CASTING OFF THE BONDS OF ORGANIZED RELIGION: A RELIGIOUS-CAREERS APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF APOSTASY

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If apostasy is to become well understood, social scientists must (a) distinguish it theoretically from other phenomena (e.g., denominational switching) and (b) conduct longitudinal research. This study proposes that apostasy be conceptualized as the process of disengagement from two major elements of religion: belief and community. A typology of religious careers was developed to approximate the dynamics of apostasy through cross-sectional data. Data were derived from self-administered questionnaires from Canadian and American undergraduates, with selected comparisons from interviews of a random sample of adults. The career types Apostates, Switchers, Converts and Stalwarts were compared in terms of origins, reported early family experiences, persistence of beliefs and sources of doubt. Finally, the consequences (concomitants) of apostasy—happiness, life-satisfactions, self-esteem, socio-political attitudes, gender traditionalism—were analyzed.

Students of religion in the past have devoted disproportionate attention to church involvement, commitment, and conversion. Only 20 years ago, Mauss (1969:128) noted that the literature contained hardly more than "an occasional oblique mention of religious defection." Nevertheless, as Richardson et al. (1986:97) point out, many people who join religious groups "drop out voluntarily sooner or later or change groups. . ." Fortunately, religious leavetaking — disengagement, disaffiliation, and apostasy — has recently begun to capture the attention it deserves from social scientists (Bromley, 1988; Caplovitz and Sherrow, 1977; Hadaway, 1989). Though valuable, existing studies tend to focus on correlates of defection from highly specific groups (e.g., Albrecht and Bahr, 1983; Bahr and Albrecht, 1989; Hoge, 1988; Peter et al., 1982; Rochford, 1989), or to be hampered by formidable methodological difficulties to be discussed below. Consequently, we as yet know very little about the processes through which individuals disengage and disaffiliate.

The heretofore neglected topic of exiting from organized religion has important implications for both church organizations and individual members (Bromley, 1988:11). So far as the churches are concerned, it is impossible to predict the fate of organized religion in postmodern society without an understanding of those who turn their backs on the church. The fin de siécle church with declining membership and weaker voice in public affairs is no longer the social and cultural force it once was (Bibby, 1987). Although the status of North American religion is an enormously complicated, multifaceted problem, one may argue that one of the foremost tasks of sociologists of religion is to identify

those factors within organized religion which motivate people to react to them by abandoning it.

From the perspective of the individual, (the focus of this study), what are the dynamics of "falling from the faith" (Brinkerhoff and Burke, 1980)? How do those who go differ from those who stay? The experiences involved can be difficult, even painful (Ebaugh, 1988). The value-laden terms "apostate," "defector," "renegade," and "turncoat" signal the sociological significance of casting off group bonds. Which contemporary religious leavetakers experience pain, and which casual disengagement? What are the social-psychological consequences of apostasy?

The consensus that has recently developed among scholars concerning the importance of studying the exodus from organized religion does not yet extend to the conceptualization and measurement of this process (Roozen, 1980:428). Bromley (1988:23), for example, identifies the "terminological thicket surrounding the process of religious disaffiliation" as an important issue to be addressed in future work. Following Brinkerhoff and Burke (1980) and Caplovitz and Sherrow (1977:31), we propose that apostasy be conceptualized as the multidimensional process of disengagement from the two major elements of religion. One of these elements — religiosity — refers to the embracement of a set of beliefs. The other — communality — refers to the feeling of belonging or Gemeinschaft which grows around a theological doctrine and is most often linked to a denominational organization. In the words of Caplovitz and Sherrow (1977:31), apostasy "indicates not only a loss of religious belief, but rejection of a particular ascriptive community as a basis for self-identification."

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This exploratory investigation of exiting from organized religion focuses on two broad themes: What factors prompt apostates to leave? What consequences flow from disaffiliation? We explore a broader range of social factors which are associated with religious leave-taking than national surveys usually accomplish.

To do this, we will (1) build a conceptual typology of religious careers based on past and present communal membership; (2) explore empirically the direction of change from original denominational identifications; (3) investigate selected measures of religiosity which differentiate among various religious careers; (4) examine sources of doubt, including cognitive conflicts; (5) examine the loss of faith or belief dimension of disaffiliation, and (6) explore the "consequences" of apostasy.

Influences

Family Socialization. A dominant theme in the literature is the importance for subsequent apostasy of the family and primary socialization experiences. Hunsberger (1980; 1983), employing a social learning approach, finds parental religious teachings to be the single most important predictor of apostasy. Nelson (1981) and Wuthnow and Mellinger (1978) concur that familial socialization is

critical. Roozen (1980) relates disaffiliation to a decrease in parental influence among teenagers.

University Influence. A second generalization derived from earlier studies views universities as "breeding grounds for apostasy" (Hunsberger, 1980:159). Caplowitz and Sherrow (1977), for example, suggest that youth become alienated and rebel against institutional ties. Exposure to higher education provokes cognitive conflicts and results in young people rejecting religious values in favor of a secular world view. As a corollary, further maturation may result in the return of youthful rebels to the religious fold (Hoge, 1988).

Beliefs. A third theme in the literature focuses on apostasy as the change or loss of beliefs. As we argued above, the process of apostasy involves rejection of a church's teachings, as well as breaking communal ties. As one might expect, previous research (Hadaway, 1980) reports that apostates show less commitment to religious teaching than do those who maintain church membership or who switch to another denomination.

Doubts. The fourth factor, considers what influences cause apostates to doubt their church teachings. Roozen (1980), summarizing various studies of defection, concludes that sources of doubt may be dichotomized as cognitive conflicts and interpersonal discord. Hoge's (1988) study of Roman Catholics found emotional and interpersonal factors to be more important than cognitive factors (see also Caplovitz and Sherrow, 1977). Our study re-examines these conclusions.

Consequences

From the beginning, sociologists of religion have asked: What difference does religion make? What are the consequences of religious involvement? We turn this question around and inquire into the personal consequences of disaffiliation.

First, we explore the relationship between commitment to conventional socio-religious and conventional sociopolitical viewpoints. Previous studies (Hadaway and Roof, 1979; Perry et al., 1980) report apostates to be more liberal and worldly than church members. Nelson (1988) found that, regardless of original denomination, dropouts are more liberal in their views than church attenders. Bromley (1988:17) comments that "[Nelson's] analysis is intriguing as it suggests that, should the pool of religiously uninvolved continue to increase, there could be significant social and political implications for American society."

Finally, we inquire into quality of life — the happiness and life-satisfaction — experienced by apostates. Hadaway (1978:637) says of previous research: "The consistent finding that emerges is that religious persons tend to be somewhat happier and more satisfied with life than nonreligious individuals." Hadaway and Roof (1988) suggest that apostates in particular are relatively dissatisfied, unhappy individuals. However, the fact that Hunsberger (1980, 1983) reports no relationship between apostasy and measures of well-being indicates that the question has not yet been resolved. Important as these matters are, the limitations of our cross-sectional design on the direction of causality make this segment of our research exploratory. For example, it is impossible without lon-

gitudinal data to establish whether apostasy "causes" worldviews, or changing worldviews "cause" apostasy.

METHODS AND MEASUREMENT

The data for this paper, taken from a subsample of a larger study of student attitudes, were provided by undergraduate students at a western Canadian university (N = 355) and a midwestern American university (N = 276), both public universities.[1] Because a random sample of all undergraduate students was not feasible, a sample of entire classes of first and second year undergraduates in social science courses was used. Consequently, generalizability of the findings from the self-administered questionnaires is considerably restricted. Wuthnow (1976:856), "defending" youth samples to study secularization, argues that "young people may be more receptive to cultural innovations than their elders since they are still in the process of forming basic values". For purposes of comparison, data from a random sample of married adult couples living in Calgary will also be briefly discussed.

To explore apostasy, several measures are adapted from existing items found in the literature. For example, questions to tap early family influences upon apostasy are derived, in part, from Hunsberger (1980, 1983). Indicators to measure "religious beliefs and behaviors" are generally similar to those of Faulkner and DeJong (1966), King and Hunt (1975), Nudelman (1971), and Stark and Glock (1968). With regard to the consequences of apostasy, "traditional gender role attitudes" are based upon a shortened version of Villemez and Touhey (1977), while "life satisfactions", a measure of quality of life, is derived from Campbell, Converse and Rogers (1976).

Several scales were created in a similar fashion by asking batteries of items to measure both behaviors and attitudes on either Likert-type or semantic differential formats. Based on theory and face validity, those items were grouped and subjected to exploratory factor analysis using principal factoring with iterations (see Kim, 1975; Rummel, 1967; Zeller and Carmines, 1980).[2] Following common practice, those items which meet the standard criteria to be considered scales have been summated[3] (see Appendix). The "Doubt Index", one of the hypothesized correlates of apostasy, is a simple summation of the number of sources of doubt a student reported experiencing. All other concepts are measured by single-item indicators, the most important of these being the "Persistence of Belief" variable.

As noted above, "apostasy" has been ambiguously conceptualized and measured. Where it connotes a social process (Brinkerhoff and Burke, 1980), there have been few longitudinal studies (for an exception, see the works of the Wuthnow team studying Berkeley males over time in Glock and Wuthnow, 1979; Wuthnow and Glock, 1973; and Wuthnow and Mellinger, 1978). Being confined to cross-sectional data, but cognizant of the processual dynamics of apostasy, we propose a typology of **Religious Careers**. By capturing snapshots of current student organizational identification, and by examining reports of prior denominational attachment, we can locate respondents at different stages of their religious careers. Extending the work of Hunsberger (1980, 1983) and

others, we propose to cross-classify respondents according to their "current religious identification" and their "childhood affiliation" to yield the four types portrayed in Figure 1. **Stalwarts**[4] reflect no change over time; they remain today in the denomination in which they were raised. **Converts** are people brought up outside of an organized religion as "religious nones" (see Vernon, 1968), but who now identify with some denomination. **Apostates** identified with a particular denomination as children but currently do not feel part of any denomination. Finally, **Switchers** currently identify with denominations different from those in which they were raised. This paper focuses on Apostates; the other three types facilitate comparative understanding of their religious careers.

FIGURE 1
RELIGIOUS CAREERS: A TYPOLOGY

CURRENT DENOMINATION	CHILDHOOD DENOMINATION			
	CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT$_1$	PROTESTANT$_2$	NONE
Catholic	St	Sw	Sw	C
Protestant$_1$	Sw	St	Sw	C
Protestant$_2$	Sw	Sw	St	C
None	A	A	A	St

St. = Stalwart
C = Convert
A = Apostate
Sw = Switcher

To measure the community dimension of apostasy, two separate questions were posed: (1) "In what religious faith were you raised?" followed by (2) "Do you presently feel a part of some religious group? If yes, which religious group?" For both questions, the fixed responses "None," "Roman Catholic," "Jewish," "Protestant, Specify Denomination," and "Other, Please Specify" were provided. Note the question did not ask for membership or preference, but requested **self-identification**. Feelings of belonging to a group differ from mere nominal membership and may have a greater impact on attitudes and behaviors. Differences in the numbers of apostates reported among university youth from various studies may be related to the manner in these questions are posed. The literature often fails to inform the reader of the exact wording. Similarly, the fixed responses provided may influence the number of "nones" one encounters. Wuthnow and Glock (1973:157-180) admonish: "the wording of the questions on religion in the earlier studies makes it likely that the amount of religious defection was underestimated."

The importance of operationalization may be illustrated by some Canadian examples. In Canada's 1961 decennial census, only .5 percent responded "none" to the question "What is your religion?" when the response category "No reli-

gion" was not provided; however, in 1971, when it was given, 4.4 percent of the country responded as "religious nones". Gee and Veevers (1989) argue that the "unaffiliated" should include those answering "no religion" **plus** those who never attend. Using this operational definition, they report 38.6 percent of the respondents from the 1985 General Social Survey in Canada to be "unaffiliated". Finally, in Bibby's (1987:89) recent national survey, 11 percent are reported as "unaffiliated" while 65 percent are found to be non-members. In short, the method of operationalizing "denomination" is of considerable importance.

Two methodological caveats should be entered. First, the literature is replete with the pitfalls of relying on memory in reporting beliefs and behaviors from the past. Confined to cross-sectional data, we run this risk by asking the respondents to consider their "early religious experiences", e.g., measuring church attendance at age 10, assessing the "persistence of belief" by asking them "the extent to which they hold beliefs taught in church as they were growing up."

Second, words of caution regarding statistical usage are in order. This is a descriptive, exploratory analysis with no claims of testing causal relations. The statistics employed are only for illustrative, summarizing purposes. Following Labovitz (1970), ordinal scales will be treated as interval for both ANOVA and correlation. Finally, statistical significance will be reported even though the sample is not random; however, caution must be taken in generalizing beyond these university students. We interpret these data as respondents' current understandings, rather than exact information from their past.

FINDINGS

Although Table 1 is presented as a summary to describe the numbers and origins of the Apostates, it is also fertile with hypotheses surrounding the Religious Careers typology. For example, directions of religious change can be explored — what are the origins of the Apostates and Switchers? To which groups have the Switchers and Converts gone? The lower segment of Table 1 presents data from a community survey of a random sample of 928 adults. These community data establish the important point that our findings are not unique to university students. (For a full description of the community study, see Brinkerhoff and Lupri, 1978.) In this table, Protestants are divided into two groups, Conservative and Mainline, according to a mean Fundamentalism scale score based upon Ammerman's (1982) four characteristics. (For a description of the scale, see Brinkerhoff and Mackie, 1985[5].)

Religious change, including apostasy, can be assessed from the first columns denoting childhood and current denominational identification. So far as the student sample is concerned, the Religious Nones (those not identifying with organized religion) have increased over 300%. All other broad groupings of religious denomination show decreases. Of those changing, the greatest proportion is the Apostates who have gained at the expense of the Non-Christian. Focusing on the Apostates, of the original 252 Mainline Protestants, 99 (or 39.3%) no longer identify. Catholics are least likely to have apostatized. Of the original 569 who identified with a denomination, 198 no longer do, an apostasy rate of 34.8%. These rates are somewhat lower than Wuthnow and Glock (1979) report,

TABLE 1
CHILDHOOD & CURRENT DENOMINATIONAL IDENTIFICATION BY RELIGIOUS CAREER TYPES
FOR STUDENT AND ADULT SAMPLES: NUMBERS, PERCENTAGES/PERCENTAGE CHANGE

DENOMINATIONAL IDENTIFICATION	TOTAL SAMPLE Point in Time Childhood		Current		Percent Change[a]	RELIGIOUS CAREER TYPE Apostates[b] Childhood		Converts[c] Current		Stalwarts[d] Constant		Switchers[e] Childhood		Current	
(STUDENT SAMPLE)	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Religious Nones	62	9.8	252	39.9	+306.5	d	d	c	c	52	83.9	e	e	e	e
Non-Christians[f]	23	3.6	12	1.9	-47.8	12	-52.2	1	1.6	10	43.5	1	4.3	1	8.3
Catholic	208	33.0	164	26.0	-21.2	48	-23.1	1	1.6	156	75.0	4	1.9	7	4.3
Conservative Protestant[g]	34	5.4	26	4.1	-23.5	9	-26.5	2	3.2	12	35.3	13	38.2	12	46.2
Mainline Protestant[g]	252	39.9	142	22.5	-39.7	99	-39.3	2	3.2	125	49.6	27	10.7	15	10.6
Identifies n.e.c.[h]	37	5.9	25	4.0	-32.4	25	-67.6	3	4.8	9	24.3	4	10.8	13	52.0
Non-response[i]	15	2.4	10	1.6	-33.3	5	-33.3	1	1.6	4	26.7	6	40.0	7	70.0
TOTALS	631	100.0	631	100.0		198	-34.8	10	16.1	368	58.3	55	9.5	55	14.5
(REPRESENTATIVE COMMUNITY SAMPLE OF ADULTS)															
Religious Nones	36	3.9	482	51.9	+1238.8	d	d	c	c	29	80.6	e	e	e	e
Non-Christian[f]	17	1.8	11	1.2	-35.3	9	52.9	1	2.8	9	52.9	-	0.0	3	27.3
Catholic	216	23.3	131	14.1	-39.4	91	42.3	-	0.0	111	51.4	14	6.5	20	15.3
Conservative Protestant[g]	79	8.5	54	5.8	-31.6	38	48.1	1	2.8	25	31.6	16	20.3	28	51.2
Mainline Protestant[g]	541	58.3	215	23.2	-60.3	295	54.5	4	11.1	158	29.2	88	16.3	53	24.7
Identifies n.e.c.[h]	12	1.3	14	1.5	+16.7	5	41.7	-	0.0	3	25.0	4	33.3	11	78.6
Non-response[i]	27	2.9	21	2.3	-22.2	13	48.1	-	0.0	8	29.6	6	22.2	13	61.9
TOTALS	928	100.0	928	100.0		451	50.6	6	16.7	343	37.0	128	14.3	128	28.7

a Percentage change subtracts the numbers for the two time periods divided by the early report.
b Apostates, by definition, report "no religious" identification currently; percentages indicate the proportion who originally claimed this denomination but now claim none.
c Converts, by definition, report "no" identification as a child; percentages indicate the proportion of those with no childhood religion who have embraced this group.
d Stalwarts, by definition, have no change from childhood to adult identification; percentages indicate the proportion of original number in that category who have remained.
e Switchers, by definition, report a different identification at both points in time; however, switching may be within categories, e.g., from Episcopalian to Presbyterian within Mainline Protestant. Percentages for childhood indicate the proportion who have switched from the category as a child; likewise they reflect the proportion in the current denomination who have switched.
f Includes Jews, Hindus, Buddists, and other non-Christians.
g Based on mean denominational responses to a Fundamentalism scale.
h Includes Interdenominational, Christian, Protestant, and other similar responses which cannot be categorized.
i Differs from Nones because they refused to respond; also includes double responses.

ranging from 47 percent among Freshmen to 52 percent for Seniors, but higher than Hunsberger (1980) who classifies only 8.5 percent as Apostates. Why? Could it be, in part, a function of measurement, or question wording?

Since universities have been referred to as "breeding grounds for apostasy" (Hunsberger, 1980:159), the community sample, found in the lower half of Table 1, provides a useful comparison. Here the percentage increase for those not identifying with a denomination is over 1200 percent. Over half (50.6 percent) of those previously "part of a denomination" are now Apostates. In short, the increase in apostasy rates is not merely a function of a university student sample. Although the percentages are higher, the patterns for the community respondents follow closely those of the student sample, i.e., for those who identified with one of the "major" religious groupings, Catholics are least likely, followed by Conservatives, with Mainline Protestants being most likely to apostatize.

Although our interest is in the Apostates, some brief observations of the other types appear in order. There are only 10 students who identified themselves as Nones at childhood who now identify with some group; these we term Converts. Little can be said about such a small number. The Stalwarts, or those who currently identify with their childhood denomination, remain the largest group in Table 1. However, it is important to understand that there may be some change *within* categories, e.g., a former Episcopalian may now identify as a Presbyterian, both categorized as Mainline Protestants. The Stalwarts also contain 52 of the original respondents who continue to identify themselves as unchurched, or Religious Nones, the most stable group. Of the major groupings identifying with a denomination, the Catholics are most stable followed by the Mainline Protestants.

The Religious Beliefs and Practices Dimension of Apostasy

As argued above, the apostasy process involves more than communal identification. Apostasy also includes the belief dimension. In Table 1, the Religious Careers Typology was constructed from the responses pertaining to denominational identification. How do these career types, especially the Apostates, differ in their religious beliefs? We hypothesize that they would be characterized by weaker religious beliefs. Table 2 contains responses to some of the items commonly found in measures of religious belief. This simple descriptive table contains the percentages of those who "strongly agree" with the six specific beliefs.

Importantly, it must be noted that some of the Apostates do continue to believe; however, as compared to the other religious types, the percentages are substantially smaller. Whereas almost 22 percent believe in God's existence, only five percent agree on Biblical literalness. By and large the Switchers, followed by the Converts, report being more fervent believers.

We also recognize that the person who does not identify with a religious group may still participate in religious rituals or practices, informally, either at home, or within organized religions. As the data in Table 2 suggest, nearly 20 percent of the Apostates practice private prayer and ask God's forgiveness either "very often" or "often". Very few, however, try to personally convert others, or

TABLE 2
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES BY CAREER: PERCENTAGE COMPARISONS OF THOSE WHO "STRONGLY BELIEVE" AND PRACTICE "OFTEN"

	RELIGIOUS CAREER				
DIMENSION	Apostates	Converts	Stalwarts	Switchers	Totals
BELIEFS[a]					
Bible Literalness	5.0	30.0	25.3	38.5	20.4
Divinity of Jesus	11.2	50.0	43.3	59.6	35.1
Salvation through Christ	6.1	40.0	32.8	46.2	25.9
Separation from World	5.0	40.0	13.5	34.7	13.4
God Exists	21.7	70.0	66.1	76.5	53.4
Miracles Really Happened	12.6	40.0	41.4	60.0	34.4
INFORMAL ACTIVITY[b]					
Private Prayer	20.6	60.0	48.8	63.5	41.3
Read Bible	4.1	40.0	13.8	35.2	13.1
Share Faith	3.7	30.0	16.2	34.6	14.1
Ask God Forgiveness	19.5	50.0	58.0	56.9	45.6
Grace in Home	14.1	20.0	40.0	39.6	31.5
Grace outside Home	9.5	20.0	15.0	31.3	15.0
Personally Convert	1.0	10.0	2.3	3.9	2.2
Religious TV	0.5	10.0	0.9	7.4	1.5
Religious Literature	2.6	40.0	18.7	44.2	16.1
CHURCH PARTICIPATION					
Weekly Attendance[c]	6.8	20.0	42.0	51.0	31.4
Weekly Time Contribution[d]	3.1	20.0	13.5	20.7	11.0
Evenings at Church Work[e]	0.0	20.0	7.1	17.3	5.9
Financial Contributions[e]	4.1	20.0	21.1	38.4	17.2
TOTALS N[f]	368	10	198	55	631

a Examples of items in the Belief Scale reporting those who "Strongly Agree" on a four-point scale. The first four beliefs combine to form the Fundamentalism Scale.
b Items combine to make the Informal Activity Scale reporting those who "Often" and "Very Often" engage in these devotional activities.
c Percent who attend "weekly" and "more than once a week."
d Percentage contributing time each week.
e Percentage reporting "Often" and "Very Often" on a five-point scale.
f Totals vary slightly because of non-response; these are maximum N's for each Career Type.

share their faith. As far as more formal "church participation" is concerned, a few Apostates attend services weekly and even make financial contributions. As was the case with the belief dimension, the Switchers appear to be most active, both informally and formally.

In summary, as expected, the Apostates are less likely to hold these specific religious beliefs and are also less likely to engage in religious practices. However some Apostates do believe and behave religiously.

To assess these relationships more thoroughly, the religious practices and beliefs have been summated into scales, as described above, (see Appendix). Table 3 contains these summated scales by the type of religious career. For the six religious belief items combined, the Apostates reflect a score of 28.5 out of a maximum of 48, considerably lower than scores for the other religious types. Table 3 provides information which allows us to evaluate the relationships between career types and beliefs in four different but related ways. First, by comparing the actual scale scores, it becomes apparent that Apostates are considerably less religious. Second, the F-ratios for the analysis of variance indicate strong statistical significance. Third, because statistical significance for the F-ratios takes into account all four career types, the column labelled "Intergroup Differences" provides the added information of whether a specific group is statistically different from another, e.g., is the 28.5 for Apostates statistically different from the 37.4 for Converts? These are based on a t-test for difference of means. Fourth, the eta coefficient is useful when predicting scores (religious beliefs) based on nominal categories of an independent variable (career types), and may be interpreted similarly to an r or product moment correlation. (The eta, when squared, has the "intuitive interpretation as the proportion of variance in the dependent variable explained [accounted for] by the independent variable"; see Nie et al., 1975:230 and Costner, 1965.)

The mean scores for the four multi-item scales, Belief, Fundamentalism, Informal Activity and Church Participation, all indicate Apostates are least and Switchers most religious. The F-ratios are all statistically significant, and the Apostates are significantly different from each other group. Finally, the eta coefficients ranging from .42 for the relationship between Religious Careers and Fundamentalism to .50 between Careers and Beliefs, suggest moderately strong relationships. The three single-item indicators of religiosity in Table 3 follow somewhat the same pattern. The Converts and Switchers are more likely to report "born again" experiences. According to the intergroup comparisons, Apostates are significantly different in the degree to which religion is salient to them, i.e. they report religion to be far less important to them on the 5-point Likert-type scale than do the other types. They are also less likely to discuss religion with their friends.

Family Socialization

The importance of the family as an agency of religious socialization remains one of the dominant themes in the apostasy literature. Hunsberger (1980, 1983), Wuthnow and Mellinger (1978), and others all argue that the salience of religion in childhood is critical to adult religious orientation. Table 3 above contains the

TABLE 3
RELIGIOSITY, FAMILY FACTORS, TRADITIONALISM, SELECTED CONSEQUENCES BY RELIGIOUS CAREER TYPE: SUMMARY OF MEANS, F-RATIOS & INTERGROUP DIFFERENCES FROM ANOVA

	MEAN SCORES BY CAREER TYPE							
TYPE OF CORRELATE	(1) Apostates	(2) Converts	(3) Stalwarts	(4) Switchers	F-Ratios[a]	N[b]	Intergroup Differences[c]	Eta
RELIGIOSITY MEASURES								
Belief[e]	28.50	37.40	36.72	39.46	65.29****	595	(1)(2,3)(2,4)	.50
Fundamentalism[e]	8.98	11.80	11.64	12.53	40.92****	584	(1)(2,3,4)	.42
Informal Activity[e]	15.89	23.20	22.62	26.57	56.62****	603	(1)(2,3)(2,4)	.47
Church Participation[e]	6.66	10.60	10.36	12.10	62.81****	606	(1)(2,3)(2,4)	.49
Born Again	2.04	1.90	1.97	1.61	10.94****	601	(2,4)(1,2,3)	.23
Discuss Religion	2.30	2.80	2.89	3.17	23.02****	612	(1,2)(2,3,4)	.32
Religious Salience	3.37	1.70	2.23	1.87	71.69***	624	(1)(2,3,4)	.50
CHILDHOOD/FAMILY								
Attendance at Age 10	2.45	5.30	2.34	2.11	6.08***	613	(2)(1,3,4)	.17
Age of Doubt	3.51	g	4.50	3.93	18.71****	479	(1,2,4)(2,3,4)	.32
Doubt Index[d]	2.74	0.80	1.30	2.27	24.89****	628	(2,3,4)(1,4)	.33
Persistent Believer	1.96	g	1.44	1.66	35.35****	533	(2,3,4)(1,2)	.41
Father Comparison	2.26	1.22	1.99	1.76	12.02****	518	(1)(2)(3)(4)	.26
Mother Comparison	2.52	1.90	2.33	1.98	10.13****	545	(2,3,4)(1)	.23
Friend Comparison	2.16	1.50	1.77	1.69	14.34	528	(2,3,4)(1)	.28
TRADITIONALISM								
Socio-Religious Views[e]	22.89	28.04	26.37	27.46	27.55****	594	(1)(2,3,4)	.35
Gender Scale[e]	45.66	47.60	49.00	48.61	3.91**	622	(1,2,4)(2,3,4)	.16
Political View	2.77	2.90	3.00	2.93	2.46	616	(1,2,4)(2,3,4)	.11
Radical-Conservative	4.25	4.50	4.54	4.88	2.63*	565	(1)(2,3)(4)	.12
CONSEQUENCES								
Life Satisfactions[f]	47.45	51.57	50.25	52.64	8.54****	591	(1,2,3)(2,3,4)	.20
Self-esteem[f]	83.45	81.30	86.06	87.91	4.45***	569	(1,2,3,4)	.15
General Happiness	4.07	4.60	4.21	4.33	5.39***	615	(2,3,4)(1)	.16

a F-ratios from ANOVA with statistical significance levels are as follows:**≤.01;***≤.005; and****≤.001.
b N's vary due to non-response; maximum N's by Career Type-Apostates=198; Converts=10; Stalwarts=368; and Switchers=55.
c Career Types within parentheses are not statistically different from each other at the .05 level using t-tests.
d Doubt Index is a summated scale of 12 sources of doubt ranging from a potential low of 0 to a high of 12.
e Multiple items scales built through factor analysis using principle factoring iterations on Likert-type items. The higher the scale scores, the greater the religiosity, the higher the traditionalism.
f Based on semantic differentials of bipolar adjectives subjected to factor analyses, the higher the score, the higher the satisfaction and self-esteem.
g The N's for these cells are too few to be meaningful.

reports on selected childhood religious activities and perceptions. By measuring childhood religiosity "at about age 10" on an eight-point scale, we find the Apostates remembered attending "nearly every week". Only the Converts, who had no childhood religion, were significantly different from the others according to the intergroup comparisons. That is, at age 10 the Apostates report being only slightly less likely to attend than were the Stalwarts and Switchers. A score of 2.45 indicates that Apostates had attended between "nearly every week" to "several times a month." The eta coefficient indicates a rather weak relationship between career type and childhood attendance.

A series of items were asked about periods of religious doubt. Apostates report experiencing such doubts at a somewhat earlier age, 13-14, as compared to the ages 15-20 by the Stalwarts and Switchers. The intergroup comparisons indicate that Apostates differ significantly from Stalwarts but not Switchers. Age of doubt explains over nine percent of the variance, which is moderately strong. The respondents were provided a checklist containing 12 possible sources of doubt (e.g., books which seemed to contradict my beliefs), including an open ended response. The Doubt Index, summating these, illustrates that Apostates reported an average of 2.74 doubts, a significantly greater number than Converts and Stalwarts but not Switchers. (This may lead some to conclude prematurely that Apostates are merely Switchers, caught at a given point in time, before they have embraced a new denomination.)

"Persistence of Religious Belief" was measured by asking respondents to assess the "extent to which you still hold beliefs taught you in church when you were growing up". Of those reporting some religious upbringing (N=531) 42.3 percent remain in "substantial agreement with the beliefs taught", 53.1 percent only "partially agree with them," and 4.7 percent "wholly disagree with them". Of all the childhood factors, the "persistence of religious belief" is the strongest correlate of the careers typology. Over 16 percent of the variance is explained. The Apostates are in significantly less agreement with the beliefs taught them in childhood, as compared to the Stalwarts or the Switchers. (The Converts are too few in number for meaningful comparisons.) This finding would seem to suggest that Apostates are *not* merely in the process of becoming Switchers who are caught temporarily without a church. They are currently non-believers as well as non-affiliates.

Family and close friends are deemed key socializers. Therefore, the students were asked to compare the strengths of their beliefs with those of their parents and closest friends on a three-point scale ranging from more firm (coded 1) to less firm (coded 3). (They were also given a "don't know" option.) As the data in Table 3 reflect, the Apostates are much more likely to regard their belief in religion as less firm than those of their parents and closest friends. In summary, both current and childhood religious beliefs and behaviors are consistent with their ascribed statuses as Apostates.

Persistence of Religious Beliefs

Although we return later to Table 3 to discuss the "consequences" of apostasy, we must first investigate more thoroughly the "persistence of belief" dimension. The earlier data presented correlates in light of communal involvement. We now turn to Table 4 which contains data to examine the relationships between these factors and persistence of childhood beliefs. First, it is not unexpected that the persistence of childhood beliefs correlates fairly strongly with current religious beliefs and behaviors. The variance explained when correlating the six-item belief scale with the persistence of childhood religiosity reaches nearly 30 percent (.54 squared). Current fundamentalistic beliefs are similarly related. Both the "informal" (e.g., private prayer, reading Bible) and the "formal" (e.g., attendance, financial contributions) religious activity scales are strongly related to the persistence of childhood religion. The weakest single item indicator of religiosity is having been "born again". In summary, believers continue to show devotion (informal activity), to participate in church, and to reflect orthodox Christian beliefs. Those people who find religion to be a very important part of their lives are those who have strong continuity in their belief systems.

The Childhood/Familial factors are also related to the persistence of childhood religiosity in a fashion similar to the Career Typology. The greater their attendance at age 10, the greater the persistence of their beliefs. The older they were before encountering doubts, the greater their belief persistence. Similarly, those who are "less firm in the faith" than their parents and closest friends tend to reject their childhood beliefs. Finally, the greater the number of doubts during youth, the less likely that their childhood beliefs persisted.

Sources of Doubt

Thus far we have examined the two dimensions of apostasy, communal involvement and persistence of belief, arguing that Apostates no longer identify with religious denominations and also fail to believe as they once did. How does one become an Apostate? Why do people drop out? Why do they quit believing? Clearly, a cross- sectional survey research design can only begin to explore these complex questions. Roozen (1980) summarizes the then extant studies of defection into two, perhaps mutually reinforcing and overlapping, categories: (1) Cognitive Conflicts, and (2) Interpersonal Discord. Hunsberger (1980:166) found some support for the interpersonal discord explanation as several respondents reported in an open-ended question, "criticisms of the church, its ministers, and its teachings as important reasons for change". Caplovitz and Sherrow (1977) show the cognitive conflict hypothesis to be supported more strongly than theses of parental rebellion and intellectualism. Hunsberger (1980, 1983) also found little evidence to support the parental rebellion or intellectualism arguments. Glock and Wuthnow (1979:59) conclude from their Berkeley sample that religion may not provide answers to the "ultimate concerns" of life, a type of cognitive conflict.

By conceptualizing apostasy as the antithesis of conversion, one may turn to

TABLE 4
FAMILY FACTORS, RELIGIOSITY AND SELECTED CONSEQUENCES OF "PERSISTENCE OF BELIEF:" SOME ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS

	PERSISTENCE OF CHILDHOOD BELIEFS[a]		
CORRELATES	Coefficient[b]	Significance Level	N[c]
RELIGIOSITY MEASURES			
Belief[e]	.54	.000	517
Fundamentalism[e]	.48	.000	514
Informal Activity[e]	.45	.000	528
Church Participation[e]	.45	.000	528
Born Again	.09	.019	517
Discuss Religion	.24	.000	529
Religious Salience	.49	.000	527
CHILDHOOD/FAMILY			
Attendance at Age 10	.11	.006	531
Age of Doubt	.40	.000	457
Doubt Index[d]	-.38	.000	530
Father Comparison	-.21	.000	470
Mother Comparison	-.18	.000	489
Friend Comparison	-.21	.000	472
TRADITIONALISM			
Socio-Religious Views[e]	.42	.000	510
Gender Scale[e]	.24	.000	527
Political View	.17	.000	524
Radical-Conservative	.15	.001	486
CONSEQUENCES			
Life Satisfactions[f]	.15	.000	505
Self-esteem[f]	.08	.031	489
General Happiness	.21	.000	524

a The higher the score, the greater the "persistence of belief" measured on a three-point Likert-type scale.
b Correlation coefficients are for Pearson product moment correlations.
c N's vary due to non-response; i.e., some items are inappropriate.
d Doubt Index is a summated scale of 12 sources of doubt ranging from a potential low of 12 to a high of 24.
e Multiple items scales built through factor analyses using principle factoring iterations on Likert-type items. The higher the scale scores, the greater the religiosity, and the higher the traditionalism.
f Based on semantic differentials of bipolar adjectives to factor analyses, the higher the score, the higher the satisfaction and self-esteem.

the conversion literature to shed light on this de-conversion process. Barker and Currie (1985), in summarizing conversion theories, argue that new members enter communally (become members) prior to becoming committed. Commitment follows conversion. Similarly, Brinkerhoff and Burke's (1980) typology of the process of religious disaffiliation posits that doubting members may stop believing but continue to participate as ritualists. Doubts precede apostasy. The element of doubt underlies many of the theoretical assumptions dealing with apostasy.

As discussed earlier, respondents were asked about their doubt in religious beliefs, followed by the question, "What was the *source* of this doubt (if there was any at all)? (Check as many as apply.)" Table 5 attempts to group the sources of doubt according to Roozen's (1980) dichotomy, Cognitive Conflicts and Interpersonal Discords. Not all responses fit well. Two additional categories are added. The category "Influence of Non-believing Others" could fit into either of Roozen's categories. Finally, the fourth category, "A Gradual Drift into Non-belief," reflects an attempt to capture the processual aspects congruent with the labelling theory proposed by Brinkerhoff and Burke (1980). This framework posits cognitive conflict accompanied by gradual drift.

Table 5 depicts the percentage of each Career Type checking a particular source of doubt. As the means at the bottom of the table illustrate, Apostates and Switchers report encountering more sources of doubt than the others. (As the intergroup comparisons in Table 3 show, Apostates report a significantly greater number of doubts than either Converts or Stalwarts.) Switchers, by definition, have exited one denomination to embrace another. They may very well have exited the former due to doubt. Apostates, similar in their distribution of doubts, have not yet identified with a new faith. Are they in the process of becoming Switchers? Our data suggest that this is not the case. The Stalwarts have fewer doubts than either the Apostates or the Switchers.

Overall, those sources of doubt somewhat arbitrarily grouped under Cognitive Conflicts appear to be most common, especially those reporting "experiencing problems in my life which my religion just didn't seem to help". The source of doubt most common to all career types is hypocrisy among church members, which we reluctantly classify under Interpersonal Discords. Well over a third of the Apostates and Switchers fall into this hypocrisy category as they report "seeing behavior of church members which contradicted my beliefs". In assessing the influence of other non-believers, we find that peers present more sources of doubt than adult friends, relatives or teachers. The gradual drift hypothesis is somewhat less frequently mentioned.

In summary, most of these sources of doubt are cognitive, since doubt, by definition, concerns beliefs. Some are clearly interpersonal (and hence probably communal) as well. That is, the groupings may be artificial, and may not tap the extent of interpersonal discord reported by Hunsberger (1980, 1983) and Roozen (1980). Because selected sources of doubt may arise frequently but may not be considered very important, while others may arise infrequently but be more meaningful, respondents were also asked to indicate the "one most important source of doubt" from those listed in Table 5. (These data are not shown but are available upon request.) Interestingly, Apostates find "gradual drift into non-belief", followed closely by hypocrisy, to be the most important sources.

TABLE 5
SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS DOUBT EXPRESSED BY RELIGIOUS CAREER TYPE: PERCENT EXPRESSING EACH DOUBT

SOURCES OF DOUBT	RELIGIOUS CAREER TYPES EXPRESSING DOUBTS					
	Apostates	Converts	Stalwarts	Switchers	Total[a]	N[b]
COGNITIVE CONFLICTS						
Books contradiciting beliefs	26.8%	0.0%	10.1%	23.6%	16.3%	103
School contradicting beliefs	30.5	10.0	13.0	21.8	19.2	121
Inconsistency between life demands/beliefs	24.4	0.0	14.1	14.5	17.1	108
Religion no solution to problems	36.4	0.0	16.8	34.5	24.2	153
INTERPERSONAL DISCORD						
Disapproval of ministers	15.2	10.0	10.1	16.4	12.2	77
Church members hypocrisy	38.6	10.0	17.7	40.0	26.0	164
Intolerance among believers	16.3	0.0	4.6	9.1	8.6	54
INFLUENCE OF NON-BELIEVING OTHERS						
Peers	13.7	10.0	13.6	18.2	14.0	88
Adult friend/relative	12.7	10.0	5.2	5.5	7.6	48
Teacher	5.6	10.0	2.2	0.0	3.2	20
Gradual drift into non-belief	16.3	0.0	4.6	9.1	8.6	54
Other, not specified	15.8	10.0	8.4	20.0	11.8	74
N[c]	198.0	10.0	368.0	55.0		631.0
X[d]	2.74	.8	1.30	2.27	1.83	

a The percent of total sample expressing each doubt.
b The total number in sample reporting the doubt.
c The numbers of each type of Religious Career.
d The mean number of sources of doubt expressed by each Career type.
e Percentage reporting "Often" and "Very Often" on a five-point scale.

Switchers also report church members' hypocritical behavior to be most important. Although hypocrisy is also salient for Stalwarts, they report "inconsistency between life's demands and beliefs" to be most important. The disbelief of significant others proved to be relatively unimportant.

Consequences of Apostasy

We now examine how loss of religious belief and community affects the lives of Apostates. The concept "consequences" may be too strong since it implies causality. Cross-sectional data, as mentioned above, limit such claims because they render it difficult to establish time order. Regardless of its label, this explanation of selected correlates of apostasy, both the communal and belief components, is crucial to our understanding of the social psychology of religion. Do Apostates have different worldviews? Are they less traditional? more liberal? more radical? Does the rejection of the "faith of their fathers and mothers" affect their quality of life? their happiness? their self- esteem?

First, we return to the finding of Hadaway and Roof (1979), Perry et al. (1980), Nelson (1988), and Bromley (1988) that apostates are characterized by a less traditional worldview. Traditionalism was measured by two multiple-item scales and two single-item indicators (see Tables 3 and 4). The 11-item Socio-Religious scale includes items linking religion and social views such as "homosexuality is sinful", and "the Biblical account of creation should not be taught in school". The Gender Scale taps traditional values concerning women's roles. (The parameters for both scales are found in the Appendix.) Political View is assessed by a single question asking the respondents to describe their political views on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "very liberal" to "very conservative." The Radical-Conservative variable is measured by self-descriptions on bi-polar adjectives using a seven-point semantic differential. Comparing the means for the scales and the single-item indicators in Table 3 shows that, as expected, Apostates have a more liberal worldview than all other types of respondents, i.e., they are less traditional. Furthermore, they are statistically different from Stalwarts on every measure. Table 3 reflects the "communal" component of apostasy; by turning to the belief dimension found in Table 4, we find that the more persistent the beliefs from childhood, the more traditional the worldviews. In summary, then, our scrutiny of both dimensions of apostasy corroborates the findings of previous researchers that apostates hold more liberal worldviews than do faithful followers.

Secondly, we again enter the debate on whether religious involvement brings blessings or burdens (see Mackie and Brinkerhoff, 1986). Campbell et al. (1976) report a negative relationship between quality of life and religious involvement. However, others, including Hadaway and Roof (1978, 1979), "have shown religiosity to be positively associated with feelings of happiness, satisfaction, and similar expressions of well-being." The Life Satisfactions scale is a replication of the semantic differential, employing nine pairs of bi-polar opposite adjectives to describe "my present life", formulated by Campbell et al. (1976). As the means in Table 3 suggest, the Apostates are less satisfied with life than are the other types. Similarly, Table 4 shows a positive relationship between the persis-

tence of childhood religious beliefs and life satisfactions.

How do Apostates feel about themselves? Does their rejection of organized religion relate to enhanced or diminished self-esteem? Self-esteem was measured by 15 different pairs of bi-polar adjectives with which respondents described "myself". In Table 3, the Apostates report slightly lower self-esteem than either the Stalwarts or the Switchers; however, the intergroup comparisons are not statistically different. Self-esteem is only weakly related to persistence in religious belief (see Table 4).

Finally, replies to the oft-employed single-item indicator of General Happiness, "In general, how happy would you say you are?", are reported. Table 3 shows that Apostates report being significantly less happy than the other types, while Table 4 illustrates that those who maintain their childhood religious beliefs also tend to be happier.

In summary, then, the Apostates who leave their childhood beliefs and denominations tend to have more liberal worldviews but are less satisfied in life, less happy and have lower self-esteem. These conclusions appear to support those of Hadaway and Roof (1988). In comparing findings, however, one must exercise caution because of differences in definitions of Apostates. For example, Hadaway and Roof (1979) examined "stable nones" rather than Apostates, as defined in this paper, i.e., in this analysis they were placed in the Stalwart category because they reported no change since childhood. Perhaps if our 52 "stable nones" were factored out of the remaining Stalwarts, those professing the same denomination over time would report even higher levels of quality of life. Nevertheless, our findings differ from Hunsberger (1980, 1983) who, although defining apostasy similarly, reported no relationship between apostasy and well-being.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Arguing that apostasy is a critical but neglected topic, this paper addresses two questions. What factors prompt apostates to leave? What consequences flow from (or accompany) turning one's back on organized religion? Following Brinkerhoff and Burke (1980), apostasy is conceptualized as a process characterized by two multi-dimensional aspects: disaffiliation from the religious community and diminution of belief.

A typology of Religious Careers was developed to approximate the dynamics of apostasy through analysis of cross-sectional data provided by students at a Canadian and American university and a representative adult sample. This typology captures the communal dimension of apostasy, with the belief dimension being tapped by various multidimensional measures.

Where do Apostates come from? Both the student and community samples show that Catholics, followed by Conservative Protestants are least likely to leave; Mainline Protestants are most likely to apostatize. Given the similarity of student and community patterns, we argue that viewing apostasy as an inherent and ephemeral aspect of university experience leaves most of the process unexplained.

With regard to Beliefs and Practices, Apostates are least likely to entertain

religious beliefs or to engage in religious behavior. This finding, consistent over a number of measures, serves to validate our typology. Equally important, our indications that Apostates are least religious and Switchers most religious address a tendency in the literature to conflate the two experiences. Our data show in several ways that Apostasy and Switching are dissimilar processes, i.e., we concur with the conclusions of Sandomirsky and Wilson (1990).

Doubts about church teaching is central to the process of apostasy. So far as childhood religiosity is concerned, only Converts (those with no childhood religion) differed from the other types. Apostates report experiencing doubt somewhat earlier at ages 13-14, as compared to 15-20 years of age for Switchers and Stalwarts (with only the latter being significant). Apostates report a significantly greater number of doubts than Converts and Stalwarts, but not Switchers. They are in significantly less agreement with the beliefs taught them in childhood, as compared to Stalwarts and Switchers. Predictably, Apostates are much more likely than the other types to regard their belief in religion as less firm than that of their parents and closest friends.

Viewing disaffiliation as the antithesis of conversion, Brinkerhoff and Burke (1980) proposed that doubts precede leave-taking, that doubting members continue to participate for a time as ritualists. Our cross-sectional data cannot address directly this historical hypothesis. However, we found that Apostates and Switchers report more sources of doubt than either Converts or Stalwarts. Asked to name "one most important source of doubt," Apostates indicated "gradual drift into non-belief," followed by "hypocrisy among church members." Being troubled by the hypocrisy of fellow religionists proved to be the more important source of doubt for Switchers.

Finally, we measured some of the consequences (or perhaps more accurately, concomitants) of apostasy. People who turned their backs on their childhood beliefs and denominations tend to have more liberal worldviews, to be less satisfied with life, less happy, and with lower self-esteem. Apostates are characterized by more liberal worldviews than Stalwarts. They report slightly lower self-esteem than either Stalwarts or Switchers. As suggested in the literature (Hadaway and Roof, 1978; 1979), Apostates are significantly less happy than those who adhere to organized religion.

In conclusion, we echo Bromley's (1980:23) call for further research that continues to address the conceptualization of apostasy and to clear the "terminological thicket" surrounding religious disaffiliation. Although confined to cross-sectional data, this study lends confidence to the analysis of apostasy presented in Brinkerhoff and Burke (1980). The career typology proved to be a useful device to approximate longitudinal data. Nevertheless, the process by which people cast off the bonds of organized religion would best be captured through longitudinal rather than cross-sectional or panel studies.

NOTES

1. This is part of a larger study in which samples from two church-related schools were also included. This paper excludes the religious schools because religious disaffiliates may tend to avoid this type of educational institution. For a full description see Brinkerhoff and Mackie (1985).

2. Because the common variance explained was sufficiently high on first factors for all cases, and because the remaining factors had low eigenvalues and low loadings, only first factors are employed here. Items had to meet the criterion of a factor loading of .40 or greater, and the eigenvalue of clustered items had to exceed 1.0 for inclusion. Items not meeting these criteria were rejected. Cronbach's alpha (1967) was employed as a measure of reliability for these summated scales.

3. Items constituting each scale are available upon request.

4. An anonymous reviewer has suggested "Stalwarts" may be a misnomer for the "stable nones". Our search of the thesaurus and dictionaries provided no nouns which were satisfactory. Consequently, the term "Stalwarts" does not connote "faithful" in a religious sense, but means unchanging or persistent.

5. Ammerman (1982) eloquently argues that Fundamentalism is characterized by the four qualities: "Biblical literalness", "personal salvation through Jesus Christ," "divinity of Jesus Christ," and "separation from the world."

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APPENDIX

PARAMETERS OF SCALE CONSTRUCTION FOR MEASURES OF RELIGIOSITY, TRADITIONALISM AND LIFE CONSEQUENCES: A SUMMARY TABLE

	FACTOR ANALYSIS:[a] FIRST FACTORS					SUMMATED SCALE VALUES[b]			
SCALE NAME	No. of Items	Range of Loadings	Percentage of Variance	Eigen-value	Standard-ized Alpha	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	N[c]
RELIGIOSITY MEASURES									
Informal Activity[d]	9	.65-.84	100.0	5.26	.93	9-45	25.4	9.3	874
Church Participation[d]	4	.81-.88	100.0	2.77	.90	4-20	11.8	4.8	909
Fundamentalism[d]	4	.61-.84	100.0	2.29	.84	4-16	12.0	3.1	888
Belief[d]	12	.59-.85	100.0	6.66	.94	12-48	37.7	8.3	899
TRADITIONALISM									
Socio-Religious[d]	11	.40-.87	100.0	3.65	.83	11-44	28.3	6.2	883
Gender[d]	18	.40-.75	84.8	5.72	.89	18-85	52.1	12.1	921
CONSEQUENCES									
Life Satisfaction[e]	9	.66-.80	100.0	4.74	.91	9-63	21.7	7.5	859
Self-esteem[e]	15	.44-.74	87.0	5.32	.89	15-105	34.0	9.7	799

a Using principle factoring with iterations (Kim, 1975).
b The higher the score, the higher the religiosity, the more traditional, the greater the satisfaction and the higher the self-esteem.
c N's vary due to non-responses; scales built from all respondents in four-university sample.
d Based on a Likert-type format.
e Employing a seven-point semantic differential of bi-polar opposite adjectives.