so different social environments should foster different cultural and religious systems. In other words, I postulate that environments of stability, security and wealth will cause a different form of religiosity to thrive, that is *liberal* religion. Liberal religious people in this model are not necessarily "less religious", but their religion has different consequences for their moral values and behaviour than conservative religion. In other words, rather than being placed on a scale from "weak" to "strong", liberal and conservative religions are seen as qualitatively different socio-ecological strategies. Norris and Inglehart focus primarily on differences between different countries. For example they point out that conservative religion tend to be more popular in parts of the world plagued by war, disease, poverty and inequality than in rich countries with functioning welfare systems and job security. However, since some differences in social environments can be found, not only between countries, but also within them – and indeed within the same cities and even neighbourhoods – differences in religion can be expected to follow social differences on a much smaller scale. This is what should be understood by the term “multiple niche environment”.

Norris and Inglehart (2004: 23; 138) point out that prosperity, the increased number of women in the workforce and the accompanying liberalization of sexuality in many modern societies have led to a new reproductive strategy where fewer children are born in each family, but each individual child is offered more resources and attention. In characterizing what he sees as the core tenets of conservative and liberal morality, Lakoff (1996) distinguishes between two different family models, the conservative “Strict Father

Model” and the liberal “Nurturant Parent Model”. While the former emphasizes obedience and adherence to rules, the latter is more concerned with developing the individual potential of each child, encouraging curiosity and independent thought. It is easy to imagine that such a family will thrive when the number of children are limited so that the parents have plenty of time and resources to allocate to each of them. Conversely, in situations of insecurity, threat and lack of resources, the Strict Father model is an efficient and much less costly way of ensuring order and stability. These different models of parenting and moral reasoning have been found to correlate strongly with both political and religious attitudes (Lakoff, 1996; Altemeyer, 1988; Jost, 2003, Iannaccone: 1994). On average, people in Western postindustrial societies have become more liberal and secular over the last 100 years (Norris and Inglehart, 1994:77, Bruce, 1990; 1999), and technological development is one example of an area that may have benefited greatly from individual innovativeness and liberal ideology.

1. 3. 3) American Protestantism

Despite making broad generalizations about the nature of religion, I recognize that Protestant Christianity in the United States is a historically and geographically particular phenomenon. The pluralism and diversity of this tradition stems partly from immigration and partly from the “free enterprise”-religion that was encouraged by the separation of church and state (Atwood, 2005: 17-19). Denominationalism was an important feature of religion from the founding of the nation, and the numbers of denominations have increased steadily over time (Wuthnow, 1988: 20). During the Civil War, many denominations split into southern and northern branches, and waves of immigrants added, and continues to add, new denominations to the list. After the Second World War there

was a great upsurge in religious activity of all kinds. This was partly for economic reasons, but Wuthnow (1988: 37-50) also describes a general atmosphere of promise and a wish for renewal as well as a fear of communism and nuclear war which may have encouraged increased religious participation in the postwar period. While religion has always been conceived of as a moral community in the United States, this has often *not* been the focus of Protestant discourse. On the contrary, and in line with a broader American focus on individualism, the faith, needs and spiritual growth of individuals is the aspect of religion that has been most emphasized. As Wuthnow (1988: 57) points out however “It was also evident to many that faith was both individual and collective, and that the precarious balance between these two emphases was one of the tipping points which led different organizations to take different paths”.

The early part of the 20th century was characterized by a division between “fundamentalists” and “modernists” with the former being stricter and interpreting the scripture more literally, and the latter being more rationalist. However, during the depression years, the fundamentalists split into smaller groups and lost most of their stronghold. (1988: 134-135) Still, not everyone was pleased with the modernist turn and after the war, a new division gradually emerged, this time between liberals and conservatives. During the 1960s liberal denominations and congregations gravitated towards concern with social justice issues such as the civil rights movement, whereas conservatives placed increasing emphasis on personal evangelism and moral virtues. The growth in higher education in the following decades created a cultural cleavage that often cut through the major denominations. (1988:145-172) Nevertheless, some denominational differences persisted. For example, in 1984, 68% of Episcopalians had a college education compared to 30% of Baptists (1988: 170). Some of the difference between

denominations may also be ascribed to members' identification with their denomination's heritage and tradition (see appendix A for an overview of the denominations). The tension between liberal and conservative is still of major relevance both within and between denominations, and is often described in popular media as part of "the culture wars" (Hunter, 1992) over moral values.

1. 4. Conclusion

This thesis is based on three main bodies of literature: Firstly, the social scientific study of religion in relation to other social variables; secondly, psychological research on conservative and liberal cognition; and thirdly the interdisciplinary work on evolutionary theory in general, and cultural evolution in particular.

The social sciences, including sociology, anthropology and political science, have studied religion from a variety of theoretical perspectives and using a diverse array of methods. The particular works that I make use of in this thesis are mainly concerned with the sociological classification of religious groups, and particularly Protestant denominations. Religious denominations are commonly classified, depending on their strictness or theology, on a scale from liberal to conservative religion, and correlated with a number of other social variables, including income, socioeconomic status and education (see for example Iannaccone, 1994; Smith, 1990). Liberal Protestants are generally portrayed as having higher education and socioeconomic status, while being less religious than conservatives. Analyzing data from the World Value Survey, Norris and Inglehart (1994) found that the more poverty, inequality and stress people experience, the more religious they tend to be. This led them to describe religion as a possible reaction to

“existential insecurity”, defined as an inability to take ones day-to-day survival for granted. This concept will be used as an analytical tool throughout my analysis.

Psychological research shows correlations with political ideology (Jost, 2003; Altemeyer, 1998), child rearing methods and family values (Lakoff, 1996) and also with styles of reasoning and decision-making (Altemeyer, 1998). Conservatism is generally considered authoritarian, as it emphasizes obedience to authorities and simple rules, and values the community and family strongly. In contrast, liberalism is portrayed as individualistic, putting a premium on independent reasoning and tolerance for diversity and individual differences. Experimental psychology has also shown that individuals vary on their liberal and conservative attitudes according to the situation. For example, when people are primed to think about their own mortality, they tend to become more conservative, both religiously and politically (Jost, 2003: 349) . This lends support to the hypothesis that conservative religion, rather than religion per se is a reaction to uncertainty and stress.

Evolutionary theories of religion commonly attempt to explain the existence of religious beliefs and behaviours as possible adaptations or byproducts of adaptations to the physical and social environment. According to Wilson (2002, 2005) religions may be adaptive on the group level by stimulating altruism and cooperation and causing members of religious groups to have a higher survival rate on average than members of non-religious groups. From this perspective, one would expect different religious groups to have evolved different strategies for survival and reproduction of their culture depending on their environment. Liberal and conservative Protestantism may be regarded as two such strategies, adapted to different socio-ecological niches. A conservative strategy, following simple rules and authorities may be adaptive in situations of insecurity and

stress. On the other hand, liberal religion may be more adaptive in situations of peace, wealth and security. According to this theoretical perspective, religion is seen as a cultural system that evolves to secure its own survival through transmission of information as well as the survival and reproduction of its members. In the words of the anthropologist Paul Radin: Religion “comes from life and is directed towards life. In itself it is nothing” (Radin, 1937: 58)

2. Study of American Protestant youth

The results of the study that are presented here exemplify in a number of ways how thinking about religion from an evolutionary perspective may be illuminating. This analysis was carried out using an already existing database, but it is consistent with the presented sociological and psychological literature on conservative and liberal religion. The main hypothesis was that conservative Protestants should display a greater reliance on external rules and authorities than liberal Protestants, who I expected to show greater levels of individualism. Unique data collected by the Experience sampling method (ESM) allows me to use immediate physical and social circumstances as variables when studying internal experience. In this study I have distinguished between when the respondents were alone and not alone, with very interesting results that would have been unavailable without the ESM data.

2. 1. Data and Method

2. 1. 1) The Database

The analysis is based on data from the Sloan study of youth and social development, a longitudinal nation-wide survey conducted by Csikszentmihaly and Schneider (2000) from 1992 to 1997 for the purpose of examining young people's attitudes about education and career-choice. The thoroughness and uniqueness of the study enables it to be used for other purposes (Wilson and Csikszentmihaly, in press). I consider adolescents a particularly interesting group to study from a cultural evolutionary perspective because

their age places them in a unique position to determine the future survival of the culture they belong to and practice. Their experiences should thus serve as “excellent indicators of possible developing trends in American religion more broadly” (Smith, 2005: 6). 33 schools (20 middle schools and 13 high schools) in a wide variety of geographical locations and representing students of diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds were selected for the study. In each school, a cohort sample and a focal sample were selected. The focal sample of 1214 students was a longitudinal panel, whereas the cohort sample (which includes 3602 students) were selected anew each year as representative of the school grade in which the focal students were enrolled (Csikszentmihaly and Schneider, 2000: 25).

The 1214 focal students were followed over a period of five years and data was collected in the first, third and fifth year. I have confined the analysis to the data from the fifth year, since this year’s set was the most complete. The data collection consisted of a number of one time questionnaires of the entire cohort and focal sample as well as interviews of focal students, teachers and parents and a week of Experience Sampling Method (ESM). During this week in year five, a smaller sample of 353 focal participants were signaled randomly eight times a day, which prompted them to complete a short questionnaire consisting of 62 items detailing their external circumstances (where they were, what they were doing and who they were with) as well as internal experience (e.g. happiness, sociability, anger, control) on a numerical scale. (See appendix B). Data from both one-time questionnaires and ESM were used in this study. While the former provides information about each student’s religious background and a range of variables about family, friends and general attitudes, the latter offers unique insight into the day-to-day experiences of the individual respondents.

2. 1. 2) Religious categories

The analysis was restricted to the students who answered that their religious background was Protestant Christian. The reason for this choice was primarily that this questionnaire item distinguished between Protestant denominations. In contrast, categories such as “Catholic” and “Buddhist” are likely to be less homogenous. Schneider, Rice and Hoogstra (2004) used data from the Sloan study to examine the importance of religiosity in adolescent’s lives. They included all religious groups initially, and subsequently compared Catholics and Protestants. While they did find significant results showing a positive effect of religion on experience, it was hard to see any consistent patterns of difference between the religious groups. The variance within each group is likely to have been a source of noise and my hypothesis predicts that the differences between religious groups would become clearer using Iannaccone’s (1994) categories of strictness rather than the broader categories of “Protestant”, “Catholic” and “Eastern”.

Based on Iannaccone’s (1994) research I divided the population of Protestants into three groups based on denomination, and added “non-religious” as a fourth category. Iannaccone originally divided denominations into four categories: Liberal mainline (Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian and the United Church of Christ), moderate mainline (Evangelical Lutheran, Reformed Church, Disciples of Christ and American Baptist), conservatives and evangelicals (Missouri Synod Lutheran and Southern Baptist and lastly fundamentalists, Pentecostals and sects (Nazarene, Assemblies of God, Seventh Day Adventists, and Mormon) (Iannaccone 1994: 1190). In order to get a large enough sample, I have chosen to treat the latter two categories as one, which I for the sake of simplicity have termed “conservative”.

Category	Denominaton	N (one time questions)	N (ESM) individuals	N (ESM) responses
Non-religious		370	-	-
Liberal	Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian	205	39	840
Moderate	Baptist, Lutheran	537	-	-
Conservative	Pentecostal, Mormon	100	11	277

Most of the analysis focuses only on the liberal and conservative categories due to the heterogeneity of the moderate category. Baptist and Lutheran congregations are extremely diverse when it comes to liberalism and conservatism, and since I have no information on the subdenominational categories, I decided to focus my analysis on the denominations that have been described by Iannaccone (1994) as either liberal or conservative.

2. 1. 3) Statistical analysis

Statistical comparisons were made with analysis of variance (ANOVA), based on sample sizes shown in Table 1. For analysis of the one-time questionnaire items, the sample sizes are straightforwardly the number of conservative (100) and liberal (205) Protestants who completed the questionnaire. For analysis of the ESM data, 11 conservative Protestants responded a total of 277 times and 39 liberal Protestants responded a total of 840 times. In one set of analyzes I used the number of responses as the sample size in comparing the two groups. In another set of analyzes, I calculated average values for each individual and used the number of individuals as the sample size in comparing the two groups. These

two sets of analyzes bracket the extremes in terms of assumptions about statistical independence. Because I am summarizing a large number of comparisons, I report the mean values for each group and significance value (p) of the ANOVA, without reporting F-ratios or other statistics. More complete information is available upon request. I do not make Bonferroni or other corrections for multiple comparisons (Harris, 2001). In general, the number of comparisons that are statistically significant is far above the 1-in-20 that would be expected by chance.

2. 1. 4) Confirming the social science literature

In large part, the analysis of social and religious variables confirmed what is already known about liberal and conservative denominations. The social science literature on religious conservatism and liberalism suggests that conservative religiosity is strongly correlated with high levels of religious commitment both in terms of strong belief and frequent practice. The denominational categories of my sample were consistent with the expected degrees of religiosity and church attendance, measured by the questionnaire items “Do you think of yourself as a religious person?” and “In the past year, how often have you attended religious services?” As this analysis of variance suggests, it is not by accident that religious denominational categories are often interpreted as points on a continuous scale from “weak” to “strong” religion.

TABLE 2: Religiosity					
	Non-religious	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	P= / <
How often attended rel. service	2.11	3.48	3.83	4.64	0.0001
Think of yourself as religious	1.32	1.96	2.04	2.25	0.0001

(Religious service attendance on 6-point scale, 1=never attends, 6=attends more than once a week, Religiosity on 3 point scale, 1=not at all religious, 3=very religious)

Highly significant correlations were also found between the denominational variable and measures of socioeconomic class and the educational level of parents. These associations between religious affiliation and socioeconomic variables are already well established in the literature (Greeley and Hout, 2006; Gunnoe and Moore, 2002; Iannaccone, 1994; Stark, 2002; Wuthnow, 1988), but have not before been interpreted from a multiple niche perspective. Nevertheless such correlations are clearly compatible with the picture of conservatism and liberalism as adaptations to different socio-economic niches. Echoing Norris and Inglehart's (2004) global survey data, these results show that different religious denominations and variants serve slightly different segments of the American Protestant population.

TABLE 3: Education and class

	Non-religious	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	P= / <
Father's education level	3.91	4.44	3.21	3.08	0.0001
Mother's education level	3.54	4.18	3.27	3.06	0.0001
Social class of the community	2.86	3.20	2.67	2.55	0.0001

(Education level on 7 point scale, 1= did not graduate from high school, 7= PhD, Social class on 5 point scale, 1=poor, 5=upper class)

Because much has already been said about differences between religious and non-religious teens (see for example Smith, 2005; Wilson and Csikszentmihaly, in press) I have chosen to focus most of the analysis on comparisons between the liberal and conservative denominational groups only. Because the denominations in the "moderate" category are considered to be particularly heterogeneous, I have excluded them from the rest of the analysis. In future studies efforts should be made to ask respondents about their particular sub-denominational affiliations in order to make the distinctions between conservative and mainline churches easier to draw. Much has also been said about the particularity of black denominations (Greeley and Hout, 2006; Schieman et. al., 2006;

Steensland et. al., 2000), but I have chosen not to include the race variable, partly to keep the population size large enough and partly to keep the analysis simple. However, differences between black and white denominations are something that it would be interesting to analyze from a cultural evolutionary perspective in future studies.

Focusing on the liberal and conservative denominational categories further allows me to make use of the large body of theoretical literature on conservative and liberal ideology from the field of cognitive psychology. George Lakoff's characterization of the two ideologies as conservative "Strict Father" morality and liberal "Nurturant Parent" morality is one example of a model that can be tested with Csikszentmihaly and Schneider's database. Much of the psychological literature regards conservatism and liberalism as motivated cognition and personality traits rather than unrelated beliefs and opinions. For example, Robert Altemeyer's (1988: 2) "Right-Wing Authoritarianism" scale (RWA) measures individual attitudes to authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression and conventionality. Glenn D. Wilson (1973: 3-14) similarly characterizes the conservative individual as rule-bound, intolerant, conventional and resistant to change. From a cultural evolutionary perspective, such a reliance on authoritarianism may be regarded as an adaptive strategy in environments characterized by high levels of uncertainty, stress and resource-scarcity. Reviewing the psychological literature on conservatism, Jost (2003) finds substantial evidence that conservatism may be regarded as "an ideological belief system that is significantly (but not completely) related to motivational concerns having to do with the psychological management of fear" (2003: 369). This is reminiscent of Norris and Inglehart's (2004) picture of religion as reactions to existential uncertainty. In this thesis, I thus suggest that it is primarily *conservative*

religiosity that should be regarded as a response to uncertainty and fear, whereas liberal religiosity is adaptive in safer environments and situations.

2. 2. Family values and internal experience

2. 2.1) Liberal individualism and conservative authoritarianism

The one-time questionnaire items showed significant differences between the groups, particularly on items concerning family values. On average, liberal Protestants reported receiving more positive individual attention from parents and other family members than did conservatives. Examples include items such as "I am made to feel special on birthdays and holidays" and "I receive special attention and help when I have a problem". Most of these results were significant even when I controlled for parents' education levels, which according to Wuthnow (1988:169) is the most reliable measure of "class" when it comes to religiosity. However, when I looked at family attention in the forms of rules and regulations, I found the opposite tendency. For example, conservative teens have less influence than liberals over which friends they can spend time with. Taken together, these results show an interesting pattern of strictness combined with lack of individual attention for conservatives and lenience combined with positive attention for liberals. This is consistent with Lakoff's (1996) models of the liberal and conservative family, and confirms my expectations that the conservative family values are more authoritarian, whereas liberal parents invest more in helping and encouraging each individual child.

TABLE 4: Family values				
In my family, ...	Lib.	Cons.	P = / <	contr. edu.
I am the one to decide which friends I can spend time with	4.51	3.90	0.0001	0.0001
I am the one to decide whether I can date?	4.13	3.38	0.0001	0.0001
I am made to feel special on birthdays and holidays	0.79	0.62	0.0013	0.0045
We express opinions even when they differ	0.80	0.67	0.0172	0.3273
I get special attention and help if I have a problem	0.56	0.42	0.0254	0.4808

(The two first items are on a 1-5 point scale with 5 indicating strong positive agreement. The remaining three are on a 0 (No) -1 (Yes) point scale. The first column of P values refer to original measures of significance for a simple analysis of variance. The second column marked “contr. edu.” refers to P values when I controlled for the interaction effects of the educational levels of both parents.)

2. 2.2) Happiness and control

The results from the one time questionnaire related to students’ thoughts about the future revealed another interesting difference between the categories. The conservative students were found to feel secure, in control and optimistic about the future, whereas the liberal students scored significantly lower on most of these variables. In contrast, liberals scored higher on items measuring worry and stress. They also scored higher than conservatives on curiosity about the future, which indicates that they see their lives as less predictable. The feelings of security among conservatives may be a result of stricter rules, and fewer individual responsibilities.

TABLE 5: The Future			
Conservatives > Liberals	Lib.	Cons.	P = / <
In the future, life will turn out better for you than it has for your parents?	3.75	4.04	0.0148
In the future, your children will have a better life than you had?	3.73	4.23	0.0001
Do you feel confident about the future?	3.85	4.12	0.0203
Do you feel prepared for the future?	3.46	3.74	0.0271
Liberals > Conservatives	Lib.	Cons.	P = / <
Do you feel worried about the future?	3.29	3.02	0.0437
Do you feel curious about the future?	4.29	4.00	0.0110
Do you usually feel stressed?	3.12	2.75	0.0393

(All items were on a 5-point scale, with 5 indicating strong positive agreement)

Although interesting in their own right, these results became even more meaningful when reviewed in light of the data obtained by the Experience Sampling Method. Just as in the one time questionnaire, the ESM data reveal a highly significant

general tendency for conservative Protestants to be happier and more at ease than liberal Protestants.

TABLE 6: General ESM results			
Conservatives > Liberals	Lib.	Cons.	P= / <
Was this activity important to you?***	5.54	6.24	0.0002
Was this activity interesting?***	4.72	5.63	0.0001
Was this activity important to your future plans?***	3.84	5.43	0.0001
How angry did you feel?	1.87	2.15	0.0623
How well were you concentrating?	6.21	6.35	0.5295
Were you making the best possible use of your time?	5.48	5.86	0.0637
Did you enjoy what you were doing?***	6.23	7.20	0.0001
Did you feel good about yourself?***	7.77	8.57	0.0001
Were you living up to your expectations?	7.48	7.64	0.3864
Did you expect to get what you wanted easily?***	6.03	6.84	0.0001
Was it easy to concentrate	7.74	7.81	0.6945
Did you feel in control of the situation?***	7.39	7.86	0.0086
Did you feel any physical pain?*	1.80	2.06	0.0468
Happy - Sad**	4.79	5.30	0.0001
Strong - Weak**	4.41	5.11	0.0001
Active - Passive**	4.23	4.72	0.0001
Sociable - Lonely	4.72	4.91	0.0791
Proud - Embarrassed**	4.44	5.19	0.0001
Excited - Bored**	4.07	4.46	0.0011
Clear - Confused**	4.66	5.30	0.0001
Relaxed - Worried**	4.53	5.21	0.0001
Cooperative - Competitive**	4.28	4.61	0.0006
Hopeful - Discouraged**	4.45	5.01	0.0001
Alert - Tired**	3.60	4.25	0.0001
Liberals > Conservatives	Lib.	Cons.	P= / <
Challenges of the activity*	4.01	3.57	0.0322
Your skills in the activity**	7.15	6.48	0.0001
How difficult did you find this activity?***	3.71	3.01	0.0003
Were you succeeding at what you were doing?	7.31	7.05	0.0806
Did you wish you had been doing something else?	5.23	5.05	0.4032
Were you living up to the expectation of others?***	7.32	5.69	0.0001
Did you feel not self-conscious or embarrassed?***	9.14	8.06	0.0001
Involved - Detached*	4.71	4.49	0.0449

(Significance for ANOVA: *P=/ $<$ 0.05, **P=/ $<$ 0.01, ***= significant by P \leq 0.05, ****= significant by P \leq 0.01. Word pair opposites on a 7-point scale. All other items on a 9-point scale with 9 indicating strong positive agreement.)

Regardless of the activity they were engaged in or the people they were with, conservatives felt on average less challenged, but also less skilled than liberals.

Conservatives, more often than liberals, felt that the activity they were engaged in was interesting and important to them and their future plans, but found it less difficult to master. They enjoyed what they were doing more, felt better about themselves and more often felt that they were making the best possible use of their time. They felt that they were living up to the expectation of others less often than liberals did, felt more in control of the situation and expected to get what they wanted more easily than liberals. However, they also felt more self-conscious or embarrassed. The seven point likert scales about emotional states, show conservatives as being on average happier, stronger, more active, prouder, less involved, more excited, less confused, more relaxed, more cooperative, more hopeful and more alert than liberals. Conservatives also reported feeling more physical pain than did liberals. A possible explanation for the generally more positive experiences of conservative Protestant students may be that their religious denominations foster tighter social networks than liberal denominations do. By demanding higher levels of commitment and participation in worship services, youth groups, charity etc. (Smith et. al., 2002, Iannaccone, 1994) conservative congregations may also provide members with more social capital (Stark, 2000: 146).

2. 3. Time budgeting and sociality

2. 3.1) Alone vs. not alone

If the more positive ESM results of conservatives result from greater social capital, one would expect different results from situations where the conservative respondents are alone. Moreover, one would expect their ideology to have made conservatives not only more sociable, but also more dependent on others. The uniqueness of the ESM dataset allowed me to test these hypotheses, by separating out the data where the teens answered

that they were alone and compare it to when they were not alone. The prediction was that liberals would feel better when alone than conservatives, and that conservatives would feel better than liberals when in the company of others. Further, I predicted that conservatives would display greater variance in mood across social contexts.

One striking result was a large difference in the amount of time spent alone between the different groups. While the liberals in my sample spent 26% of their time alone, conservatives were alone only 17.5% of the time they were signaled. The difference between the groups in the amount of time spent alone is quite remarkable considering that these are school students who by default spend a significant portion of the day in the company of others in the classroom as well as by living in the same households as their families. The large amount of time that the liberals spend alone may well reflect the emphasis on individualism in liberal Protestant culture.

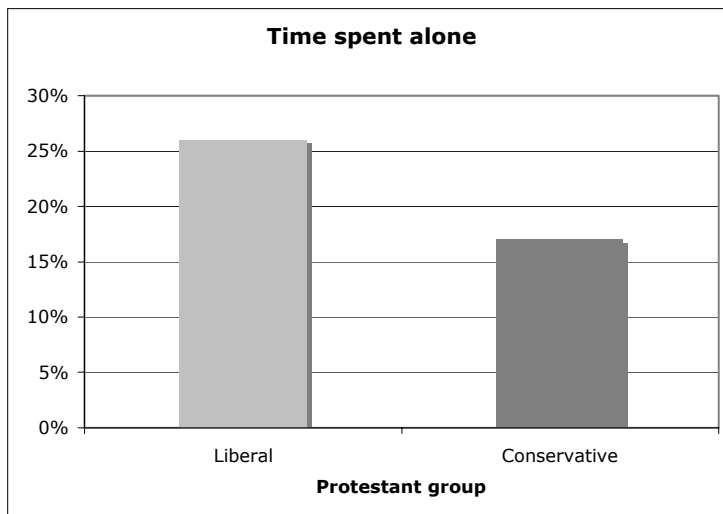


Figure 1, P=0.0067

This result also suggested to me that conservative religious students might benefit from tighter social networks than liberals. Initially, I thought this might account for the general tendency for these students to be happier and more sociable than non-religious

students. When comparing the responses, however, the results showed a qualitative difference between the denominational groups in their experiences of being alone and with others. Some of the significant results for the interaction between alone / not alone and religious category are shown in the charts below.

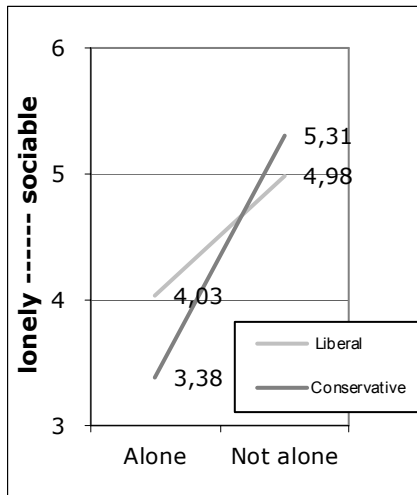


Figure 2a, LC: $P=0.2108$, Alone: $P \leq 0.0001$, Interaction effect: $P \leq 0.0001$

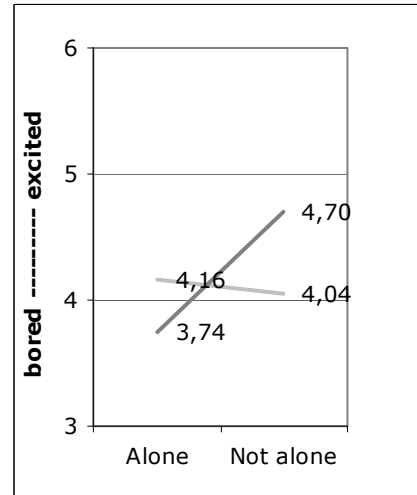


Figure 2b, LC: $P=0.4653$, Alone: $P=0.0075$, Interaction effect: $P=0.0006$

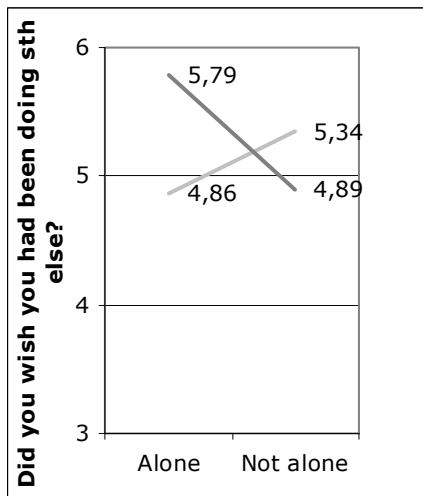


Figure 2c, LC: $P=0.3969$, Alone: $P=0.4593$, Interaction effect: $P=0.0142$

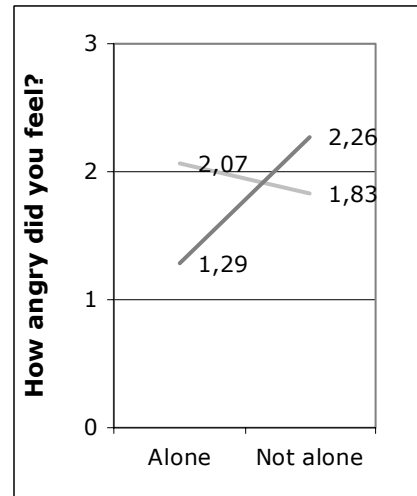


Figure 2d, LC: $P=0.3536$, Alone: $P=0.0492$, Interaction effect: $P=0.0012$

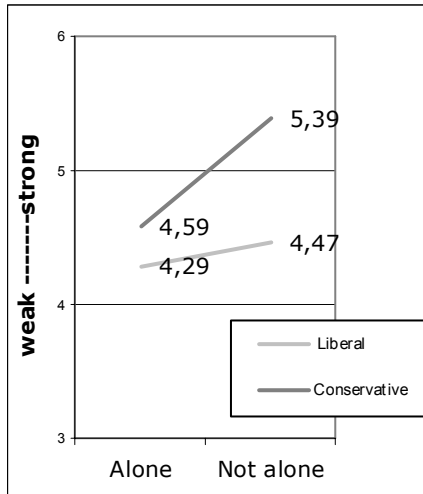


Figure 2e, LC: $P \leq 0.0001$, Alone: $P \leq 0.0001$, Interaction effect: $P = 0.0078$

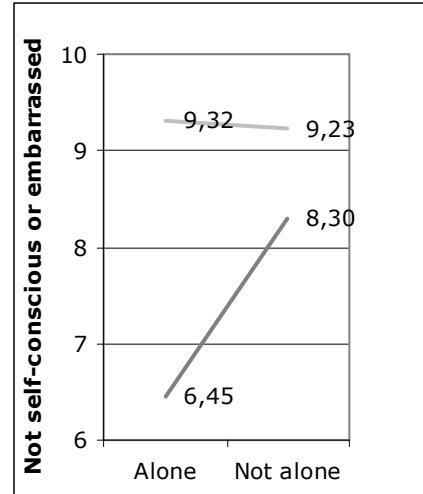


Figure 2f, LC: $P \leq 0.0001$, Alone: $P \leq 0.0001$, Interaction effect: $P \leq 0.0001$

Not only do conservatives spend significantly less time alone than the liberals. As predicted, they also show the greatest differences between alone and not alone for all the relevant variables. In many instances moreover, the effects of solitude seem to be the complete opposite for liberals as it is for conservatives. In addition, some of the differences that were not significant in the general ESM results, such as “sociable” and “angry”, became highly significant when I separated “alone” from “not alone”.

The results indicate that for the most part a conservative Protestant would not feel lonely in a crowd, but feels *more* lonely and bored than others when he or she is alone. Liberals on the other hand showed very small differences in excitement and boredom between the times they were alone and not. The conservatives also felt considerably stronger than liberals on average, but even more so when they were with others.

The conservatives wished they had been doing something else more often when they were alone than when they were not alone whereas the opposite was the case for the liberals. Unlike the liberals, the conservatives also tended to feel considerably less self-

conscious and embarrassed when they were with others than when they were alone. However, the data showed them to be angrier when they were with others, whereas the liberals were somewhat angrier when they were alone. The conservatives also responded that they succeeded much better in the activity they were engaged in when they were alone than when they were not alone, whereas liberals were almost equally successful in both social settings.

2. 3. 2) *Individual differences*

The differences between liberals and conservatives when they were alone and not alone were measured by treating single ESM responses as units of analysis. In order to test whether I would get similar results using individual respondents as units I replicated the analysis of the significant results using the mean difference between variables when alone and not alone for each of the 11 conservatives and 39 liberals (see Table 1). In order to get an adequate frame of comparison between the individuals' experiences of being alone and not alone, I excluded from analysis those who responded to less than seven ESM questionnaires (ten liberals) as well as three individuals (two conservatives and one liberal) who never reported being alone. As expected, due to the small sample size, the results from this analysis were on average less significant than the original analysis based on responses. However, four differences out of nine were still significant, notably *Excited - bored*, *Strong - weak*, *Sociable - lonely* and *How angry did you feel?*. For these four variables conservative individuals displayed much larger differences than liberals between being alone and not alone.

TABLE 7: Differences between individuals when alone and not alone			
	Lib	Cons	P
N	28	9	
Proportion of time alone	0.27	0.21	0.3037
Excited - bored difference*	0.21	-0.73	0.0366
How angry did you feel difference**	0.17	-0.95	0.0052
Strong-weak difference*	-0.16	-0.76	0.0178
Sociable - lonely difference*	-0.80	-1.82	0.0146
Succeed difference	-0.01	-0.18	0.7442
Wish you had been doing something else difference	-0.55	0.71	0.0861
Living up to expectations of others difference	-0.10	-0.53	0.4977
Not self-conscious or embarrassed difference	0.27	0.16	0.6443

(*P= <0.05 , **P= <0.01 , All differences are the respondents' average values when alone minus the average values when not alone)

2. 3. 3) *Friends and family*

In order to get a clearer picture of who it is conservatives spend time with that makes them feel better than liberals when they are not alone, I separated the “not alone” category between time spent with friends and time spent with family members (See Figure 3).

When looking at results for interactions with time spent with friends and time spent with family, the latter seems to have the larger effect on the variables that were significant for “alone” (See Table 8). In spite of their receiving relatively little positive attention from their families, conservative students spend much more time with them: 27% of the time, compared to only 13% of the time for liberals. They also feel much better on average when they are with family members than when they are not.

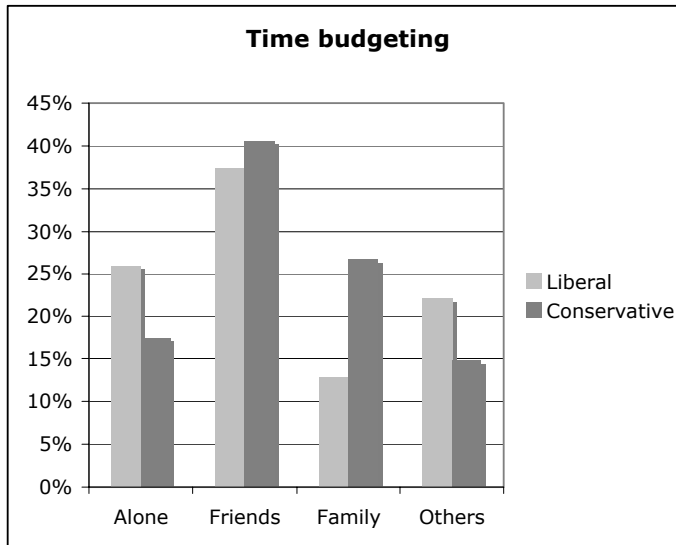


Figure 3

Being with friends on the other hand, seems to have a relatively greater impact on liberals than it has on conservatives. For example, liberals were significantly less lonely when in the company of friends although they generally varied very little in the mean values of sociability/loneliness across social contexts. When they were with relatives, the liberal teens were slightly *more* lonely than when they were with friends or other non-relatives. In contrast, conservatives were much more sociable in the company of both relatives and friends than when they were alone or with others. The general ESM results for feeling strong/weak were similarly better explained by time spent with relatives than with non-relatives. Conservatives felt stronger in all kinds of company than when they were alone, and being with relatives had the largest positive effect on their feeling of strength. In contrast, friends were the only kind of company that had a marginal effect on this variable on liberals. The general result for succeeding in what they were doing appears to be the result of both friends and relatives, whereas anger and living up to the expectations of others seems to mainly be the result of time spent with friends.

Surprisingly, there were no significant results for interactions with time spent with either friends or relatives for self-consciousness and embarrassment, excitement and boredom or wishing to be somewhere else. Most of the other results showed both friends and family to have positive effects. Overall, friends seem to have a stronger effect on liberals, whereas family has a larger effect on conservatives.

To summarize, despite the differences in family cultures found in the one time questionnaire, both liberals and conservatives seem to appreciate the company of family members, although to a somewhat different degree. To examine the importance of family more closely, I ran some correlations between different one-time questionnaire items.

TABLE 8

	Alone		Friends		Family		Others	
	Lib	Cons	Lib	Cons	Lib	Cons	Lib	Cons
Conservatives > Liberals								
Was this activity important to you?	5.75	6.38	5.42	6.24	5.44	6.71	5.48	6.32
Was this activity interesting?	4.52	5.31	5.06	6.09	4.74*	5.35*	4.47	4.90
Was this activity important to your future plans?	3.56	5.52	3.80	5.88	2.82	5.13	4.69	5.68
How angry did you feel?	2.07**	1.29**	1.77**	2.66**	1.73	2.05	1.95*	1.54*
How well were you concentrating?	5.86	6.07	6.39*	6.08*	6.34*	6.29*	6.73	7.59
Were you making the best possible use of your time?	5.15	5.55	5.60	6.31	4.98	6.13	5.69	5.63
Did you enjoy what you were doing?	6.39	7.36	6.58**	7.03**	6.83	8.16	5.14*	6.95*
Did you feel good about yourself?	7.42	8.26	8.06	8.86	8.06*	9.34*	7.39	8.38
Were you living up to your expectations?	7.06	7.36	7.70	7.85	7.39**	8.59**	7.48	7.29
Did you expect to get what you wanted easily?	5.95	7.76	6.03	6.78	6.72	7.33	5.37	6.63
Was it easy to concentrate?	8.19	7.95	7.60*	7.04*	8.24	8.23	7.10	8.15
Did you feel in control of the situation?	7.72	8.86	7.22	7.78	7.68	8.14	6.97	7.68
Did you feel any physical pain?	1.84	2.22	1.93	2.31	1.65	1.47	1.62	1.95
Happy - Sad	4.63	5.07	5.00	5.48	4.77*	5.68*	4.74	5.10
Strong - Weak	4.29**	4.59**	4.62	5.42	4.31**	5.56**	4.37	5.00
Active - Passive	3.85	4.31	4.68	5.18	4.22	4.42	4.07	4.73
Sociable - Lonely	4.03**	3.38**	5.32	5.73	4.55*	5.22*	4.76	4.56
Proud - Embarrassed	4.28	4.88	4.60	5.39	4.50	5.45	4.42	4.95
Excited - Bored	4.16**	3.74**	4.25	4.88	4.47	4.90	3.59	4.02
Clear - Confused	4.57	5.38	4.86	5.66	4.87	5.59	4.47	4.68
Relaxed - Worried	4.64	5.14	4.56	5.15	4.61**	5.81**	4.28	4.51
Cooperative - Competitive	4.15	4.38	4.20	4.54	4.28*	4.97*	4.53	4.78
Hopeful - Discouraged	4.40	4.88	4.64	5.21	3.59*	4.73*	4.28	4.68
Alert - Tired	3.34	3.70	3.85	4.37	3.59	4.73	3.41*	4.63*

Liberals > Conservatives

Challenges of the activity	3.61	2.71	4.12	3.92	2.79	2.99	4.94	4.78
Your skills in the activity	7.40	7.33	7.05	6.24	7.69	7.21	6.60	6.41
How difficult did you find this activity?	3.57	2.12	3.69	3.39	2.46**	2.96**	4.64	3.27
Were you succeeding at what you were doing?	7.38*	7.90*	7.39*	6.83*	7.23**	6.79**	6.75**	7.54**
Did you wish you had been doing something else?	4.86*	5.79*	5.05	5.16	4.42	4.07	6.21	5.22
Were you living up to the expectation of others?	6.94**	6.86**	7.60**	5.37**	7.17	5.22	7.50*	6.76*
Did you feel not self-conscious or embarrassed?	9.32**	6.45**	9.19	7.81	9.58	8.10	9.08**	9.10**
Involved - Detached	4.26	4.41	5.06*	4.55*	4.80	4.43	4.77	4.88

(Significance for ANOVA with interactions: *P=<0.05, **P=<0.01. Word pair opposites on a 7-point scale. All other items on a 9-point scale with 9 indicating strong positive agreement.)

3.4) *Stress and independence*

Correlations between parental restrictions and stress, measured by two-factor analysis of variance between the items “In my family, I am the one to decide which friends I can spend time with” and “Do you usually feel stressed?”, show that liberals are more stressed when they are not allowed to make decisions about their own social lives (See figure 4). No such effect was found for conservatives. Being raised in a liberal culture appears to make the teenagers feel like they need to be in control over their own lives in order to be happy and relaxed. Conservatives on the other hand expect to be restricted and to comply with authorities to a greater degree and for most of them this does *not* make them feel stressed or lacking in control. Ironically then, liberal teenagers, who are objectively *more* in control of their lives than conservatives, *feel* as if they are less in control. This finding is consistent with the theoretical literature on conservatism and liberalism, which suggests that parental values are easily internalized (Boshier, 1973: 222; Jost, 2003: 347). To see this manifest itself in different stress levels between different denomination among similarly aged members of the same major religion and nationality is nevertheless a remarkable point in favour of the hypothesis that these are different cognitive systems. It also supports the possibility that conservative and liberal Protestantism are different socio-ecological strategies adapted to different behavioural niches.

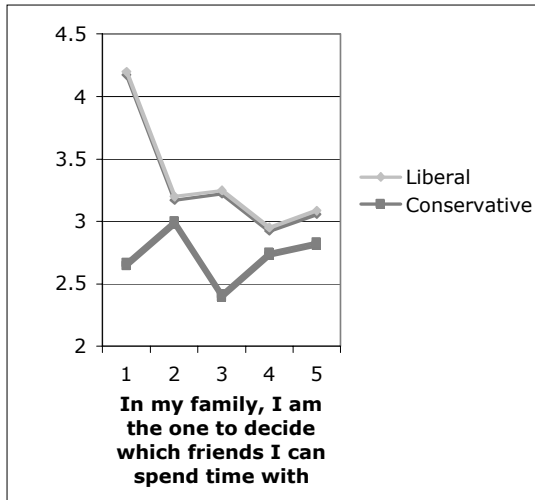


Figure 4

(Two-factor ANOVA, Stress: $P=0.0047$, Decide friends: $P=0.0006$, Interaction effects: $P=0.0230$)

3.5) *The more religious they are, the more different they become*

To further test the hypothesis that conservatism and liberalism are qualitatively different systems rather than simply points on a scale of religiosity, I looked at the correlations between religiosity and various measures of family values and strictness for each religious group. The item “In my family, we express different opinions even when they differ” is indicative of liberal values. When correlated with the item “Do you think of yourself as a religious person”, it appears from the results that the more religious the respondents are, the more different they become (Figure 5). Conservatives who scored high on the religiosity variable responded that their families express differing opinions less often than conservatives who scored low on religiosity. Liberals display the exact opposite trend. In other words, for the liberal Protestants, religiosity is correlated with some forms of personal autonomy and liberalism, whereas for conservatives it is correlated with strictness and authoritarianism.

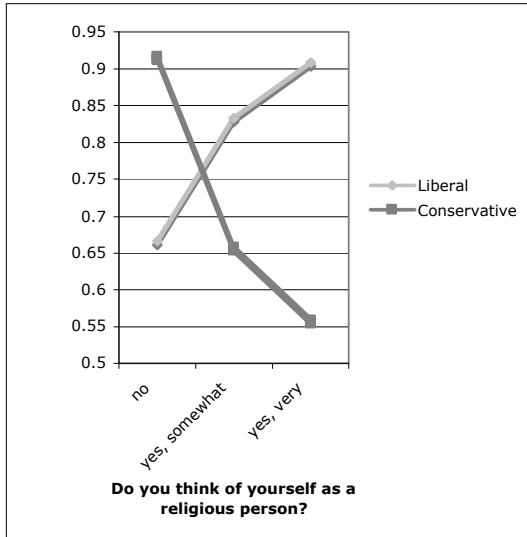


Figure 5:

(Two-factor ANOVA, Express opinions: $P=0.0251$, Religiosity: $P\leq 0.0001$, Interaction effects: $P=0.0012$)

In order to further explore these results, I constructed a “liberalism scale” based on five items about family values from the one time questionnaire that significantly correlated with the liberal-conservative distinction (See box on page 58). This was done in order to test to what extent the differences between the denominational categories were the result of general differences in liberal and conservative values and ideologies, independent of religion.

When measuring the ESM variables against the liberalism scale, a remarkable pattern emerged, revealing that conservatives feel weaker, more stressed, less happy, less interested, less hopeful and less good about themselves the more liberal their families are. In contrast, liberals, when it makes a difference to them at all, tend to feel better the more liberal their families are. The following three charts are only examples of these results. The higher the score on the liberalism scale, the more liberal the family is according to the questionnaire items below.

Items in liberalism scale:

In my family, ...

I get special attention and help if I have a problem

I am made to feel special on birthdays and holidays

individual accomplishments are noted

I am the one to decide which friends I can spend time with

I am the one to decide whether I can date?

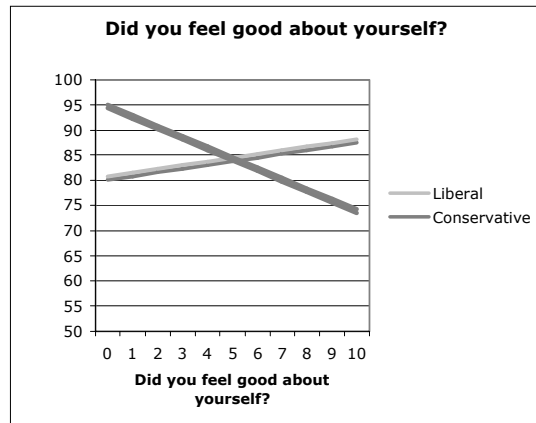


Figure 6a: Two-factor ANOVA, Libsc: $P \leq 0.0001$
 Good: $P \leq 0.0001$, Interaction: $P \leq 0.0001$

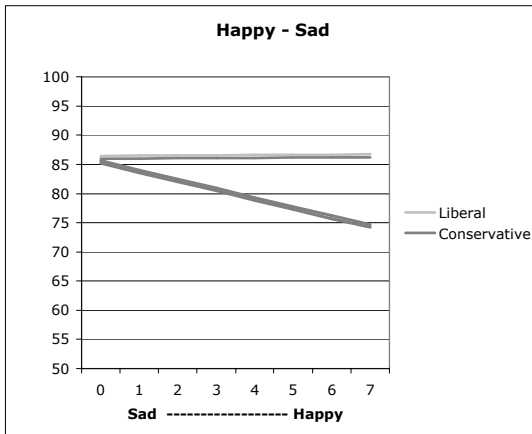


Figure 6b: Two-factor ANOVA, Libsc: $P = 0.0301$
 Happy: $P \leq 0.0001$, Interaction: $P \leq 0.0001$

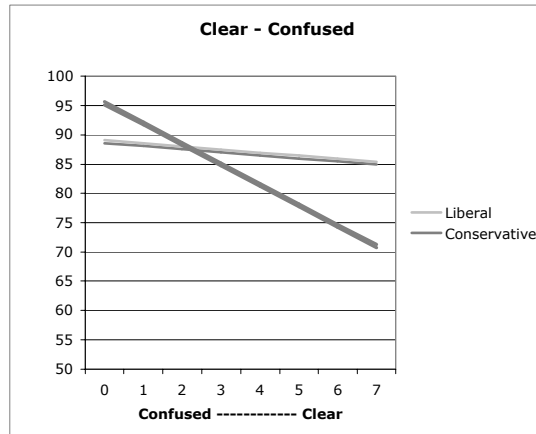


Figure 6c: Two-factor ANOVA, Libsc: $P \leq 0.0001$,
 Clear: $P \leq 0.0001$, Interaction: $P \leq 0.0001$,

Just like personal religiosity, liberal family values appear to have different effects depending on denominational group. Once again, this shows that there is an important distinction to be made between individual measures and group measures of belief and ideology. By itself the liberalism scale appears insufficient to explain the full range of differences between the “liberals” and “conservatives”. Rather, the effects on the individual teenagers’ experience cannot be divorced from either their personal religiosity

or their family values, which are presumably sustained in part by the larger religious community.

2. 4. Discussion

2. 4. 1) Different experiences of control

The pattern that seems to emerge from these data is one where the conservative students are subject to external control in the form of social constraints on their behaviour as well as their beliefs. Combined with strong social support, this may serve to make the teenagers feel secure and in control of their lives. They know what is expected of them, and what they can expect from their social environment. In contrast, liberal Protestants seem to have a culture that is more focused on internal control. The students in this group are on average more self-reliant and seem to be encouraged by their families to make independent choices rather than adhering to strict rules. This lack of external control may be the cause of the lack of confidence, stress and unhappiness reported by these students.

Many of the general ESM results that showed conservatives as happier, more excited and less lonely than the liberals, could be accounted for by the fact that conservatives spend less time alone. However, the results also show that spending more time with other people may not be the optimal solution for students in the liberal group. Different experiences of loneliness and sociality are related to more than just the presence or absence of company, and seem to have internalized cultural roots.

The results from Table 5 show conservatives feeling more in control and less uncertain about the future. A liberal culture with heavy emphasis on individual decision making leaves more possibilities open for the child, and may produce feelings of

insecurity and lack of control. The correlations between stress and parental restrictions reinforce this impression. While conservatives are comfortable relying on the demands of external authorities, the same restrictions produce feelings of stress in liberals. As sociologist of religion Eileen Barker (1996: 59) puts it, “while some may find an increased freedom within a cage, others may find themselves increasingly caged by the very pursuit of freedom”. The value of independence as freedom, despite its prevalence in mainstream American culture, seems to be peculiar to the more liberal denominations. Greeley and Hout’s (2006) study of happiness in marriage, showed that 70% of conservative Protestants who accept emotional *interdependence* in marriage report that they are happy, compared with only 57% of those who describe their marriage as emotionally *independent*. 58% of mainline Protestants were happy in their marriage, regardless of whether they were independent or not (2006: 142). This result echoes the tendency I found for dependence on family members to be valued among conservatives but not liberals.

Jon Elster (2000) describes how in many cases, constraining ones freedom of choice in the moment may increase both the quality and quantity of long term opportunities. Rather than being a solely individual project however, such constraint often requires assistance and support from other individuals (2000: 277). Alcoholics Anonymous is a prime example of this, but religious communities may have similar effects. Abstinence, restriction and obligation are important features of many religions. Following such established rules may take the burden off the individual to make constant life choices, and thus reduce both the stress of decision making and the risk of taking a wrong step. The success of such a strategy however, depends on the support network of

other committed individuals, and hence stress may actually increase when a conservative finds himself alone or lacking the company of other group-members. Similarly, as the liberalism scale indicates, conservatives seem to fare worse than liberals when they are in environments marked by liberal attitudes. Haidt and Joseph (In press) have suggested that

well-educated secular liberal westerners largely limit their moral discourse to the ethic of autonomy, while other groups make use of a wider set of concepts, drawing heavily on the ethic of community, and often (though not as pervasively) on the ethic of divinity. (In press: 7)

The results have shown how conservatives seem to gain confidence and happiness from the predictable hierarchy and norms of the family. While authority, duty and tradition are important moral concepts from a group-perspective, they are less valued and may even be seen as immoral from the point of view of an individual-centred morality (In press: 7, 24). These differences in morality may partly explain why liberals seem to prefer the company of friends over family and value the presence of family members less than conservatives.

As already mentioned personal choice and interpersonal relations are not the only factors to consider when studying religion. The greater reliance on literal interpretations of scripture (Greeley and Hout, 2006: 15) and higher frequency of prayer (2006: 24) among conservatives may reflect the same cultural strategy of dependence on others, be they human or supernatural. Schieman et. al. (2006: 540) found that a sense of divine control was strongly negatively correlated with socioeconomic status among elders, and they also found that blacks on average had a stronger sense of divine control than whites. This suggests that persons who experience greater disadvantage and stress by their

socioeconomic and racial status choose to place more control in the hands of an external authority. This cost-reducing strategy of decision-making may be an adaptive reaction to existential insecurity as suggested by Norris and Inglehart (2004).

2. 4. 2) Anger and authoritarianism

The great differences in levels of boredom and loneliness among conservatives between when they were alone and not alone seem to indicate a higher level of dependency on others, or possibly a stronger ability to benefit from company. On this background, the result that conservatives are angrier with their friends than the liberals is harder to interpret. One possible interpretation is that conservatives may be more easily moved to anger when they find themselves in disagreement with their friends. Altemeyer's Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale correlated moderately with measures of aggression (Altemeyer, 1988: 108), and a common interpretation is that because high-RWA's or conservatives are generally more rule bound, they have a lower tolerance for deviance and norm-bending behaviour than low-RWAs, and thus respond more readily with aggressive punishment. Liberals may have higher tolerance than conservatives for individual differences in opinion, attitude and behaviour, due to being raised in a cultural environment that emphasizes tolerance and respect for diversity. If this is so, a liberal would be more flexible and accommodating, and not as easily get angry with peers who display different values than themselves.

From an evolutionary perspective, this result may be related to the concept of “altruistic punishment”. Punishment for deviance may be considered beneficial for a community insofar as it helps maintain social norms and standards. Because

administering punishment is costly for the individuals who punish as well as those being punished, such acts can be described as altruistic. Simply put, “people who help to maintain cooperation by punishing cheaters are benefiting others at their own expense” (O’Gorman, Wilson and Miller, 2005: 375). High levels of aggression and intolerance among conservatives may be a result of cultural norms which place value upon altruistic punishment. In contrast, a liberal laissez-faire attitude to deviance may be less costly for the individual, but could have negative consequences for the group as a whole. It is thus worth noting that conservatives are only more angry than liberals when they are with friends and family. When in the company of people who are neither friends nor family, liberals are significantly angrier than conservatives. That conservative anger is primarily directed towards in-group members, is exactly what one would expect of altruistic punishment. In this case, liberal and conservative morals and attitudes to norm-bending may thus be described as alternative strategies for dealing with the classic public goods dilemma of group fitness versus individual fitness (O’Gorman, Wilson and Miller, 2005: Sober and Wilson, 1998: 145-146)

2. 4. 3) Success, concentration and tolerance

This interpretation could potentially also explain the result that conservatives claimed to be more successful in what they were doing when they were alone despite being otherwise more inclined to prefer company over solitude. If conservatives expect more from their friends and have lower tolerance for deviance, they may also expect others to have higher expectations of *their* behaviour. Thus, they may feel less successful when accompanied by others who may be judging them, than when they are by themselves.

However, this lack of success does not seem to affect their overall mood to any significant degree. Success is then also more strongly positively correlated with happiness for liberals (Pearson's R: 0.241) than it is for conservatives (Pearson's R: 0.112), which suggests that personal accomplishments are less important to conservatives, who tend to prefer the company of others.

As my analysis has shown, conservatives do not need to *be* in control in order to *feel* in control, and this may explain why their lack of success in the company of others does not prevent feelings of strength, sociability, happiness, alertness and interest in the activity. The presence of relatives is apparently perceived as a welcome distraction from whatever the activity to be accomplished may be, rather than a constraining or inhibiting factor. It appears as if the lack of control conservatives have over their family members is not considered a problem to be solved and thus does not cause anxiety or feelings of weakness and lack of concentration. However, conservatives seem to exhibit a different attitude towards friends. The more frequent feelings of anger have already been discussed, but they also display lower levels of concentration in the presence of friends. Liberals show the opposite pattern, being considerably more positive overall in the company of friends, and largely indifferent or slightly more negative in company of family. This is compatible with the suggestion already mentioned, that the friendships of liberals are more unconditional and tolerant. However, having been brought up to question authorities, liberals may be less accepting and compliant with the rules and behaviours of parents and other family members, and this may cause some lack of concentration and feeling of weakness reported by liberals when they were with relatives.

2. 4. 4) *Whose religion?*

The item used as independent variable in this study asks about “religious background”. In other words, non-religious students with religious parents may appear to be religious and conversely, students who are personally devout but grew up in secular homes would appear non-religious. I presume background and upbringing to have more effect on a teenager than a religion they might have adopted fairly recently. Nevertheless, the possibility that variance in experience and attitude may originate in the individual’s religious beliefs rather than the social setting merits consideration. Different levels of religiosity, or different conceptions of God and the afterlife could by themselves serve as an explanation for the positive experiences reported by conservatives. Kirkpatrick et. al. (1999) found that loneliness was inversely correlated with perceived personal relationship with God independent of other sources of social support. In that case it suggests a view of God as benign guider and protector rather than a “controller”, since the most religious teenagers, the conservatives, felt more in control of the direction their lives were taking. Such a pragmatic emphasis on the instrumental value of belief for the individual, rather than its constraints and demands is documented as a general trend among all American religious youth in the National Survey of Youth and Religion (Smith, 2005: 147-154) and may be seen in the context of postmodern individualism. However, it is also expected that the most effective forms of religion are “intrinsic” (Allport and Ross, 1967; Paloutzian and Ellison, 1982) that is genuine, personal and devout rather than merely utilitarian belief.

If level of religiosity were the primary explanation for the findings of this study, then one would expect similar patterns to emerge when looking at differences between

those who answered that they were very religious, somewhat religious and not religious at all. However, the results showed that this was not the case. On the contrary, the highly religious and nonreligious respondents showed completely opposite patterns of family values depending on whether their religious background was liberal or conservative. This indicates that the difference in religiosity within each denomination matter greatly, but is still no proxy measure for differences in denominational membership or background. Contrary to Stark and Bainbridge's (1997:71) suggestion that religious affiliation measures should be used as variables only when levels of religiosity and church attendance were unavailable, due to the large differences within denominations, these tests indicate that one cannot easily be substituted for the other. As Steensland et. al. (2000) point out: "While affiliation and religious beliefs are certainly correlated, they are analytically and empirically distinct dimensions of religiosity" (2000: 296). Both measures turned out to be important, but for different reasons; some variables are influenced by one and some by the other.

2. 4. 5) The importance of religious identity

The political and moral discourse on family values is one of the most visible markers of difference between conservative and mainline Protestantism (Wilcox, Chaves and Franz 2004), and my results indicate that there may be practical implications to the "traditional" and "progressive" family orientations that strongly influence the lives of adolescents. Gunnoe and Moore (2002) suggest that authoritative parenting "fosters the internalization of parental values" (2002: 614) and may be a strong predictor of youth religiosity. From an evolutionary perspective this indicates that religious variants that stimulate

authoritative parenting, such as conservative Protestantism, would be more successful as a cultural strategy than religions that are associated with lack of parental support or strictness. This could be one among many factors that contribute to the relative growth of conservative and evangelical denominations. Nevertheless, in the haste to explain the conservative phenomenon, the growth of liberal religion and secularism in the industrialized world over the last century (Norris and Inglehart, 2004; Wuthnow, 1988) should not be forgotten. It suggests that different religious systems may thrive or decline in different situations, just as different species adapted to different niches in the environment.

A general observation from the data is that the strongly religious liberals emerge as a particularly well-adjusted group of students. They seem to receive mainly positive attention from their families and enjoy a great degree of autonomy, while at the same time feeling secure and happy. This is consistent with the findings of John Evans (2003) in his study of membership decline in Presbyterian denominations. His conclusion was that “in states where PCUSA members are simultaneously creating identities as both orthodox Christians and (relative) theological liberals the membership is declining the least” (Evans, 2003: 474). Both strong religious beliefs and a strong social identity seem to be characteristic of the most thriving religious communities. According to Evans (2003), it matters less whether the beliefs are theologically conservative or liberal than the degree to which they contribute to the creation and preservation of a unique identity. This can be achieved by drawing boundaries against other religious and non-religious groups through different beliefs and practices. Strictness is but one way of drawing such

boundaries, but it appears to be a particularly effective one for many conservative congregations (Kelley, 1977).

The differences between conservatives and liberal Protestants described in this thesis are clearly instrumental in the construction of cultural identities, not least because it enables an opposition to a defined “other”. In a national survey conducted in 1984, religious liberals described religious conservatives as “rigid, intolerant and fanatical” (Whutnow, 1989: 24) while religious conservatives viewed religious liberals as “shallow, morally loose, unloving and unsaved” (1989: 24). There is in other words not only a popular awareness of the liberal-conservative distinction, but those who identify with these labels often do so through negative stereotypes of the opposition. Clearly, the survey respondents’ identifications are numerous and complex, and this is not an effort to reduce their social identity to a question of denominational affiliation. Nevertheless, religious identities may partly account for the significant positive correlations between religiosity and positive affect. Shaffer and Hastings (2007) showed that participants in their study who were exposed to an article about disintegration and scandal in the Catholic church, identified more strongly with their own religious affiliation than those not exposed to threat, regardless of their own religious background or individual level of authoritarianism (2007: 156). Thus, while exposure to threat often causes people to become more “conservative”, a threat to group integration may cause liberals to become more “liberal” insofar as it strengthens their identification with the group. A plausible explanation for the difference in sociability and loneliness may be that the ‘need to belong’ (Baumeister and Leary, 1995) is on average better fulfilled by conservative Protestantism than by the other religious categories. The higher levels of church

attendance and time spent with relatives indicate a fostering of closer family connections and more social contact with other congregation and community members.

2. 5. Conclusion

Based on the literature on conservative and liberal Protestantism, and the evolutionary-ecological approach to religion, the main hypothesis was that conservative Protestants should display a greater reliance on external rules and authorities, and lower levels of individualism than liberal Protestants. This was supported by data both from the one-time questionnaire and experience sampling method. The data and the categories used in this study matches previous sociological research on social class and religiosity in liberal and conservative denominations, as well as psychological characteristics of conservative and liberal moral values and family life. Conservatives were on average more religious and from lower educational and socioeconomic class backgrounds than liberals.

In support of my more specific hypothesis for this study, the conservative Protestant teenagers came across as more dependent on their external environment than liberals. They were shown to spend considerably less time alone and more time in the company of family, and their experience of the situation was on average more positive when they were with others. The family, both as social company and as an environment of rules and boundaries, appears to make conservatives, but not liberals, feel more satisfied and in control of their lives. Liberals were shown to have less strict rules in the family, but were also given more positive individual attention from their parents. Nevertheless, being with family members has less, and sometimes negative effects on their mood.

The numerous differences that were found between liberal and conservative Protestants cannot be attributed to their levels of religiosity, as religiosity did not have the same effect on the two groups. Very religious liberals expressed more liberal family values than less religious liberals, whereas the opposite was the case for conservatives. In conclusion, the results of this study speak in favour of regarding liberal and conservative Protestantism as qualitatively different socio-ecological strategies.

3. Language use in Liberal and Conservative churches

If liberal and conservative religion can be regarded as different cognitive and behavioural systems, one would expect this to have consequences for the linguistic behaviour of religious institutions. In order to test my claims with a different type of data, I conducted a two-part analysis of language use in conservative and liberal Protestant churches. Using word count software, I looked at lexical differences in mission statements from 120 church websites. I also attended worship services at local churches in order to analyze and compare the language use in the sermons. The main hypothesis, on the basis of the main study and theoretical literature, was that the mission statements and sermons of liberal churches would emphasize individualism and diversity, where conservative churches would stress authoritarianism, obedience and unity. Secondly, I wanted to test Lakoff's (1996) claims that liberals' tend to use more metaphors of nurturance, whereas conservatives refer more to strength. Thirdly, I hypothesized that liberal churches catering to a more educated audience, would use more integrative complexity (Tetlock, 1985) than conservative churches, and finally I predicted that both categories of churches would attempt to strengthen their identity as either "liberal" or "conservative" by making negative reference to the other. I found support for the first, third and fourth of these hypotheses. In addition I found that conservative churches were on average more likely to refer to the church as an escape from negative emotions, uncertainty and stress, which

supports the general finding that conservative religiosity may be seen as an adaptive strategy in reaction to existential insecurity.

3. 1. Theoretical background for the study of liberal and conservative rhetoric

George Lakoff's starting point for analysis of conservative and liberal political discourse is the question of "why liberals and conservatives could seem to be talking about the same thing and yet reach opposite conclusions" (Lakoff, 1996: 12). The answer he provides is that these ideologies have different conceptual models of the family and morality, which carries over into the way they reason about politics. While he characterizes these models as radically different conceptual systems, he is not claiming that every individual subscribes fully to one of them. In the interest of simplifications however, he describes the two extremes of what he regards as a much more complex and context-dependent continuum of variance (1996: 16-17). One of Lakoff's main presuppositions is that moral cognition is fundamentally dependent on metaphors. This idea is primarily based on a school of thought known as "Cognitive linguistics", which may be seen as an elaboration on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf, 1941: 75), in that language and cognition are seen as mutually influential. However, cognitive linguistics also emphasizes that language is dependent on other environmental factors and embodied experience (Ungerer and Schmid, 1996: 50). According to Lakoff, metaphors of morality are commonly derived from understandings of well being. This includes conceptualizing well-being as wealth, and morality as "keeping books". In this way we get concepts such as "being in someone's debt". Another frequent conceptualization of well-being is health, and thus morality is often metaphorically equated with strength, uprightness, purity and

so forth. These are general features of moral discourse. However, the particular metaphorical priorities vary between different conceptual systems. Lakoff compares two opposite models of the ideal family that he argues provides a background for understanding the worldview of conservatives and liberals respectively. These are: Strict Father Morality and Nurturant Parent Morality.

Strict father morality assigns highest priority to the “morality as strength” metaphor. The world is seen as divided into good and evil, where evil is seen as a force that must be fought with moral strength. Moral weakness is thus implicitly immoral and evil. Moral strength is thought to be acquired through respect for and obedience to authority as well as self-discipline. Authority is patterned on parental authority and it is considered moral for authority figures to set standards and enforce them.

The second moral system, nurturant parent morality, is also loosely based on a family model but has a different set of priorities. Moral nurturance presupposes an understanding of “morality as empathy” Helping a child to “moral growth” entails less enforcement of authority and more love and compassion. Failing to nurture in a way that makes the child happy is considered immoral. However, nurturant parent morality also recognizes that caring about others requires a certain amount of self-nurturance. Caring for oneself and achieving happiness is thus to be considered moral within this model.

Christian Smith (2003) stresses the importance of narrative in constructing moral frameworks. He postulates that different and competing narratives about history and modernity, such as the “liberal progress” narrative and the “community lost” narrative are akin to modern “myths” in that they are essential for shaping meaningful social identities and frame our thoughts about what is right, good and important. The liberal progress

narrative tells the story of how people used to suffer under authoritarian rule in the past, but have been liberated by modern enlightenment ideals about democracy, rationality, equality and individual rights (2003: 82). As such it downplays the moral value of authority, community and tradition in favour of an individual basis of morality. In contrast, the narrative of a community lost to modern individualism and scientific rationalism is one that is typical of conservative morality (Haidt and Joseph, In press: 24; Smith, 2003: 85-86). The relative importance given to each narrative varies between individuals, communities and particular moral problems, and may be the basis for dilemmas and disagreements. Lakoff's two moral systems may be regarded as two competing narratives.

The social psychologist Philip Tetlock (1985) analyzed case opinions of Supreme Court justices to explore the relations between ideology and cognitive style. He found that liberal justices' language demonstrate a higher degree of what he calls "integrative complexity" (1985: 1228), that is they tend to integrate a diversity of evidence in their arguments and to interpret events in multidimensional terms. Conservative judges demonstrated a greater preference for "integrative simple thought" (1985: 1234-5), which means that they rely more on rigid evaluative rules and tend towards an avoidance of ambiguity. In the religious realm, conservative Protestants are more likely than other Protestants to express their belief in God without doubt (Greeley and Hout, 2006: 23) and to see moral issues in black and white (2006: 32). This lends support to the idea that religious conservatism may be seen as a cognitive and behavioural strategy adapted to deal with situations of threat and uncertainty. If this is the case, one would expect it to be evident also in their mission statements and Sunday sermons.

3. 2. Data and method

Mission statements were collected from the following six denominations, the three classified as “liberal” in the original study: Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal, the two conservative ones: Pentecostal and Mormons, and finally the Southern Baptist denomination as an additional conservative denomination to get even numbers. In the original study, Southern Baptists were part of the large and heterogeneous category of “Baptists” and would thus have been labeled moderate. Twenty mission statements were collected randomly from each denomination using the Google search engine. The search-words used were “Methodist Church USA”, “Presbyterian Church USA” etc. The first twenty websites that came up from individual churches in the United States were used, insofar as they had any kind of mission statement, welcome statement or statement of beliefs in English on their website. There was no requirement for length, but when the mission statement was only a line or two, I would include it together with a welcome statement / statement of belief or equivalent. With the exception of Latter-day Saints I only used statements from individual local congregational websites. In other words, I did not use text from central organizational websites of the denominations, nor from other larger bodies serving multiple churches, such as synods or presbyteries. An exception to this rule was made for the Mormons due to the fact that for the largest body of Mormons, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day-Saints (CJCLDS), non-members are denied access to individual church websites. To solve this problem I used ten texts from the central website of CJCLDS covering general topics of beliefs and practices, together with ten mission statements from individual churches of Community of Christ, the second

largest organization of Mormon heritage. A list of the websites used in the study is provided in appendix C.

The mission statements were cut and pasted into MS Word text-files, and processed through the word count programme Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC2001). This is the second version of an application (LIWC) originally developed by Francis and Pennebaker in 1993 and updated in 2001 (Pennebaker, Francis and Booth, 2001: 12). The programme is designed to analyze written text on a word by word basis by calculating the percentage of words that match each of a number of word categories. It contains a default dictionary file with 2,300 words grouped into 74 categories. Examples include categories such as first person singular pronouns (I, my, me etc), cognitive processes (cause, know, ought etc.). Studies conducted to assess the external validity of LIWC have concluded that the default dictionary captures on average 80 % of the words people use in writing and speech (2001: 15). Additionally, the programme allows the user to create their own dictionary of self-defined word-categories (2001: 12-15). In the analysis of mission statements, I first counted words using the programme's default dictionary. After a preliminary analysis of the results, I processed the texts with the software a second time, using my own created dictionary in order to look for words that I was particularly interested in and that were not included in the default dictionary. Word counts are informative in that they give a quantitative measure of language use. However, it is a very crude method in itself and any significant result needs to be interpreted in terms of context, as I will show in this analysis.

The churches attended for the recording of sermons were chosen on the basis of geographical location. The primary criterion was close vicinity to the city centre of

Binghamton. This was both because this limited the travel time, and because I assumed that centrality would decrease the chance of the church serving a particular socioeconomic segment of the population on the basis of its location. Six local churches were visited on Sundays over the period from October 2006 until March 2007, from the same denominations that I collected mission statements from: one Episcopal, one United Methodist, one Presbyterian (Presbyterian Church U.S.A.), one Pentecostal (Church of God in Christ) and one Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints). Permission to record and analyze the sermons was obtained from the churches in advance. The sermons were recorded using a digital voice recorder, and transcribed manually. Examples from the sermons are cited in the text and complete copies of transcriptions are available upon request. The Mormon temple was the only one that did not have a Sunday sermon by a pastor or guest preacher. Instead I recorded the testimonies given by members of the congregation.

3. 3. Results of word counts

3. 3. 1) Long and unique words

The first significant result was that words of more than six letters occur more frequently in liberal than in conservative mission statements (26.7% vs. 23.3%) As can be seen from Table 9, Liberal churches also used more “unique” words (58.0% vs. 53.5%) and less standard dictionary words (70.1% vs. 74.1%). Some of the statements of faith in the liberal churches are indeed marked by the use of long words and a nearly academic style of writing. For example: “Theology is the servant of piety, which in turn is the ground of social conscience and the impetus for social action and global interaction, always in the

empowering context of the reign of God.” (St. Paul United Methodist Church, (Largo, FL), 2007). Liberal Protestants have higher levels of education on average than conservative Protestants, and the difference in word length in these texts may reflect the educational levels of their target audiences.

3. 3. 2) Strictness and authority

In creating my own dictionary, I looked specifically for words related to authority and strictness to test the hypothesis that these would be more prevalent in conservative mission statements. The results (see Table 10) were overwhelmingly consistent with my predictions. Conservative churches were found to refer more to sin than liberal churches (0.31% vs. 0.08%). This may reflect a greater emphasis on strictness. As hypothesized, conservative mission statements also included more references to obedience (0.05% vs. 0.01%) and more references to authority (0.08% vs. 0.02%) than liberal churches. There were no significant differences in references to God or the Bible, but words indicating sacredness were on average more prevalent in conservative mission statements (0.39% vs. 0.21%). The result that conservative churches use significantly more words referring to “grooming” (0.05% vs. 0.01%), is probably due to more reference to purity and sacredness. Liberal churches on the other hand use more words referring to diversity and difference (0.19% vs. 0.02%), indicating less preoccupation with obedience and conformity.

3. 3. 3) Use of pronouns

Significant differences were found in the use of pronouns, and they were not all in the direction I initially expected. However, closer inspection of how the pronouns were used

revealed that the difference could nevertheless be explained with reference to the hypothesis about individualism and authoritarianism.

First person plural pronouns, that is “we”, “our”, “us” etc. occurred more frequently in liberal than in conservative (5.9% vs. 3.8%) mission statements. Examples of common uses of first person plural in mission statements include: “We are a community of believers”, “Our vision for the church is ...”, “We welcome you”, “we believe ...” etc. Initially, I was puzzled by this result since I thought the use of first person plural implied communitarianism rather than individualism. However, when looking more closely at the liberal mission statements, I discovered that there are plenty of ways to express emphasis on individual experience through frequent use of first person plural pronouns. The following three examples may illustrate this point:

At Idlewild, we attempt to answer these questions together as a loving community called together by Christ. As his disciples, we strive to nurture each person’s unique spiritual journey, to explore freely the challenge and wonder of the faith, and to reach out in compassion to the world’s needs. (Idlewild Presbyterian Church (Memphis, TN), 2007)

The vision of John N. McEachern Memorial United Methodist Church is to be a church where every member is encouraged to grow as a disciple of Jesus Christ, to be involved in his ministry, and especially to bring others lovingly into a personal experience of His transforming grace in order to glorify God. (McEachern Memorial UMC (Powder Springs, GA), 2007)

We do not have a set of rules for being God's people. We believe that in our life with God we should use our minds -- we should think about the Bible, tradition and our own experience (St. Michael’s Cathedral (Boise, ID), 2007)

Nevertheless, this does not explain why liberals use these pronouns significantly more frequently than conservatives. The clue to the mystery might lie in a different style of argument used by conservatives. Qualifying a statement with “We believe” relativizes it by implying that it is a belief rather than a “fact”. Thus, many conservative churches simply state their beliefs, omitting any reference to the *believer*. For example: “There is

one God, who has revealed Himself as our Father, in His Son Jesus Christ, and as the Holy Spirit. Jesus Christ is God manifested in flesh. He is both God and man” (New Life Pentecostal Church (Olathe, KS), 2007)

Another variant of this that occurred frequently in the conservative mission statements was to state “we believe:” once, and then list a number of bullet-pointed beliefs. In the following example “we” is mentioned only once, but is implied in each sentence.

What we believe

- God is bigger and better and closer than we can imagine.
- The Bible is God’s perfect guidebook for living.
- Jesus is God showing himself to us.
- Through His Holy Spirit, God lives in and through us now.
- Nothing in creation “just happened.” God made it all.
- Grace is the only way to have a relationship with God.
- Faith is the only way to grow in our relationship with God.
- God has allowed evil to provide us with a choice, God can bring good even out of evil events and God promises victory over evil to those who choose him.
- Heaven and hell are real places. Death is a beginning, not the end.
- The church is to serve people like Jesus served people..
- Jesus is coming again. (Second Baptist Church (Conway, AR), 2007)

Liberal mission statements have a higher frequency of first person pronouns in general than conservative ones (5.9% vs. 4.1%) , meaning they also use more “I”, “me”, “my” etc. than conservative churches. In other words it seems to be the use of the first person, not the reference to the collective that makes the use of “we” typical of liberals.

The use of second person pronouns such as you, your, and yourself is more frequent in conservative than in liberal mission statements (1.8% vs. 0.9%). Typical usage is “We welcome you”, “Thank you for stopping by”, “God bless you”. Once again,

I was surprised by the result. I originally thought “you” would be used more to encourage individualistic spiritual growth, and to cater to personal interest. “You” is often used in advertising to highlight the customer’s personal freedom and choice. An emphasis on this, or so I imagined, would fit the description of liberal churches better than conservative ones. A closer look at the statements revealed once again that personal pronouns mean nothing by themselves and can be used in a number of contexts. First Baptist Church SBC, (England, Arkansas) for example, uses “you” in a long list of biblical commandments such as "Unless you repent, you will perish." Luke 13:3. Similarly, by underlining “you”, Riverview Baptist Church in Pasco, Washington (2007) appeals directly to the reader’s existential insecurity, as defined by Norris and Inglehart (2004):

Ask yourself this question: If you should die right now, where will you spend eternity? In one minute we can explain to you how you can know for sure that if you died today you would go to Heaven. (Riverview Baptist Church (Pasco, WA), 2007)

Another reason why “you” is frequently used in the conservative churches may be that the CJCLDS website addresses their entire statement of faith to “you”. For example: “You may have questions about what members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believe.” (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 2007).

Nevertheless, it also becomes clear from reading the mission statements that a simple distinction between collectivism and individualism is far too reductionist. Some charismatic conservative churches like the Pentecostal church *do* put a strong emphasis on catering to the individual. For example Broadway Assembly in Lorain, Ohio (2007) assures readers that their individual interests will be met by the church activities on offer:

“From the moment you step in the door, you'll find a warm welcome and a wealth of ministries to meet the needs of each member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, plus, boundless opportunities for ministry and outreach.” The mix of emphasis on both personal choice and restrictions is interesting by itself, and suggests an effort to reach out to different audiences with different needs and expectations. Some also have the style of advertisements, such as this one:

Are you tired of Dead, Dull, Boring Churches?

There is an Alternative!

Welcome to New Life!

New Life offers: Jubilant, Heart-felt Singing, Exciting, Spirit-directed Worship, Anointed, Bible-centered Preaching, A Friendly, Love-filled Atmosphere, and Genuine, Life-changing Salvation!

If you're looking for more than a Church, more than a tradition, more than a religion, try NEW LIFE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH of Olathe, KS

You'll be glad you did! (New Life Pentecostal Church (Olathe, KS), 2007)

In order to understand the diversity of language use in conservative mission statements it may be useful to make a distinction between fundamentalist and evangelical conservative churches (see for example Iannaccone, 1994). While the first is generally authoritarian and makes frequent references to scripture, the second is less concerned with formalities, and place greater emphasis on individual experience. Nevertheless, looking through the sample, it is hard to place them into these categories since many employ both the fundamentalist and evangelical “style” in their statements.

Conservative mission statements also have more instances of third person than

liberals (1.6% vs. 0.6%). This confirmed my expectations since most of the third person usage refers to either God or Jesus. For example:

Our chief aim is to glorify our Savior, even Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works; that we should show forth the praises of Him who hath called us out of darkness into His marvelous light (Pentecostal Church in Jesus Christ. (Peoria, IL), 2007)

The purpose of the Hopewell United Methodist Church is to know Jesus Christ, and through His love, to make Him known, sharing his miraculous, life-changing love and mercy with our community and the world. (Hopewell United Methodist Church (Hopewell , NJ), 2007)

That these references are more frequent in conservative churches is probably related to the fact that conservative churches are more concerned with scripture. Moreover, it may be explained by the authoritarian character of much conservative religion, which requires frequent reference to external authorities.

3. 3. 4) Positive and negative emotions

In general I found that liberals refer more to affective or emotional processes than conservatives (6.4% vs 5.4%). Words associated with positive emotions are more frequent in liberal than in conservative (6.1% vs. 4.7%) mission statements whereas words associated with negative emotions are slightly more frequent in conservative than in liberal (0.6% vs. 0.3%) mission statements. Examples of positive emotion words include “happy”, “pretty”, “good”, “love” and “pride”. Examples of negative emotion words are “hate”, “worthless”, “enemy”, “afraid” and “grief”. All these results were significant, but of the smaller classes of positive and negative emotions, optimism and anger were the only two that were significant.

At first glance this may seem to contradict the findings that conservatives on average experience more positive emotions than liberals. A possible reason for the prevalence of negative emotions in conservative mission statements is the emphasis on *healing* in some evangelical churches. In an additional analysis using my own dictionary, I found that words referring to healing, restoring and renewing occurred significantly more often in conservative mission statements (0.22% vs. 0.07%). The power of the divine, and of the church, is conceptualized as setting things right. In order for this line of argument to have persuasive power for potential visitors, however, one must first describe what is *wrong* with the world without or outside of the church. Thus one can find statements such as this: "The Church has the solution, the power and ability through the Name of Jesus - the Word of God to cause man to recover from sickness, poverty, curses, evil and the fall of Adam." (The Glorious Church (Fort Wayne, IN), 2007). Further, there is a significantly higher frequency of words referring to death and dying in the conservative churches (0.16% vs. 0.06%). The tendency to focus on negatives is also reflected in the greater emphasis on sin and strictness that has already been discussed.

Liberal denominations tend to emphasize the positive effects of joining a church, but often without describing dissatisfaction with the alternative. Instead, the positive emotions that church going invokes are conceptualized as a celebration and affirmation of already established notions of the joys of life. Words associated with strength and empowerment were found to be significantly more prevalent in liberal churches (0.23% vs. 0.11%) In other words, when liberals refer to positive developments, they tend to focus on an *enrichment* of life rather than healing of deficiencies or imperfections. For example:

As we travel the road ahead, join us as we minister to the whole person — body, mind, and soul; join us in being part of God’s new creation here in the beauty of East Tennessee; join us as we share the joy of deepening faith and joyful fellowship. Come celebrate with us as we journey in faith and in partnership with Christ! In the words of one of our hymns:

Come, sing, O church, in joy!
Come join, O Church, in song!
For Christ the Lord has led
Us through the ages long!
In bold accord, come celebrate
The journey now and praise the Lord! (Bethel Presbyterian Church (Kingston, TN), 2007)

Thus while the positive affective words may be more prevalent in the liberal case, their effect may be compromised by their lack of contrast to the *negative* emotions associated with life outside of the church. The difference in emphasis on healing is very interesting from a socio-ecological perspective as it suggests that conservative churches to a much greater degree than liberal churches, address their mission statements to a niche of potential members who are familiar with hardship, insecurity, poverty and ill health.

3. 3. 5) *Cognitive processes*

That conservative statements should include more reference to cognitive processes than liberal (4.8% vs. 3.9%) came as a surprise, considering my prediction that the arguments made in liberal statements should display greater integrative complexity (Tetlock, 1985).

One cognitive process that was significantly more prevalent in conservative than liberal (0.7% vs. 0.4%) mission statements was words referring to *causation*, such as “because”, “effect” and “hence”. However, causal arguments need not necessarily be complex, nor are they by definition logically sound. Since the mission statements for the most part attempt to be brief and to the point, few of them contain complex reasoning and

most of the causal arguments go something like this, “The Bible is the Word of God, and therefore inerrant and infallible.” (1st Pentecostal Church of Tulsa (Tulsa, OK), 2007) It may be that by using causal arguments, even where the logic and evidence is somewhat lacking, conservative mission statements offer greater cognitive closure (cf. Tetlock, 1985). It may also be that this style of reasoning reinforces the view of God as a causal agent.

According to the integrative complexity hypothesis, and the concept of cognitive closure I expected *certainty* to be more prevalent in conservative statements. However, this is not what I found. On the contrary, liberal statements contained significantly more words of certainty than conservative statements did (1,7% vs. 1,1%). Examples of certainty words are “all” and “every”, and thus this result may actually tell us as much about inclusiveness in welcoming new members as it does about certainty in theological doctrine. The following two examples illustrate this: “The purpose of Central United Methodist Church is to be a center of spiritual growth, focused on Christ, sharing the Scripture, while serving all with unconditional love. (Central United Methodist Church (Richmond, IN), 2007), “Inquiring minds and searching hearts are always welcome at Nativity” (The Episcopal Church of the Nativity (Fayetteville, GA))

TABLE 9: Default dictionary - only significant results

Words	Liberal	Conservative	P= / <
Unique	57.99	53.51	0.0339
Dictionary	70.09	74.13	0.0004
Sixltr	26.73	23.30	0.0034
We	5.86	3.83	0.0001
Self	5.96	4.09	0.0001
You	0.86	1.82	0.0048
Other	0.60	1.60	0.0001
Affect	6.40	5.36	0.0006
Optim	1.59	1.20	0.0312
Negemo	0.25	0.65	0.0022
Anger	0.01	0.10	0.0238
Cogmech	3.87	4.84	0.0135
Cause	0.42	0.71	0.0194
Insight	1.59	2.14	0.0368
Discrep	0.69	1.09	0.0114
Certain	1.66	1.10	0.0034
Hear	0.29	0.52	0.0279
Death	0.06	0.16	0.0242
Groom	0.01	0.05	0.0175

TABLE 10: Self-defined dictionary - all results

Words	Liberal	Conservative	P= / <
Belief	0.28	0.39	0.3275
Diverse**	0.19	0.02	0.0034
All	1.07	0.80	0.0694
Bible	0.39	0.59	0.073
Holy*	0.21	0.39	0.0447
family	0.41	0.64	0.0869
tradition	0.35	0.17	0.0715
Sin**	0.08	0.31	0.0032
Obedience*	0.01	0.05	0.0185
Authority*	0.02	0.08	0.0327
Heal*	0.07	0.22	0.0409
Individual	0.18	0.12	0.3945
Nurture	0.56	0.47	0.5466
Strength*	0.23	0.11	0.038
Absolute	0.00	0.04	0.0918

(*P= / < 0.05, **P= / < 0.01)

3. 4. Sermons

Six local churches in the Binghamton area were visited on Sundays over the period from October 2006 until March 2007. Aside from being an opportunity to record samples of sermons, attending worship services in local churches gave me a better intuitive understanding of various denominational and non-denominational differences that improved the overall comparison. The three liberal churches chosen were Trinity Memorial Episcopal Church (Binghamton), Tabernacle Methodist Church (Binghamton) and West Presbyterian Church (Binghamton), and the three conservative churches were Main Street Baptist Church (Binghamton), Faith Evangelistic Church - Church of God in Christ (Johnson City) and Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Vestal). The format and length of these services as well as the content of the sermons were so drastically different that I see little value in quantitatively comparing the lexical choices. Instead I have chosen to focus on the more general formal and semantic differences.

3. 4. 1) Differences in style

A general difference between the sermons in the liberal and conservative churches could be found in the style of speech. Overall the preachers in the liberal churches spoke in a way that was clear, slow and matter-of-fact, and it was easy to follow the structure of their argument. In contrast, the conservative churches used a less formal, but more emotionally intense way of preaching. The sentences often run along with little pause in between them. In the Baptist church, the pauses were mainly made within sentences rather than between them, which in combination with emphasis on certain words through heightened pitch and slower articulation had the effect of tuning ones attention to certain

key concepts. Notably the words “truth”, “Word”, “law” and “perfect” were heavily emphasized in this way several times throughout the sermon. These words are easily classified as “conservative”, in the sense that they presuppose the value of integrative simplicity over complexity, and authoritative dogma rather than individual choice or reasoning. In the black Pentecostal church, the sermon was very loosely structured around a scripture reading with associations and examples that departed so much from the reading and theme that it was sometimes difficult to follow the logic of the arguments. The sermon was interspersed with frequent encouraging calls for attention, like “hello somebody” and “is anybody listening?” as well as loud affirmative shouts of “Amen”, “yes” and “Hallelujah” from the congregation. The last fifth of the sermon was sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. These very different styles of preaching is reminiscent of Whitehouse’s distinction between doctrinal and imagistic modes of transmission. While the first works by committing information to memory through frequent repetition and routinized ritual structure, the latter does so primarily through being emotionally arousing (Whitehouse, 2005: 211). While both modes are used by both liberals and conservatives, the imagistic mode was more obviously prevalent in my sample of conservative sermons than it was in the liberal sermons. The Mormon Church did not have a sermon at all, but rather let congregation members bear their testimonies at the Sunday service. While very different from both the Baptist and the Pentecostal sermons, the testimonies had in common with both of them that they tended to be emotionally intense. Most of the speakers talked about difficult experiences in their lives, and many cried while doing so.

There was also some difference between temporal perspectives expressed in the sermons. For example the Episcopal sermon focused on the history of the Church and the contribution of various persons and events to the current body of traditions. In other words, history is here imagined as a linear and causal chain of events, leading up to the present. In the Baptist and Pentecostal sermons on the other hand, the focus is on two discontinuous time periods: Biblical time and the present, with no mention of any possible temporal-causal relations between them. However, that does not mean that they are completely separated from each other. The relation between the Biblical time and the present is primarily allegorical rather than historical – the present is invoked to understand the meaning of the past, and the past is seen as model for how to act in the present. In Susan Friend Harding’s analysis of fundamentalist Baptists, she makes the following observation: “To the born-again ear, biblical stories are not allegorical, nor do they represent history. They *are* history, past and future” (Harding, 2000: 230). Hence, current events are interpreted “inside Bible-based history” (2000: 233), not so much as effects of previous historical causes, but as evidence of the very same “truth” that is regarded as the fundament of all past, present and future events, that is the word and will of God.

The topics of the sermons in conservative churches were in large part expressed in what Harding identifies as a biblical narrative form. This narrative form is characterized by “literary devices that distinguish Hebrew scripture” (2000: 54), such as a high frequency of verse markers like “and” and “now” and the already noted “characteristic rush [...] towards an essential moment; auspicious shifts and gaps that engage interpretative attention” (2000: 54). By using these narrative styles, Harding argues,

“[p]reachers stand in the gap between the language of the Christian Bible and the language of everyday life” (2000: 12). Indeed, the use of this style of speaking often made it difficult to distinguish between the actual Bible verses and their interpretation and application to the present, unless you either knew the verses by heart or was reading from the Bible while listening to the sermon. Many of those who bore testimonies in the Mormon church used verse markers with very high frequency. For example, one young woman started almost all her sentences with “and”:

But, the Lord’s still with me. And I just wanna thank him for that and I thank everybody for being so nice to me and, I love you all. And I love the Lord. And, I hope, me being in his Church, that he *knows* that. And I say these things in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

As in the mission statements, I found that the liberal sermons had an almost academic quality to them. In the Episcopal church for example, the topic was whether or not Episcopalians should be considered Protestants, and the sermon had the outline of a lecture in church history with very few references to Bible verses or statements of belief. The preacher provided introductory questions, various forms of evidence including historical facts, survey data, personal anecdotes and comparisons with other contemporary churches, leading up to her final conclusion. The sermon’s similarity to an academic lecture was foregrounded when the preacher misspoke and corrected herself at one point, saying “in your handouts....er... in your leaflets” when referring to historical information about Anglican martyrs that was distributed with the service outline. In the Presbyterian church, the preacher spent a significant portion of the sermon explaining the etymology and meaning of the three Greek words for love (“eros”, “philia” and “agape”), and writing them down on a board. He also outlined Plato’s allegory of the cave in order

to compare it to Paul's reference to a mirror in 1 Corinthians 13.12. While this academic style was unique to the liberal churches, it should be mentioned that an emphasis on teaching and transmitting information could be found in all the sermons. The Pentecostal preacher for example frequently started his sentences: "But you've gotta understand ...", "I want you to know ...", "As a matter of fact ...", "And this is why ..." etc. However, while there is frequent use of what was referred to in the word count software as "cognitive processes" in conservative churches, the congregation rarely gets to hear more than one point of view, and the style is one of trying to convince by only presenting the supporting evidence.

3. 4. 2) Complexity, diversity and relativism

This brings me to the second point that divided the liberal from the conservative churches; the differential emphasis on complexity, diversity and relativism. A good illustration of the liberal openness to individual interpretation can be drawn from the Methodist sermon entitled "The Nature of Faith", where the preacher concluded hesitantly with the defensive statement: "At least that is what faith is now, for *me* ... The question is there for each of us". Diversity and complexity was also a major theme in the Episcopal sermon. The very question asked: "Are we Episcopalians Protestants?" highlights an uncertainty about what some would consider to be profound issues of identification. Moreover, the attempts to ground this uncertainty are made largely with reference to a highly changing and geographically dispersed historical tradition. The preacher mentions that she got a "variety of answers" when she posed the question to other Episcopalians, which exemplifies internal differences in interpretation. She also mentions differences *between* traditions for example by comparing the service to that of

Presbyterians and Catholics. One particularly prominent example occurs in her discussion of the clergy's role

One of my co-workers, an evangelical Baptist, said they are Protestants because they have a direct line to Jesus, that is, they do not need a priest to intervene for forgiveness. At the 10am service our processional hymn is number 5:75 which portrays such a fierce God that we may prefer to have some buffering person like a Priest intervening on our behalf. (laughter, rustling)

Although said in a light and joking manner, this comment seems to imply a notion of relativity both about the image of God and the role of the clergy.

Another way complexity is emphasized in the Episcopalian sermon is in the preacher's explicit critique of her own tradition. By comparing Cromwell and his followers to the Red Guard in China and the Taliban in Afghanistan, she not only stresses their intolerance as something to be condemned, but she also relativizes Protestant Christian ideology as a possibly destructive force when in the wrong hands. Christianity is thus portrayed as morally good, but only under the condition that it is coupled with tolerance for other beliefs. This style of reasoning can be characterized as "integrative complexity" as it displays a "tendency to interpret events in multidimensional terms and to integrate a variety of evidence in arriving at decisions" (Tetlock, 1985: 1228). The focus on practice and historical dilemma adds a layer of complexity to the mere belief in scripture, and makes the point that doing the right thing is often less than straightforward, or to quote from the sermon: "The tricky part about Martyrs is that you have to avoid the temptation to say that 'we will burn you at the stake, because you burned us at the stake'". As these examples show, dogmatism and integrative simplicity is evaluated in negative terms. Thus, despite its liberal open mindedness, this church does not fail to define its opposition, which is even slightly ridiculed as in the following excerpt:

One son of an Anglican priest said that he's been unsure of this answer for years. One priest said that he's both Protestant and Catholic, and another said we are a category unique to ourselves. Some Catholics said they consider the Episcopalians to be *almost* Catholics because the liturgy is almost exactly the same. One Baptist said: "If you're not Catholic or Jewish, then you have to be Protestant. What other options are there? ([laughter]) This reminded me of the social worker who interviewed my sister and brother-in-law when they were adopting their second son. The social worker asked my brother-in-law, who is from a Greek-orthodox family, if he was Protestant, Catholic or Jewish. Luke said: "None of these. I'm Orthodox". The social worker said: "Well, I'll put Protestant". Luke said: "Well, we like to think we came first". ([laughter])

The Methodist preacher similarly does not hesitate to critique his conservative colleagues:

Sometimes people join a church and they are given the whole package. *Not* this church I hope. But they've said "Listen, if you're *going* to join this church, you have to believe the following forty *things*. ... And if you somehow can't subscribe to them with an enthusiasm – if you can't *believe* it, if you don't have *faith* in these things, *then* you shouldn't probably be *here*. ... I don't think *that's* faith.
(....)

My favourite preacher on TV, who has the opposite spirit of my own, this Joel Osteen that I bring up every once in a while. I might be a *little* jealous of him ... at some level that I'd rather not get into now ([laughter]). *But*, I don't *like* the theology that he often *preaches* ... that says if you trust God then the following bad things won't happen. As he said about his own *children*. ... "I *know* *ahead* of time", he has to [hear?] a lot. "I know", he said, "because of my great trust in God, my children will be healthy their whole lives." ... That's not, I don't believe, what *I* can trust.

The liberal sermons generally made few references to the Bible beyond the selected scripture reading of the day. The only reference made to the Bible in the Episcopalian sermon was to 1. Corinthians 3:9-14, which was read earlier in the service. As the preacher put it this text "uses the metaphor of a building, built on a foundation, with different builders making different contributions". The implication in her use of this metaphor is that while the foundation in Christ is crucial, the rest of the historical tradition is just as significant in contributing to "the complex structure which is our

current Church”. The values explicitly stated as worthy of celebration in this sermon: inclusiveness, democracy and respect for other traditions are also indicative of the value put on diversity. The final conclusion says it all:

I believe that we do occupy a place in [...of], a place among Christians which is neither Catholic nor Protestant. We have until recently done well in embracing high church and low, Anglo-Catholic and much more Protestant traditions. Let us pray that we will not lose our breadth of traditions.

The “I” in the beginning of this statement further contributes to the point in that it implicitly invites the listeners to make up their own minds on whether they agree or not. This may serve as another example of the emphasis on first person pronouns in liberal churches, that I found evidence for in the mission statements.

3. 4. 3) Simplicity, absolutism and insecurity

As already mentioned, the emphasis in Main Street Baptist Church was on words that may be regarded as reductionist and absolutist, like “truth”, “perfect” and “law”. The reading from James is an encouragement to “listen to the word” and “do what it says”, and this reinforces the impression that the matter for discussion is simple and straightforward, and ensures that the conclusions are clearly stated and easily remembered. However, the issue of complexity is not bypassed. On the contrary, it is discussed in some detail, but in a way that construes it as a threat rather than something to aspire to. The following excerpt about the “situation in our culture” illustrates this well.

With the instant availability of *messages* of every description, and messengers from all over ...the place. (???) With listeners being the one that’s in *control* of the message, ‘cause all you have to do – you can pick and choose, you can turn it on, you can turn it off. With the breakdown of

institutions and people being *isolated* from one another, *on* their own. No strict authorities *above* them, but just listeners who are like *creating* their own reality – making up ... their own grab-bag mix-and-match religion. People are *choosing* their own values, as though values were something that we *were* simply free ... to choose. We're going back to loss of community, to loss of accountability, extreme individualism it comes to mean that somewhere, when we're free to choose there's an equality of all, of all choices, so no *opinion* is better than any other opinion, so *hearing* is something we do that is *interesting*...and doing because it's *optional*. ... Truth and goodness being based just on individual choice, individual experience, and put together *by* the individual are relative, ... changing, ... not absolute.

Here, the use of the habitual and progressive aspects of the verbs suggest an omnipresent and durative threat (Rymes, 2001: 45; Scheiffelin, 2002: S15) to morality and community. According to Smith (2003: 85-86), this particular narrative of a community lost to modern individualism and scientific rationalism is one that is typical of conservative morality. Nevertheless, the conservative churches are not the only ones to criticize aspects of modernity. This excerpt from West Presbyterian is similar in many ways: “People *instead* of going on the street and meeting their *neighbours*, sitting in their *dark* corners, and *writing, messaging*“. However, the solution offered is slightly different. In the Presbyterian sermon, the benefit of belonging to the church is construed as being primarily social.

We have a marvellous opportunity in our *small* congregations and churches ... to *model* this, to *work* on it, to *practice* it ... It's our only chance ... to practice the divine love. And *we*, as a community of faith and love, also *better* chance to help *all those* prisoners around us

In the Baptist church on the other hand, the opposition to modern consumer capitalism and estrangement is defined as a moral culture with the Bible as its fundament. As in the mission statements, the congregation is constantly reminded of the fundamental importance of the textual authority. However, in this sermon they are also strongly encouraged to put “the Word” into practice, with various suggestions for how this can be

done, including helping neighbours and donating to charity and mission work. Still, the possible dilemmas and paradoxes that may arise from trying to apply the diverse set of morals that the Bible offers to life in today's world are not touched upon. The Christian lifestyle is portrayed as fostering sociability and offering simple and perfect solutions free from contradictions, as opposed to consumer capitalism and a postmodern proliferation of choice that results in identity crisis and breakdown of community and solidarity.

In slight contrast to the Baptist sermon, the Pentecostal sermon *did* address the difficulties of following scripture in daily conduct, but strongly encouraged the congregation to overcome these difficulties. Interestingly, the populist reassurance that moral perfection is hard to achieve almost slipped into relativist undermining of authority at some points. For example it was pointed out that the first disciples were far from saintly: "You've got to hear what I'm saying about the Sons of Thunder is, *they* didn't get that nickname because they were *preaching* with a loud voice. (No, ahh)". Nevertheless, the reminder of the importance of regular church-going is justified with the example of Jesus.

Sometimes, when you just don't feel like coming, you're *tired* ... from *working* all week (Aha). When you're *tired* of being with folks on the *job*. Hello somebody. You're even *tired* of being with folks in the *church*. ([murmur of consent]). It should be your *custom* to *come* to the House of the Lord as it was the Lord *Jesus'* custom. When Jesus went out of town he *done* a lot of things, the *Bible* tells us, ??? but it was his *custom* that he went to church when it was time to go.

Encouragement for religious belief and practice is offered with the promise of miracle and good fortune, but also with down-to-earth this-worldly pragmatism as the following two excerpts illustrate:

Because you gotta understand something, that your *faith* can put *limitations* on your miracles. (Aha. [murmur of consent]). The miracles are a *reflection* of your faith. (That's right. [applause] All right! Yeah.) When *you* receive a miracle in your life, you've gotta understand that that miracle *is* your faith in the mirror. (Aha). When you're living a miracle you see more faith (Yeah!). The smaller the miracle, the smaller your faith (Yeah!). The bigger your faith, the bigger the *miracle*. (Yeah, yeah)

That's what we gotta understand. That *everybody* is *watching you* very closely when you call yourself a Christian. (Amen) Is anybody listening to me? Because they are *looking* for a *sign* to determine whether you *really* are Christian or not. (Amen, yes) [...] And how would you know that it is not beyond us to slip up, but we gotta *watch* ourselves *ever* so closely, because the *last* thing that we *need*, is for somebody to tell us, "I caught you in sin". (Amen, Amen, Amen).

The Pentecostal sermon thus also set up the church community and lifestyle as a safe haven in opposition to the surrounding world of immorality. The perceived danger of these surroundings did not go unmentioned, and metaphors of protection such as "guard" indicate that religion is perceived partly as a reaction to insecurity.

You gotta understand its *dangerous* to surround yourself with *negative* people (That's right). 'Cause not only do negative people affect *you*, but they also affect your children (Amen, Aamen). So people wonder why you're disciplining your child and you *raise* your child going to church *every* Sunday ... Hello somebody (Aha), but then when they got old ... enough to make decisions on their own, say they don't *wanna* go to church. It's probably because you made some mistakes along the way (yes) about whom you *allowed* to come into your life (Amen), and they picked up some of the characteristics and *attributes*, oh my God, ... of the *people* that you were around. (Aha) That's why you have to understand that we have to guard our children with our *lives*. (Faith p.6)

Some of the characteristic features of this sermon, may be peculiar to black churches. For example, the emphasis, not only on insecurity, but of *suffering* and struggle, is a tradition with both theological and musical roots in Negro Spirituals. This example from the latter part of the sermon illustrates this (The %'s indicate piano chords):

"In the place of the anointing. (%) I want to place somebody (% - wow!) so they can break *out* (%) Break out of your chains somebody. (%, yeah) Break out of sickness. (%) Break out of pain (%, Oooh!) Break out of the struggle of daily lives (%) Break out of the struggle of the job (%) Break

out! (%) Somebody, please break out! (%) Break out (%) Yeeeeaaaah (%) Yeeeah) Oh my lord (%) [applause])” (Faith p.9)

While this religio-musical tradition may have originated in slavery, its continuation to the present day is likely to have been reinforced by its continued relevance for this particular socio-ecological niche, as the average Afro-American’s socioeconomic status remains lower than that of the average white American.

The twelve Mormon testimonies were all concerned with personal experiences of illness, loss, fear or shame, and the community and teachings of the Church as the ultimate solutions to these difficulties. The following excerpt from the testimony of an older woman was typical:

I’ve had a good weekend. I’ve been able to walk and ... do things that I can’t always. And it suddenly occurred to me this morning, that my doctor just told me that I will never be any better. And I had a feeling that now I’ve been given this opportunity to bear me testimony, maybe I can’t get *up* here after this. ... So, anyway, I’m here. I haven’t borne my testimony for a long time, and maybe that’s part of my problem. But I *do* know that the Gospel is true. I’m so thankful to be a member of this church. I’m so thankful that the Lord loves me and he’s ... given me so many blessings. I know that he hears my prayers – he answers them many times, not quite the way I would like. But I *know* he’s there, and I know that he cares. I do know that Joseph Smith was a prophet. He was an instrument in the hands of God ... and restored the Gospel to the earth. I know that we have the true Gospel, that ... that *Jesus* was teaching. I know that we have ... all the things that we need to get us back *home*. ... And I’m so thankful for this. I know that Jesus is the Christ. I know that Gordon B. Hinckley is a prophet. I know that the book of Mormon is true. I’m so thankful to have been in this Church all these years.

The frequent use of words that imply absolute belief, like “true” and “know” contrasts sharply with the speaker’s uncertainty about her own health: “maybe I can’t get *up* here after this.”

As in the other conservative churches, a life outside of the church is conceived of as dangerous, or even unbearable. A middle-aged woman expressed it in the following way:

I – many of you don't know that I *have* a son, who is serving in Iraq. He's 25 years old. And it's very difficult to know that he may be in harm's way. But it is also a great strength – the Gospel is a great strength. We know that we have been sealed together eternally – and I'm grateful for this knowledge. (...) Heavenly father loves us. He gave us a Saviour, he's given us the Gospel, ... I don't *know* where I would have been without it. I have family members who ... don't have the Gospel ... and it's so hard to ... explain to them ... what a gift it is.

Further evidence of existential insecurity as a motivation for belief was found in another opposition to the Christian lifestyle that was set up in the Baptist church. Foreign non-Christian cultures targeted by the missionaries were described as “suffering under *false* religions and superstitions and fears.” The emphasis on fear and uncertainty as the ultimate form of suffering suggests that existential insecurity may be a motivation to believe that is recognized by many. This contrasts with the Episcopalian sermon, where the congregation seemed not only at ease with, but even prided themselves on, the complexity and diversity of the Episcopalian tradition.

Lakoff (1996: 28) suggests that many debates between liberals and conservatives fail because they talk past each other, using the same words and metaphors with different implications. “Freedom” illustrates this well in that it is a positively valued word in conservative as well as liberal religion. In the Baptist sermon it is explicitly defined, not as freedom of choice, which is the common liberal interpretation of the word, but as freedom *from* sin and self-deception, and “freedom *for* obedience” (Main Street, p.3). It thus reveals a somewhat negative view of human nature. People are seen as too “weak” to

make the right choices without the “Moral Strength” (1996: 73) acquired from divine guidance.

3. 5. Conclusion

In summary, I found four main differences between the sermons. One was the emphasis on diversity of tradition in the liberal sermons versus unity in the conservative one. The second was a contrast between integrative complexity (Tetlock et. al., 1985) in the liberal church, and a more simple reasoning style in the conservative churches, which offered greater cognitive closure. Thirdly, the liberal and conservative churches seemed to have different conceptions of temporality, the liberal church offering a causal linear account of history, whereas the conservative church operated within a biblical account of time. Finally, I found that both categories of preachers seemed to foreground some of these differences in order to construct their religious identities and traditions by defining them in opposition to an out-group. Whether this is to be seen as a consciously employed rhetorical device or something which the speaker is unaware of requires further research.

I began this study of mission statements and sermons of Protestant churches by setting up four hypotheses about language-use in liberal and conservative Protestant churches. These were based on theoretical literature as well as results from my own research. The main hypothesis, that liberal churches refer more to individualism and diversity, whereas conservative churches emphasize authority and obedience, was supported by strong evidence from both the mission statements and sermons. Word counts showed that conservative churches used significantly more words referring to obedience, authority and sin than liberal churches, who referred to diversity more

frequently than conservatives. Contextual examples from the sermons and mission statements further supported these results.

I found little evidence for the second claim, that liberals refer more to nurturance and conservatives more to strength. Rather, liberals were found to refer more both to strength and to positive emotions. Conservative churches were found to refer more to healing and to contrast the benefits of the church with negative descriptions of life outside of its morals and beliefs. Seen in light of the study of American Protestant youth, this may be due to their appeal to a niche of believers dealing with lack of existential security.

I found some evidence that education levels were reflected in the lexical choices of the mission statements, primarily through the use of longer and shorter words. The style of reasoning and presentation was also more “academic” in both the sermons and mission statements of the liberal churches. However, liberals’ greater integrative complexity was not supported by the word counts. On the contrary, conservative churches referred more to cognitive mechanisms than liberal churches, and used less words of “certainty” However, contextual examples indicate that the words making up the categories “cognitive mechanisms” and “certainty” may be inadequate measure of integrative complexity and simplicity.

The fourth hypothesis was supported, primarily by examples from the sermons in which the majority of preachers contrasted their own church’s morals, practices and ideals with that of another church or “culture” that could be characterized as “liberal” or “conservative’ according to my definitions. Finally, the sermons indicate that different time perspectives and uses of linguistic and stylistic devices may be important, not only

in the constructions of congregational and denominational identities and traditions, but also in the establishment of ideological sympathies towards either conservatism or liberalism.

4. Concluding comments

4. 1. Limitations and possible criticisms

Ideally, I would have preferred to analyze larger samples of respondents with the ESM variables. While the many data points per individual ensures that my results are significant, I am admittedly a little uneasy about basing my main results on only 50 individuals. Nevertheless, as the results from the much larger one-time questionnaire samples and the theoretical literature from a number of different disciplines all combine to support my hypothesis, I am reasonably confident that these fifty respondents are representative of the larger population. Hopefully, the study can be replicated in the future with the availability of larger ESM databases.

Another possible problem with the data is that the scales used in the ESM questionnaire ask for the students to rate their feelings on a continuum from happy to sad, lonely to sociable etc. Unfortunately this forecloses the possibility that one person may be feeling for example sociable and lonely at the same time. However, while this problem may be an obstacle to the interpretation, it does not diminish the fact that I found significant differences between the religious groups on these variables.

Like all analysis of this type, this one also suffers from the problems of defining causal direction. For example one could discuss whether the differences I found between liberal and conservative Protestants are the result of their different cultural upbringings,

or whether their affinity with certain denominations is the result of certain personal attributes which produce the results. However, I believe the formulation “religious background” is sufficient to control for these reverse effects, and point to the culture in which the teenager has been raised rather than any religious belief she may have chosen for herself. I have chosen not to speculate on possible genetic components in personality type and religiosity, preferring to focus on the cultural factors, which I believe to have ample explanatory power by themselves.

4. 2. Future directions

The differences found between liberal and conservative Protestant teenagers in attitudes and day-to-day behaviour should be expected to have more profound consequences later in life, for example in lifestyle and career choices. I have available data from the Sloan study on what occupations the teenagers would like to have in the future, but because there was an unlimited number of answers to this questions, and many participants refrained from responding, my samples of liberal and conservative Protestants were too small to yield any significant results. Nevertheless I have discovered some patterns that I hope to pursue in future research.

The patterns of anger, aggression and intolerance for liberals and conservatives towards different groups of people, such as friends, family and strangers, is something that merits further research. The hypothesis that conservatives perform altruistic punishment to a greater degree than liberals has potential to account for more general group dynamics and retention rates in religious congregations.

Replicating the study with different age groups would also be important to test my hypotheses. For example, the importance of family values would be expected to vary greatly with age. If conservatism is indeed an effective strategy for dealing with uncertainty and stress, one could also imagine that one reason why the conservatives in my sample seem more satisfied on average may be that teenagers are a particularly vulnerable and insecure group.

In future surveys of Protestants, it would be interesting to have more categories of religious background. Particularly, different sub denominational categories of Baptism and Lutheranism would enable one to differentiate between liberals and conservatives in the “moderate category”. If the sample size were large enough it would also be interesting to differentiate between evangelical and fundamentalist groups to look at different kinds of strictness and conservatism. Moreover, multivariate correlations with variables such as class and race would allow further exploration of the socio-ecological niche hypothesis. Finally, a question item that clarified the respondent’s self-identification as liberal, conservative or moderate with respect to religion would make statistical analysis of the importance of religious identity possible. Such an item would make it possible to divide the entire population of students into “liberals” and “conservatives” independently of their religious background. If the conclusion that conservative and liberal strategies within each religion are more important than the level of religiosity can be generalized beyond the Protestant tradition, one should expect to achieve equally significant results using a liberal/conservative variable instead of religious background.

Finally, the differences found in my study of sermons and mission statements indicates comparative sociolinguistics as a promising methodological avenue for future studies of liberal and conservative religion. Having found qualitative fieldwork data an extremely valuable supplement to quantitative analysis, I would like to conduct further ethnographic and historical comparative studies of liberal and conservative Protestantism in the future.

4. 3. Conclusion

In the perspective of cultural evolutionary theory, the religious landscape may be seen as analogous to an ecological system where each religious group occupies its own niche. The variation in social practices and attitudes towards family and child rearing indicated by the results of this study may be seen as examples of how different socio-ecological niches correspond to different strategies of living. If this were a useful way of thinking about culture in general and religion in particular, one would expect different religious systems to succeed in different social environments and different individual qualities and personalities to thrive in different religious denominations.

Liberal Protestantism was shown to correlate positively with social class, education and various measures of individualism. Conservative Protestantism was associated with lower levels of education and socioeconomic class, and correlated with higher levels of dependence on family. The results of this study strongly indicate that liberal Protestantism is an adaptive cultural strategy in groups of highly educated individuals in secure environments. Conservative Protestantism seems to be adaptive at

the group level in situations and environments with comparatively lower existential security and lower levels of education.

It is important to emphasize that according to this theory there is no inherently superior cultural system. What is adaptive varies both in respect to environmental factors, the presence of other religious groups as well as the attributes and personalities of the individuals who make up the group. My approach predicts that those individuals who succeed in a conservative Protestant community might not do as well if adopting a secular lifestyle. As shown in the main study, the attitudes towards social interaction, are consistently different between members of the different groups. Through socialization, the beliefs, values and practices of the religious “system” or “culture” becomes internalized in most of its members. As Peter Berger puts it: “The institutional programs set up by society are subjectively real as attitudes, motives and life projects” (Berger, 1990: 17).

The analysis shows how “liberal” and “conservative” Protestant cultures produce radically different values, behaviours and feelings in their members. Combined with the observation that liberal and conservative denominations attract members from different socio-economic strata, this offers strong evidence in favour of the view that conservative and liberal religions are to be seen as different socio-ecological strategies in a multiple niche environment. This approach ought to be useful, not only for the study of religion, and may also be applied to ideologies and cognitive systems more generally.

Appendix A.

History and theological characteristics of major denominations

The Episcopal Church has its origin in the Anglican tradition, and was established in the US as a continuation of the colonial Church of England after the American Revolution. The Episcopal Church is often seen as a middle way between Catholicism and Protestantism. It places emphasis on the hierarchical organizational structure of bishops, priests and deacons. The Church also recognizes the seven sacraments, and believes in the real presence of Christ in the elements of the Eucharist. However, the Church is also united by *The Book of Common Prayer*, which established the Anglican Church as clearly Protestant in the 16th century. In 1789 the prayer book was revised for American use. Despite a preoccupation with tradition and formal liturgy, Episcopalian churches tend to be liberal in most theological matters and encourage religious liberty and independent thought. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005: 102-104, 107-109).

The Presbyterian Church in the US was originally established in the 18th century by Scottish immigrants in New England, and is considered part of the reformed tradition that can be traced back to John Calvin. The church has been divided twice during its history. In its early history it split into “the new school” endorsing revivalism and “the old school” opposing it, and during the civil war northern and southern churches split over the issue of slavery. However, these divisions have gradually been erased and separation was finally ended with the founding of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in 1983. The uniting theological document is the *Book of Confessions* which consists of nine creeds emphasizing the power of God and salvation through Christ. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005: 124-130,141-143).

The Methodist Church is the largest Protestant organization in the US. Its history can be traced back to a pietist movement in 18th century Oxford, and particularly one of its members, John Wesley, who founded Methodism in the United States. Following a split between southern and northern branches over slavery, the church was reunited with the founding of United Methodist Church in 1939. Methodists tend to stress individual free will, natural sinfulness of humankind, God's grace and the sufficiency of scripture for salvation. Compassion for the suffering is a major avenue for expression of faith, and the Methodists, more so than other Protestants, have been particularly concerned with ministry to the poor. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005:217-222).

The Lutheran Church traces its roots back to the German theologian Martin Luther's protest against the Catholic church in the 16th century. His main theological position was that faith and the Scripture should have primacy over organization and ceremony. Lutheranism was brought to the United States mainly by German and Scandinavian immigrants. Although there has been numerous different Lutheran organizations in the US, the church has nevertheless been characterized by a unity in faith. Luther's beliefs in the Bible as inspired word of God, and justification by faith alone, are still considered its major theological principles. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005: 112-115).

The Baptists are perhaps the largest and most diverse group of Christians in the US. Baptism originated in English Puritanism in the early 17th century, and the first Baptist church in the US was established in Rhode Island in 1638. In 1845, after disagreements over mission work and slavery issues, southerners formed their own organization, the Southern Baptist convention (SBC). The division is still maintained

today although the SBC have expanded to all regions of the country. They are generally held to be more conservative than the American Baptist Churches (ABC), previously called the Northern Baptist Convention. Although they lack a central organization, and place emphasis on both individual and congregational independence, Baptists generally agree on the following principles of faith: the Bible as the sole rule of life, salvation through faith by way of grace and contact with the Holy Spirit, baptism of believers upon confession as opposed to infant baptism, and complete separation of church and state. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005: 181-215).

Pentecostalism is an American movement that began at the turn of the 20th century with Charles Fox Parham who founded the Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas. The name Pentecostal derives from the belief that the Holy Spirit is available to modern Christians as it was to the early Christians at the first Pentecost. A distinguishing feature of the church is the speaking in tongues, and the emphasis of the healing powers of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals tend to use charismatic forms of worship and are generally less bound to traditional liturgy. (An example of this may be found in the worship service program from Faith Evangelistic Church / Church of God in Christ, Johnson City: “Program is subject to change according to the leading of the Holy Spirit”). Nevertheless, Pentecostals are considered theologically conservative due to their literal interpretation of the Bible and the belief in its absolute infallibility. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005: 276-278).

The Latter-day Saints, or Mormons as they are also known as, is a distinctive religious movement, and there is considerable debate over their status as “Christians” due to their difference in scriptures and doctrine. Nevertheless, the movement has clear roots

in the American Protestant tradition, and as they resemble conservative Protestants in most practices and beliefs, they have been labeled “Protestant” in this study. The church was founded in upstate New York by the prophet Joseph Smith in 1830. Smith claimed to have received an old text from an angel which told the remarkable story of how Jews inhabited North America in 600 B.C.E after fleeing from Jerusalem in a divinely designed ark. This text was called the book of Mormon after its original author, and is used as a holy scripture in addition to the Bible. In 1831, the Mormons established headquarters in Ohio. After a major division that resulted from a conflict over leadership, the majority of latter day saints left for Salt Lake Valley in Utah, where they established the Mormon Tabernacle. The Latter-day Saints place great value on family life, and tend to be morally and politically conservative. Like Pentecostals they practice speaking in tongues and the laying-on of hands. Unlike other Christians, they do not teach the doctrine of original sin, but maintain that individuals will be punished for their *own* transgressions. (Mead, Hill and Atkins, 2005: 346-353).

Appendix B

Experience sampling method questionnaire sheet

Date _____ Time you were beeped _____ am/pm Time you answered _____

As you were beeped...

Where were you? _____

What was **on your mind**? _____

What was the main thing you were **doing**? _____

What **else** were you doing? _____

Was the main thing you were doing **more like**:

1	2	3	4
Work	Play	Both	Neither

Were you **doing it because** you...

	1	2	3
<i>Circle all that apply.</i>	wanted to	had to	had nothing else to do

		<i>not at all</i>							<i>very much</i>	
How well were you concentrating ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Were you living up to the expectations of others ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Was it hard to concentrate ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Did you feel self-conscious or embarrassed?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Did you feel good about yourself?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Did you enjoy what you were doing?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Were you living up to your expectations ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Did you feel in control of the situation?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Did you expect to get what you want easily ?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

*Describe your feelings as you were beeped
(For every pair of opposites, circle just one mark):*

	<i>very</i>	<i>quite</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>neither</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>quite</i>	<i>very</i>	
Happy	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Sad
Weak	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Strong
Passive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Active
Lonely	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Sociable
Ashamed	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Proud
Involved	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Detached
Excited	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Bored
Clear	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Confused
Worried	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Relaxed
Competitive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Cooperative
Hopeful	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Discouraged
Tired	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Alert

Indicate how you felt about the main activity:

	<i>low</i>								<i>high</i>
Challenges of the activity:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Your skills in the activity:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	<i>not at all</i>								<i>very much</i>
Was this activity important to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
How difficult did you find this activity?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Were you succeeding at what you were doing?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Did you wish you had been doing something else ?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Was this activity interesting ?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
How important was it to your future goals ?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
How angry did you feel?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Were you making the best possible use of your time ?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

What **do you think made you feel** the way you did? _____

Were you alone () or were you with...	<i>How many?</i>
() friends	Males _____
() classmates / peers	Females _____
() girl/boyfriend	
() strangers	
() teachers	
() mother	
() father	
() broth./sisters	
() other relatives	
() others: _____	
() step-mother	
() step-father	
() step-broth./sisters	

How did **these people** think of you? *Unfavorably* *Neither* *Favorably*
 o o o o o o o

If you had a choice who would you be with? _____
 ... and what would you be doing? _____

Did you feel any physical **pain** or **discomfort** as you were beeped?

Please specify: _____

<i>none</i>		<i>slight</i>		<i>bothersome</i>		<i>severe</i>		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Appendix C

List of websites used in word count study

Episcopal churches

Advent Episcopal Church (West Bloomfield, MI)
<http://www.advent-church.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Christ Episcopal Church (Stroudsburg, PA)
<http://www.christchurchstroudsburg.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Grace Episcopal Church (Charleston, SC)
<http://www.gracechurchcharleston.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Holy Trinity Episcopal Church (Bowie, MD)
<http://holyltrinitybowie.edow.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Alban's Episcopal Church (Oakland, NJ)
<http://www.stalbans-ofl.dioceseofnewark.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Andrew's Episcopal Church (Birmingham, AL)
<http://www.standrews-birmingham.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church (Atlanta, GA)
<http://www.stbartsatlanta.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. David's Episcopal Church (Wilmington, DE)
<http://www.stdavidsde.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Francis' Episcopal Church (Austin, TX)
<http://www.stfrancisaustin.com/index.asp> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. James Episcopal Church (Austin, TX)
<http://www.stjamesaus.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. James' Episcopal Church (Pullman, WA)
<http://www.stjamespullman.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. John's Episcopal Church (Norman, OK)
<http://www.episcopalnorman.org/index.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. John's Episcopal Church, (Norwood, MD)
<http://www.stjohnsnorwood.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. John's Episcopal Church (Portsmouth, NH)
<http://www.stjohnsnh.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Michael's Cathedral (Boise, ID)
http://www.stmichaelscathedral.org/about_us/believe.html (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Paul's Episcopal Church (Fairfield, CT)
<http://www.stpaulsfairfield.org/pages/Home.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Thomas' Episcopal Church (College Station, TX)

<http://www.stthomasbcs.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

The Episcopal Church of the Nativity (Fayetteville, GA)

<http://www.fayettenativity.com/About%20Us/about.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

The Southern Episcopal Church (Nashville, TN)

<http://www.angelfire.com/biz/Southern/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Trinity Episcopal Church (Rutland, VT)

<http://www.trinitychurchrutland.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Latter-Day Saints

Cedar Ridge Congregation (Nashville, TN)

<http://www.crcongregation.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

<http://www.mormon.org/learn/0,8672,1082-1,00.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Community of Christ, official website

<http://www.cofchrist.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Community of Christ, (Billings, MO)

<http://www.billings-montana-coc.com/id1.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Harrisonville Mo. Community of Christ (Harrisonville, MO)

<http://www.harrisonvillemocofchrist.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Kalamazoo Community of Christ (Kalamazoo, MI)

http://kalamazoocommunityofchrist.com/Who_We_Are/who_we_are.html (accessed 2/19/2007)

Mon Valley Community of Christ (Charleroi, PA)

<http://www.mvcofchrist.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Union Avenue Community of Christ (Grand Rapids, MI)

<http://www.cofchristunion.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Village Heights Community of Christ (Independence, MO)

<http://www.villageheights.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Methodist churches

Central United Methodist Church (Richmond, IN)

<http://www.richmondcumc.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Christ Community United Methodist Church (Clayton, NC)

<http://www.claytoncumc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Clemson United Methodist Church (Clemson, SC)

<http://www.clemsonumc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First United Methodist Church (Charlotte, NC)

<http://www.fumccharlotte.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First United Methodist Church (Conroe, TX)
<http://www.fumc-conroe.org/templates/System/default.asp?id=32980> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First United Methodist Church (Mansfield, Texas)
<http://www.fumcmansfield.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Grayson United Methodist Church (Grayson, GA)
<http://www.grayson-umc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Hope United Methodist Church (Voorhees, NJ)
<http://www.meethope.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Hopewell United Methodist Church (Hopewell, NJ)
<http://www.njwebworks.com/humc/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Immanuel United Methodist Church (Wellford, SC)
<http://www.immanuelumchurch.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

McEachern Memorial UMC (Powder Springs, GA)
<http://www.mceachernumc.org/home/aboutus.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Merkel First United Methodist Church (Merkel, TX)
<http://members.tripod.com/~BradBanner/merkelumc.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Maynard United Methodist Church (Maynard, MA)
<http://netministries.org/see/churches/ch04520> (accessed 2/19/2007)

North United Methodist Church (Manchester, CT)
<http://numc.axelhouse.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Olivet United Methodist Church
<http://olivetumc.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Paul United Methodist Church, (Largo, FL)
http://www.stpaulumc.org/sp_master.php?calendar=none&pageid=18 (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Paul's United Methodist Church (Red Lion, PA)
<http://www.saintpauls-um.com/Default.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Timberlake United Methodist Church (Lynchburg, VA)
<http://www.timberlakeumc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Vincent United Methodist Church (Minot, ND)
<http://www.vincentumc.com/index.php> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Wesley United Methodist Church (Naperville, IL)
<http://www.wesleyumcnaperville.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Pentecostal churches

1st Pentecostal Church of Tulsa (Tulsa, OK)

<http://www.tulsa1stpc.com/statementoffaith.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Alleluia Romanian Pentecostal Church of God (Dearborn Heights, MI)
<http://www.detroitromanians.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Broadway Assembly (Lorain, OH)
<http://broadwayassembly.org/tp40/default.asp?ID=74746> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Calvary Apostolic Church (Clintonville, WI)
<http://www.calvaryapostolic.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Calvary Pentecostal Church (Collinsville, IL)
<http://www.pentecostalsofcollinsville.com/index.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Community Pentecostal Church (Independence, KY)
<http://www.communitypentecostal.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

COOLJC - Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Riviera Beach, FL)
<http://www.coljc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Pentecostal Church (Phoenix, AZ)
<http://www.loveliberates.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First united Pentecostal Church of Winnsboro (Winnsboro, SC)
<http://www.firstupcwinnsboro.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Gateway Pentecostal Church (Corinth, NY)
<http://www.gatewaylive.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

King's Quest Pentecostal Church (Woodbury, MN)
<http://www.kingsquestchurch.org/index.php> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Lambertville Assembly of God (Lambertville, NJ)
<http://www.lambertvilleassembly.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Living Word Worship Center, (Bryan, TX)
<http://netministries.org/see/churches/ch06720?frame=N> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Mt. Zion Romanian Pentecostal Church (Kirkland, WA)
<http://www.muntelesion.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

New Life Pentecostal Church (Olathe, KS)
<http://www.newlifepc.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Pentecostal Church in Jesus Christ" (Peoria, IL)
<http://www.pcjconline.org/Mission/index.php> (accessed 2/19/2007)

The Apostolic Church (Houston, TX)
<http://www.theapostolicchurch.net> (accessed 2/19/2007)

The Glorious Church (Fort Wayne, IN)
<http://www.thegloriouschurch.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

The International Pentecostal Church of God (Des Plaines, IL)
<http://www.ipcofgod.org/church/default.asp> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Word Aflame Fellowship (Littlerock, AR)
<http://www.wordaflamefellowship.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Presbyterian Churches

Bethel Presbyterian Church (Kingston, TN)
<http://www.bethelpcusa.org/welcome.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Fairview Presbyterian Church (Glenmoore, PA)
<http://www.fairviewpc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Faith Presbyterian Church (Huntsville, AL)
<http://faith.presby.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Presbyterian Church (Aiken, SC)
<http://www.aikenpresbyterian.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Presbyterian Church (Greensboro, NC)
<http://www.fpcgreensboro.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Presbyterian Church (Walla Walla, WA)
<http://www.wwpcusa.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Presbyterian Church of Berkeley (Berkeley, CA)
<http://www.fpcberkeley.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Geneva Presbyterian Church (Jacksonville, FL)
<http://www.genevapresbyterian.org/contact.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Idlewild Presbyterian Church (Memphis, TN)
http://www.idlewildchurch.org/who_welcome.html (accessed 2/19/2007)

Macland Presbyterian Church (Powder Springs, GA)
<http://www.macland.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

McGregor Presbyterian Church (Columbia, SC)
<http://www.mcgregorpresbyterian.org/index.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Mira Mesa Presbyterian Church (San Diego, CA)
<http://www.mmpcusa.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church (Mount Pleasant, SC)
<http://www.mppc.net/ME2/Audiences/Default.asp> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Northside Presbyterian Church (Ann Arbor, MI)
<http://www.northsidepres.org/index.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Oak Ridge Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (Heath Springs, SC)
<http://www.oakridgearp.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Providence Presbyterian Church (Parker, CO)
<http://www.providencepcusa.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Seven Oaks Presbyterian Church (Columbia, SC)
<http://www.sopc.net/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

St. Paul's Presbyterian Church (Livonia, MI)
<http://www.sppc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Trinity Presbyterian Church (Cherry Hill, NJ)
<http://www.trinpres.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Trinity Presbyterian Church (Denton, TX)
<http://www.trinitypresdenton.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Southern Baptist churches

Agape Southern Baptist (Hays, KS)
<http://www.agapesbc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Bahama Baptist Church (Bahama, NC)
<http://www.bahamabaptistchurch.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Chapin Baptist Church (Chapin, SC)
<http://www.chapinbaptist.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Baptist Church (Dallas, TX)
<http://www.firstdallas.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Baptist Church of Dawsonville (Dawsonville, GA)
<http://www.firstbaptistdawsonville.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Baptist Church of West Columbia (West Columbia, SC)
<http://www.wcolumbiafirstbaptist.org/default.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Baptist Church SBC, (England, AR)
<http://englandfbc.org/message.php?topicID=3256&> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Southern Baptist Church (Rawlins, WY)
<http://fsbcrawlins.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Southern Baptist Church (Salina, KS)
<http://www.fsbcsalina.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

First Southern Baptist Church (Terre Haute, IN)
<http://www.fsouthern.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Grace Baptist Church (Grove Hill, AL)
<http://www.gracebaptist-grovehill.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Immanuel Baptist Church (Monticello, AR)
<http://www.ibcmont.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Korean Unity Baptist Church (Nashville, TN)
<http://koreanunity.org/church/english.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Ocean View Baptist Church (Myrtle Beach, SC)
<http://ovbc.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Petaluma Valley Baptist Church (Petaluma, CA)
<http://www.petalumabaptist.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Riverview Baptist Church (Pasco, WA)
<http://rvbc.us/index.htm> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Seattle First Baptist Church (Seattle, WA)
<http://www.seattlefirstbaptist.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Second Baptist Church (Conway, AR)
<http://www.sbconway.org/beliefs.html> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Sunnyside Southern Baptist Church (Cheyenne, WY)
<http://www.sunnyside4u.org/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

Temple Baptist Church (Sullivan, MO)
<http://www.tbcsullivan.com/> (accessed 2/19/2007)

References

1st Pentecostal Church of Tulsa (Tulsa, OK)

2007 Statement of Faith. Electronic document,

<http://www.tulsa1stpc.com/statementoffaith.htm>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Allport, Gordon.W. and J.M. Ross

1967 Personal religious orientation and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 5: 432-443

Altemeyer, Bob

1988 *Enemies of Freedom: Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers

Atran, Scott

2002 *In Gods We Trust: The Evolutionary Landscape of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Atwood, Craig D.

2005 American Religion. in *Handbook of Denominations in the United States* 12th edition. Frank S. Mead, Samuel S. Hill and Craig D. Atwood, eds. Pp. 15-23. Nashville: Abingdon Press

Barker, Eileen.

1996 The Freedom of the Cage, *Society* 33(3): 53-59

Baumeister, Roy F. and Mark R. Leary

1995 The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation. *Psychological Bulletin* 117(3): 497-529

Berger, Peter L.

1990 *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday

Bethel Presbyterian Church (Kingston, TN)

2007 Welcome. Electronic document, <http://www.bethelpcusa.org/welcome.html>, accessed 2/19/2007

Boshier, Roger W.

1973 Conservatism Within Families: A Study of the Generation Gap. In *The Psychology of Conservatism*. Glenn D. Wilson, ed. London: Academic Press

Boyer, Pascal

2001 *Religion Explained*. New York: Basic Books

Broadway Assembly (Lorain, OH)

2007 Broadway Assembly: Offering Help & Hope for the Whole Family. Electronic document, <http://broadwayassembly.org/tp40/default.asp?ID=74746>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Bruce, Steve

1990 *A House Divided*. New York: Routledge

Bruce, Steve

1999 *Choice and Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Central United Methodist Church (Richmond, IN)

2007 Central United Methodist Church. Electronic document, <http://www.richmondcumc.com/>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

2007 Basic beliefs. Electronic document,

<http://www.mormon.org/learn/0,8672,1082-1,00.html>, accessed 2/19/2007

Csikszentmihaly, Mihaly and Barbara Schneider

2000 *Becoming Adult: How Teenagers prepare for the world of work*, New York:

Basic Books

Dawkins, Richard

2006 *The God Delusion*. London: Bantam Press

Dennett, Daniel

2006 *Breaking the Spell: Religion as a Natural Phenomenon*. New York: Viking

Durkheim, Émile

2001 [1912] *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Oxford: Oxford University

Press

Eliade, Mircea, ed.

1987 *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: MacMillan

Elster, Jon

2000 *Ulysses Unbound: Studies in Rationality, Precommitment, and Constraints*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Evans, John H.

2003 The Creation of a Distinct Subcultural Identity and Denominational

Growth. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42(3): 467-477

Evans Pritchard, Edward, E.

1981 *A History of Anthropological Thought*. New York: Basic Books

First Baptist Church SBC, (England, AR)

2007 Mission Statement & Church Symbol. Electronic document,

<http://englandfbc.org/message.php?topicID=3256&>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Franklin, Sarah

1995 Science as Culture, Cultures of Science. *Annual Review of Anthropology*

24:163-84

Geertz, Clifford

1976 *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Glazier, Stephen D.

1997 Introduction, In *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook*. Stephen D.

Glazier, ed. Pp.1-15. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press,

Gunnoe, Marjorie L. and Kristin A. Moore

2002 Predictors of Religiosity Among Youth Aged 17- 22: A Longitudinal Study

of the National Survey of Children. *Journal for the Scientific Study of*

Religion 41(4): 613-622

Greeley, Andrew M. and Michael Hout

2006 *The Truth About Conservative Christians: What They Think and What They*

Believe. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press

Haidt, Jonathan and Craig Joseph

In press The moral mind: How five sets of innate intuitions guide the development of many culture-specific virtues, and perhaps even modules.

In *The Innate Mind, Vol. 3: Foundations and the Future*. Peter Carruthers,

Stephen Laurence and Stephen Stich, eds. Oxford: Oxford University
Press

Harding, Susan F.

2001 *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics.*

Princeton: Princeton University Press

Harris, Richard J.

2001 *A Primer of Multivariate Statistics* 3rd edition. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence

Erlbaum Associates

Hoge, Dean R. and David A. Rozen

1979 A Test of Denominational Growth and Decline. In *Understanding Church*

Growth and Decline: 1950-1978. Dean R. Hoge and David A. Rozen, eds.

Pp.179-97. New York: Pilgrim Press

Hopewell United Methodist Church (Hopewell , NJ)

2007 Hopewell United Methodist Church. Electronic document,

<http://www.njwebworks.com/humc/>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Hunter, James D.

1992 *Culture Wars: the Struggle to Define America*, New York: Basic Books

Iannaccone, Laurence R.

1994 Why Strict Churches Are Strong. *American Journal of Sociology* 99(5):

1180-1211

Idlewild Presbyterian Church (Memphis, TN)

2007 Who We Are: Welcome to Idlewild Presbyterian Church. Electronic

document, http://www.idlewildchurch.org/who_welcome.html, accessed

2/19/2007.

Irons, William J.

2001 Religion as a hard-to-fake sign of commitment. In *Evolution and the Capacity for Commitment*, Randolph M. Nesse, ed. pp.292-309. New York: Russel Sage Foundation

Jost, John. T., Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski and Frank J. Sulloway

2002 Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition. *Psychological Bulletin* 129(3): 339-375

Kelley, Dean M.

1977 *Why Conservative Churches are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion*. San Fransisco: Harper & Row

Kirkpatrick, Lee A., Daniel J. Shillito and Susan L. Kellas

1999 Loneliness, social support and perceived relationships with God. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 16(4): 513-522

Lakoff, George

1996 *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know that Liberals Don't*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lessa, William A. and Evon Z. Vogt [eds.]

1979 *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach* 4th edition. New York: Harper & Row

Malinowski, Bronislaw

1954 [1925] Magic, Science and Religion. In Bronislav Malinowski. *Magic*,

Science and Religion and Other Essays. Garden City, NY: Doubleday
Anchor Books

Malinowski, Bronislaw

1954 [1926] *Myth in Primitive Psychology*. In Bronislaw Malinowski. *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday
Anchor Books

Malinowski, Bronislaw

1984 [1922] *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

McEachern Memorial UMC (Powder Springs, GA)

2007 About Us. Electronic document,
<http://www.meachernumc.org/home/aboutus.htm>, accessed 2/19/2007.

McGee, R. Jon and Richard L. Warms

2004 *Anthropological Theory; An Introductory History*. Boston: McGraw Hill

Moore, Henrietta L.

2003 Anthropology at the turn of the century. In *Anthropological Theory Today*.
Henrietta L. Moore, ed. Pp.1-23. Cambridge: Polity Press

New Life Christian Fellowship in Sioux Falls, North Dakota,

2007 New Life Christian Fellowship Welcome. Electronic document,
<http://www.newlifesf.com>, accessed 2/6/2007.

New Life Pentecostal Church (Olathe, KS)

2007 New Life Pentecostal Church: Experience the Difference of Pentecost.

Electronic document, <http://www.newlifepc.com/>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart

2004 *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press

O’Gorman, Rick, David S. and Ralph R. Miller

2005 Altruistic punishing and helping differ in sensitivity to relatedness,
friendship, and future interactions. *Evolution and Human Behaviour* 26:
375-387

Paloutzian, Raymond F. and Craig W. Ellison

1982 Loneliness, Spiritual Well-Being and the Quality of Life. In *Loneliness: A
Sourcebook of Current Theory, Research and Therapy*, Lilitia A. Peplau
and Daniel Perlman, eds. Pp.224-237. New York: John Wiley & Sons

Pennebaker, James W., Martha E. Francis and Roger J. Booth

2000 *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count – LIWC2001 Manual*. Mahwah, NJ:
Erlbaum Publishers

Pentecostal Church in Jesus Christ (Peoria, IL)

2007 Mission. Electronic document,
<http://www.pcjconline.org/Mission/index.php>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Quartz Hill Community Church, Quartz Hill, California,

2006 To Love God and to Love People. Electronic document.
<http://www.theology.edu/church.htm>, accessed 2/6/2007.

Radin, Paul

1937 *Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin*. New York: Viking

Richerson, Peter J. and Robert Boyd

2005 *Not By Genes Alone*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press

Riverview Baptist Church (Pasco, WA)

2007 Riverview Baptist Church: Pasco, Washington. Electronic document,

<http://rvbc.us/index.htm>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Rymes, Betsy

2001 *Conversational Borderlands: Language and Identity in an Alternative*

Urban High School. New York and London: Teachers College Press

Schieffelin, Bambi

2002 Marking Time: The Dichotomizing Discourse of Multiple Temporalities.

Current Anthropology 43(Supplement): S5-S17

Schieman, Scott, Tetyana Pudrovskaya, Leonard Pearlin and Christopher Ellison

2007 The Sense of Divine Control and Psychological Distress: Variations Across

Race and Socioeconomic Status. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*

45(4): 529-549

Schneider, Barbara, Holly Rice and Lisa Hoogstra

2003 The Importance of Religion in Adolescent's Lives. *Catholic Education*

7(3): 366-388.

Second Baptist Church (Conway, AR)

2007 What we believe. Electronic document,

<http://www.sbconway.org/beliefs.html>, accessed 2/19/2007.

Shaffer, Barbara A. and Brad M. Hastings, B.

2007 Authoritarianism and religious identification: response to threats on

religious beliefs. *Mental Health, Religion and Culture* 10(2): 151-158

Smith, Christian

2003 *Moral, believing animals: Human personhood and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Smith, Christian

2005 *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Smith, Christian, Melinda L. Denton, Robert Faris and Mark D. Regenerus

2002 Mapping American Adolescent Religious Participation. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41(4): 597-612

Sober, Elliot and David S. Wilson

1998 *Unto Others: The Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Sosis, Richard

2000 Religion and intragroup cooperation: Preliminary results of a comparative analysis of utopian communities. *Cross-Cultural Research* 34(1): 70-87

Sosis, Richard

2006 Religious Behaviors, Badges, and Bans: Signaling Theory and the Evolution of Religion. In *Where God and Science Meet: How Brain and Evolutionary Studies Alter Our Understanding of Religion, Volume 1: Evolution, Genes, and the Religious Brain*, Patrick McNamara, ed. Pp. 61-86. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers

Sosis, Richard and Eric R. Bressler

2003 Cooperation and Commune Longevity: A Test of the Costly Signaling Theory of Religion. *Cross-Cultural Research* 37(2): 211-239

Spencer, Herbert

1981 [1860] The Social Organism. In *The Man versus the State, with Six Essays on Government, Society and Freedom*, Eric Mack, ed. Pp.383-434
Indianapolis: Liberty Classics

Stark, Rodney and William. S. Bainbridge

1997 *Religion, Deviance and Social Control*. New York: Routledge

Stark, Rodney and Roger Finke

2000 *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Steensland, Brian, Jerry Z. Park, Mark D. Regnerus, Lynn D. Robinson, W. Bradford Wilcox, and Robert D. Woodberry

2000 The Measure of American Religion: Toward Improving the State of the Art. *Social Forces* 79(1): 291-318

St. Michael's Cathedral (Boise, ID)

2007 What we believe. Electronic document,
http://www.stmichaelscathedral.org/about_us/believe.html, accessed 2/19/2007.

St. Paul United Methodist Church, (Largo, FL)

2007 Who are the Methodists. Electronic document,
http://www.stpaulumc.org/sp_master.php?calendar=none&pageid=18, accessed 2/19/2007.

The Glorious Church (Fort Wayne, IN)

2007 The Glorious Church. Electronic document,

<http://www.thegloriouschurch.org/>, accessed 2/19/2007.

The Episcopal Church of the Nativity (Fayetteville, GA)

2007 About Us. Electronic document,

<http://www.fayettenativity.com/About%20Us/about.htm>, accessed
2/19/2007.

Tremlin, Todd

2005 Divergent Religion: A Dual-Process Model of Religious Thought,

Behavior, and Morphology. In *Mind and Religion: Psychological and*

Cognitive Foundations of Religiosity, Harvey Whitehouse and Robert N.

McCauley, eds. Pp.69-83. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Vedic Friends Association

2007 Position on Castesism. Electronic document,

<http://www.vedicfriends.org/Casteism.htm>, accessed 2/6/2007.

Whitehouse, Harvey

2004 *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission.*

Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press

Whitehouse, Harvey

2005 The Cognitive Foundations of Religiosity. In *Mind and Religion:*

Psychological and Cognitive Foundations of Religiosity, Harvey

Whitehouse and Robert N. McCauley, eds. Pp.207-232. Walnut Creek,

CA: AltaMira Press.

Whorf, Benjamin L.

1941 The Relation of Habitual Thought And Behavior To Language. In
Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in memory of Edward Sapir,
Leslie Spier, ed. Pp.75-93. Menasha, WI: Sapir Memorial Publication
Fund

Wilcox, W. Bradford, Mark Chaves, and David Franz

2004 Focused on the Family? Religious Traditions, Family Discourse and
Pastoral Practice. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43(4): 491-
504

Wilson, David S.

2002 *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion and the Nature of Society.*
Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press

Wilson, David S.

2005 Testing major evolutionary hypotheses about religion with a random
sample. *Human Nature* 16(4): 382-409.

Wilson, David S. and Mihaly Csikszentmihaly

In press Health and the Ecology of Altruism. In *Altruism and Health:*
Perspectives from Empirical Research. Stephen G. Post, ed. Oxford:
Oxford University Press

Wuthnow, Robert

1988 *The Restructuring of American Religion.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton
University Press

Wuthnow, Robert

1989 *The Struggle for America's Soul*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans