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EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF

BY

Gary L. Webb

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1972 YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation by dedicating my Masters Thesis to the five professors who have aided me the most throughout my years of study here at Eastern Illinois University: Dr. Jumuna Bai, Dr. Byron E. Munson, Dr. Frieda Stute, Professor Ronald Wohlstein, and Dr. Gerhard Dits. What these people have done to assist and encourage me over the past four years cannot be expressed by a cluster of black letters on a white sheet of paper. They have served me well, and so shall I serve them in the years to come. But enough for now, it is done.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the following pages the author is concerned with analyzing the inverse relationship between educational achievement and religiosity. It appears that many researchers such as B. B. Burgermeister, T. L. Hilton, J. H. Korn, W. T. Plant, C. W. Telford, K. L. Barkley, and many others, which will be mentioned in the following pages, have turned up evidence to support the fact that the above-mentioned relationship does exist. However, none have dared to put forth a theoretical framework or proposition to explain the relationship. It is the purpose of this thesis to put forth a tenable proposition, that is, as educational achievement increases religious belief decreases, and in so doing contributing in no small measure to the understanding of religious belief in society.

The methodology used will be, by necessity, an historical analysis of former research studies conducted by social scientists. Therefore, the researcher will refer to materials produced in the past which are unique empirical records and expressions of attitudes and behavior. Howard Becker has pointed out that prediction can either be retrospective, such as Max Weber's connection of Protestant and capitalistic ethics, or prospective. In other words, typical conditions, factors, and emergent phenomena may be searched for in

¹ John T. Doby, ed., An Introduction to Social Research (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Telegraph Press, 1954), pp. 184-185.

history or historical research studies as well as in the contemporary or future scene. The focus of this thesis is primarily retrospective prediction, although not to the extent that it excludes prospective prediction, which will be found in the conclusion.

A. DEFINITION OF RELIGION

The monumental task of defining religion has been attempted by many social theorists throughout history. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels defined religion as

. . . nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces.²

Marx and Engels went on to explain that in the beginning of history it was the forces of nature which were first so reflected and which in the course of further evolution underwent the most manifold and varied personifications among the various peoples. However, they contend that at a further stage of evolution all the natural and social attributes of the numerous gods were transferred to one almighty god, who was "but a reflection of the abstract man." Thus, according to Marx and Engels monotheism was the last stage in the historical development of religion.

Max Weber can be seen as being in general agreement with the above-mentioned definition. He viewed religion as mythology.⁵

²K. Marx and F. Engels on Religion (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), p. 147.

Tbid., p. 148. Tbid., pp. 148-149.

From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 267-302.

He also emphasized the fact that religion was a comforting myth for the masses. Weber stated "The resurrected god guaranteed the return of good fortune in this world or the security of happiness in the world beyond."

Emile Durkheim in attempting to construct a universally acceptable definition of religion for the entire world offered a very broad definition stating,

All known religious beliefs, whether simple or complex, present one common characteristic: they presuppose a classification of all things, real and ideal, of which men think, into two classes or opposed groups, generally designated by two distinct terms which are translated well enough by the words profane and sacred. 8

According to Durkheim this division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought. Beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends are either representations or systems of representations which express the nature of sacred things, the virtues and powers which are attributed to them, or their relations with each other and with profane things. Durkheim then went on to say that the circle of sacred objects cannot be determined once and for all. Its extent varies infinitely according to the different religions.

The previously cited definitions of religion offered by Marx and Engels, Weber, and Durkheim are all too broad or vague to be of

^{7&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 72. 7<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 73.

Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. by Joseph Ward Swain (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947), p. 37.

9 Ibid., pp. 36-40.

any real use in operationally defining religion for the purpose of this paper. Therefore, the formation of a universally acceptable definition of religion will not be attempted for the simple reason that such a definition would by necessity be so abstract as to render it useless. For example, Milton Yinger's suggested definition of religion as a "system of beliefs and practices by which groups of people attempt to come to terms with the ultimate problems of life"10 has promise of universal acceptance but hardly anything more. Yinger's definition merely has the effect of defining virtually everyone as religious. It should be quite obvious that according to Yinger's definition even Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx could be considered as religious as Billy Graham. In formulating an operational definition of religion, attention is focused on the Christian religion. The reason for this is that the present paper is primarily concerned with the religious institution with which the researcher is most familiar. It might be noted, however, that the theoretical implications of this paper may be universally applicable when dealing with various other institutionalized religious beliefs.

The definition of the Christian religion as delineated for the purpose of this paper is the Christian doctrine which has enjoyed perhaps, the most widespread and long-term appeal. This doctrine is generally referred to in religious research as Fundamentalism,

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

Conservative Christianity, or Orthodoxy. William Hordern in his book, A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology, pointed out that the term Fundamentalism rose in prominence around the turn of the present century as conservative theologians, determined to protect their faith from "subversive liberal elements," stood fast to what has come to be referred to as the fundamentals of the Christian faith. 11

Fundamentalism has been extensively dealt with in the study of religious institutions in sociological literature. It is generally agreed by such researchers as S. M. Corey, L. A. Ferman, A. R. Gilliland, R. Hassenger, J. Havens, R. W. Hites, E. C. Hunter, and many others that fundamentalism implies a belief in the Bible as the literal and infallible word of God. The Fundamentalists' interpretation of the Bible, as a revelation of God's inerrant word, is regarded as a doctrine of faith. However, it should also be pointed out and observed that even the Fundamentalists realize that Jesus himself occasionally spoke parabolically. Fundamentalism for the present study will be characterized by belief in (1) the infallible word of God as revealed in the Bible, (2) a personal omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent God, (3) Jesus as his divine son, (4) the promise of everlasting life with God, and (5) eternal life in heaven as a reward to those who have followed his plan of salvation. Support for these beliefs can be found among both Fundamental Protestants and Catholics alike. Hence, the concepts Christianity, Christian Religion, and Fundamentalism will be used interchangeably.

¹¹William Hordern, A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1955), pp. 65-66.

B. DEFINITION OF CHRISTIAN LIBERALISM OR NEO-CHRISTIANITY

Christian Liberalism appears to be a catch-all category for those who find themselves doubting the truth of certain fundamental religious beliefs. Dillenberger and Welch have stated that "There is no single definition that can be applied equally well to all who would call themselves 'liberal' Protestants." This statement is, of course, also true of all of those who call themselves "liberal" Catholics.

"Liberal" Christians, both Protestants and Catholics can be defined as those who do not believe in all the fundamentals of Christianity. They do, however, believe in some fundamentalistic beliefs, but they do not accept atheism. It appears that the best way to view the differences between liberal Christians and atheists is to view Fundamentalism and atheism on a continuum; the Fundamentalist beliefs being on one end of the continuum and atheistic beliefs being on the other. Hence, it would be expected that liberal Christians would be plotted somewhere along the middle of the continuum.

The roots of Christian Liberalism or Neo-Christianity are to be found in post-Renaissance science and the critical philosophy of the Enlightenment. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, naturalism—the doctrine that all phenomena can be explained in terms of cause—and—effect sequences occurring in the world of nature—was established, and systems of ethical evaluation were withdrawn from objective judgment of social facts to a large degree. This type

Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 29.

¹² John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), p. 207.

of thought can be seen as quite prevalent in the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, Hume, Condorcet, Goethe, Gibbon, Kant, Ferguson, and others. However, the most dramatic area in which the spirit of rationalism was realized was probably in the area of natural religion or Deism. In the light of scientific knowledge such persons as Voltaire, the Encyclopedists, Hume, the Earl of Shaftsbury, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and numerous other intellectuals in France, England, and North America began to move away from the fundamentals of Christianity. They attempted to establish a religion based on reason rather than on a foundation of tradition, authority, or revelation.14

The Enlightenment thinkers often saw religion as their most worthy opponent. 15 However, at the same time, with few exceptions they were not ready to give up religion. It would be inaccurate to view Enlightenment thinkers as atheists, although they can be seen as moving rapidly away from the fundamentals of Christianity and toward atheism. Thus, in an attempt to synthesize scientific knowledge and the Christian religion, the movement known as Deism was established.

No complete unity was ever achieved among Deists, but there was fair agreement among them on a number of points: (1) they attempted to establish religion on the basis of reason rather than on the basis of authority; (2) they rejected tradition, except insofar as it was

^{14&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 46. 15<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 31.

"reasonable"; (3) they restricted the sphere occupied in religion by "revelation" and "miracles"; (4) they were very critical of religious dogmas difficult to justify rationally (such as the doctrine of the Trinity); (5) they believed that there is a set of universal religious notions implanted in the minds of all men; and (6) they thought that God does not continually interfere in the natural processes of the world, but permits the natural laws to operate once He has set them in motion. Thus, Deism represented the penetration of rationalism into the innermost sphere of religious thought, and manifests itself today in the beliefs of "liberal" Christians.

C. DEFINITION OF ATHEISM

It is pointed out in Webster's Third New International Dictionary that the theist believes that God exists, while the atheist denies the existence of God, and the agnostic, in the absence of sufficient evidence, suspends judgment. Walter Kaufmann states that to many millions belief in God

means that there is someone high up in the sky who looks like an old man with a long beard; but millions of other theists are quite sure that this is not a fact at all but a crude superstition, though a harmless one. They believe that Cod has no body at all and is a spirit. Asked whether they believe in spirits, most of them would probably say: No, but God is an exception. Some people have a pretty clear conception of God, but all such clear conceptions, provided only they amount to

¹⁶ Ibid.
17 Webster's Third New International Dictionary, ed. by Philip Babcock Gove (Springfield, Massachusetts, U.S.A.: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1968).

more than the mere substitution of an equally vague synonym for God, are invariably rejected by the vast majority of other theists. And millions of theists have no clear idea whatsoever about what it means to say that God exists, but feel very sure that it is impious and terrible to say that he does not exist. 18

Kaufmann goes on to explain that some philosophers and theologians, such as Aquinas, Spinoza, and Tillich, have defined the word "God" so that no man, no matter how little he believes, would be unable to say in all sincerity that he believes that God exists. Aquinas defined God as the pure act of being; Spinoza spoke of "God or Nature." Tillich today defines God as being-itself. 19

An atheist, as operationally defined for the purpose of this thesis, is not a person who denies belief in nature or being; but one who professes disbelief in the supernatural, that is, a doctrine or creed that asserts the reality of an existence beyond nature, beyond the control and guidance of nature, and beyond men by an invisible power. An atheist is one who believes in naturalism, that is, the doctrine that cause—and—effect laws (as of physics and chemistry) are adequate to account for all phenomena. Therefore, agnostics and any others who meet the above criteria are viewed by the researcher as atheists.

¹⁸ Walter Kaufmann, The Faith of a Heretic (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959), p. 28.

19 Ibid., pp. 29-31.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Approximately half a century ago Sigmund Freud made the statement that "When a man has once brought himself to accept uncritically all the absurdities that religious doctrines put before him and even to overlook the contradictions between them, we need not be greatly surprised at the weaknesses of his intellect." Put more scientifically this quote could give rise to the proposition that as educational schievement increases religious belief decreases. The author is, of course, assuming that the more formal education one receives, the more intelligent he is apt to be, i. e., more capable of distinguishing between reason and faith. Although there are undoubtedly exceptions to this rule, it is felt that it will generally be agreed upon.

It appears that intellectual criticism has whittled away at religious documents, natural science has shown up the errors in them, and comparative research has been struck by the fatal resemblance between the religious ideas which we revere and the mental products of pre-literate peoples and times. Science brings about a naturalistic attitude towards worldly matters; before religious matters it pauses, hesitates, and finally there too crosses the threshold.

Sigmund Freud, The Future of an Illusion (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1927), p. 78.

Zibid., pp. 62-63.

Tbid., p. 63.

In this process there is no stopping; the greater the number of men to whom the treasures of knowledge become accessible, the more widespread is the falling-away from religious belief--at first only from its obsolete and objectionable trappings, but later from its fundamental postulates as well.

A good example of falling-away from obsolete and objectionable religious doctrine in the United States is provided by the "monkey trial" at Dayton, Tennessee in 1925.

Freud is, of course, known for his treatment of religion as if it were an extension of childishness. What is meant by this is that the terrifying impression of helplessness in childhood aroused the need for protection, which was provided by the father. Therefore, the recognition that this helplessness lasts throughout life made it necessary to cling to the existence of a more powerful father. Thus, the benevolent rule of a divine father allays the fear of the dangers of life; the establishment of a moral worldorder ensures the fulfillment of the demands of justice; and the prolongation of earthly existence in a future life provides the local and temporal framework in which these wish-fulfillments shall take place. Answers to the riddles that tempt the curiosity of man, such as how the universe began or the meaning of life, are developed in conformity with the underlying assumption of this system. Thus, the resolution of these conflicts and mysteries offer an enormous relief to the individual psyche. 5 The Christian concept of immortality.

¹bid. 51bid., pp. 47-48.

which by postulating an immortal soul, can quite easily be seen as attempting to deny the tragic fact that man's life ends with death.

It appears that religious belief can be very comforting if one is naive enough to accept its teachings. For example, Christianity teaches that God loves everyone and that we are His children, and He will protect and reward those who obey His word. With regard to this thought, Erich Fromm has stated:

the majority of men have not yet acquired the maturity to be independent, to be rational, to be objective. They need myths and idols to endure the fact that man is all by himself, that there is no authority which gives meaning to life except man himself.

Freud, as does the author, feels that a turning-away from religion is bound to occur with the inevitable process of intellectual growth, and that we find ourselves presently at this very junction in the middle of that phase of development.

A. RELIGION AS AN ILLOGICAL BELIEF

When we inquire as to why we should believe in the fundamentals of Christianity, we are met with three answers which harmonize remarkably badly with one another. Firstly, religious teachings deserve to be believed because they were believed by our forefathers; secondly, we possess proofs which have been handed down to us from historical times; and thirdly, it is forbidden to raise the question of authentication.

⁶Erich Fromm, Man For Himself (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1947), p. 51.

7Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941).

8Freud, The Future of an Illusion, op. cit., p. 71.

9Ibid., pp. 39-40.

To begin with the first point, we should believe because our forefathers believed. This answer appears most illogical. Were our ancestors not far more ignorant than we are? They believed in things we could not possibly accept. Secondly, the proofs left us are set down in writings which bear every mark of untrustworthiness. They are plagued with contradictions, revisions, and falsifications, and where there is mention of confirmations, they are themselves unconfirmed. It does not help much to have it asserted that the wording or content of the Bible originates from divine revelation; because this assertion is in itself one of the doctrines whose authenticity is under examination, and no proposition can be a proof of itself. Thirdly, the fact that it is forbidden to raise the question of authentication is not surprising since it is quite obviously impossible to authenticate religious doctrine as it is mythical. Thus, if a doctrine is impossible to authenticate, one is not obliged to believe it. It would then appear that an intelligent man can do no better than to rely on his reasoning ability. 10

It might also be mentioned at this time that even obdurate skeptics admit that the assertions of religion cannot be refuted by reason. One might ask why should I not believe in them since they have so much on their side, such as tradition, the agreement of mankind, and all the consolations they offer? In response to such arguments, Freud states:

But do not let us be satisfied with deceiving ourselves that arguments like these take us along the road of

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 40-43.

correct thinking. If ever there was a cause of a lame excuse we have it here. Ignorance is Ignorance; no right to believe anything can be derived from it. In other matters no sensible person will behave so irresponsibly or rest content with such feeble grounds for his opinions and for the line he takes. It is only in the highest and most sacred things that he allows himself to do so. 11

B. ATTEMPTS TO INTEGRATE RELIGIOUS BELIEF WITH SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

The attempts of thinkers in the age of Enlightenment to integrate religious beliefs and scientific knowledge resulted in the creation of Deism; and it should be remembered from Chapter I that the Deists rejected all of the fundamentals of Christianity, which have been previously enumerated. Thus, it appears that where the questions of religion are concerned, people are guilty of every possible sort of dishonesty and intellectual misdemeanor in an attempt to continue their religious beliefs. Philosophers stretch the meaning of words until they scarcely retain anything of their original meaning. They give the name of "God" to some vague abstraction which they have created for themselves. Having done so, they can pose before all the world as believers in God. They can even boast that they have recognized a higher, purer concept of God, notwithstanding that their God is now nothing more than an insubstantial shadow and no longer the mighty personality of religious doctrines. 12

^{11&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 5. 12_{Ibid.}, pp. 51-52.

To demonstrate how far some have gone to stretch the definition of religion in an attempt to avoid the socially stignatizing label of atheist, it should be remembered that according to Yinger's definition of religion, cited earlier in the paper, Freud was a very religious man. In <u>Civilization and Its Discontents</u> Freud stated:
"It is still more humiliating to discover how large a number of people living to-day, who cannot but see that this religion is not tenable, nevertheless try to defend it piece by piece in a series of pitiful rearguard actions." The researcher views Yinger's proposed definition as one such pitiful rearguard action to make religion a respectable term among intellectuals.

¹³Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1929), p. 21.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

The obvious deduction from the author's theoretical framework, with reference to the United States, is that as the general
education level of the populace increases belief in the fundamentals
of Christianity decreases. To demonstrate this phenomena, an inquiry
into the present state of religion, as compared with the past, will
be attempted. Then the researcher will refocus attention on the
relationship between increased education and religious beliefs.

A. THE STATE OF RELIGION IN AMERICA

Assessments of the state of religion in America are very inconsistent. Some observers perceive a major postwar revival in American religion. Others, while agreeing that interest in religion has increased in recent years, argue that the increase is not representative of a revival so much as it is representative of a long-term upward trend in the religiosity of Americans. Still others contend to the contrary, as does the author, that the long-term trend is towards the increasing secularization of life in the United States. More recently, however, the idea has been expressed

Michael Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958).

Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew (Garden City, New York; Doubleday & Co., 1955), pp. 59-84.

Michael Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge and

William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

that the remarkable quality of American religion over the last century has been its stability; there has been a propensity neither towards greater religiousness nor towards greater secularization.

Quite obviously not all of these assessments can be correct. Therefore, the purpose of the following discussion will be to cast a critical eye on the attempts being made to assess the state of religion in America. Disagreements over whether or not a revival has in fact occurred and concerning the nature of the long-term trend in religiosity may simply be a result of some observers being mistaken and others being correct. However, disagreement may stem from other factors. Religion is not necessarily the same thing to all men. Therefore, the source of disagreement could be that different observers are defining religion in different ways. Some may equate religiosity with belief, such as the author of this manuscript, while others may equate it with ritualistic involvement.

A further possibility is that the different observers agree on definitions but disagree on what has happened because they adopt different criteria or indicators in making their assessments. Some may base their judgment on how many people go to church and others on how many reportedly believe in God. However, agreement here would not even assure consensus, because there is still evidence to consider

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Religion In America: What Religious Revival?" Columbia University Forum, II (Winter, 1959), 2.

Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 69.

and "different observers may turn to different evidence of the same indicator or interpret the same evidence in different ways." Thus, it is seen that the issue of increasing or decreasing religiosity in America is complicated by possible disagreements on definitions, indicators, and interpretations as to what in fact constitutes sound evidence.

The current controversy about religion in America, in short, appears to revolve around the issue of whether there has been an increase or decrease in the religiousness of Americans. Those supporters of the view that there has been and is an increase in religiousness in America appear to give the greatest weight to the ritualistic dimension of religion. The principle ritual indicators used are the proportion of Americans who are church members, the proportion who attend church on any given Sunday, the investment in church buildings, and the contributions made to religious institutions.

It has been pointed out by Glock and Stark that according to the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches in the United States of America, which reports annually in the Yearbook of American Churches, church memberhsip increased steadily from 1930 to 1961. Glock and Stark have also pointed out that according to statistics obtained from the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) "the proportion of Americans attending

⁶Ibid.

⁸Tbid., pp. 78-79.

church increased from 1950 through 1957, but then the upward trend ended and subsequently seems to be slowly falling."9

In reference to the statistics recorded in the Yearbook of American Churches, W. H. Hudson makes two crucial points. One, he notes that many of the denominations submitting reports from which the over-all figures are compiled invariably report their membership in round numbers and report increases from year to year in round numbers. Hudson questions, for example, that the membership of the Church of Christ actually increased from 1,500,000 to 1,600,000 between 1955 and 1956 as the Yearbook reports. His second point is perhaps even more damaging than the first. He indicates that the statistics make no provision for taking account of denominations which furnish membership reports for the first time in any given year. He cites the case of the Christ Unity Science Church which reports a membership of 682,172 in the 1952 Yearbook, the first year in which membership figures for this demonination ever appeared. Thus, Hudson claims that much of the increase from year to year can be accounted for by new denominations submitting membership reports for the first time.10

Glock and Stark have also questioned the validity of church statistics on the basis that congregations are notably lax in maintaining accurate reports on membership. It has been discovered

Tbid., p. 73-74.

10W. H. Hudson, "Are Churches Really Booming?" Christian
Century, LXXVII (December 21, 1955). 51.

that individuals are often retained on church roles long after they have discontinued membership, whether because of loss of interest or because of mobility. Taking into consideration the high degree of mobility in the last decade and a half, there seems no doubt that some of the reported increase in church membership is a consequence of some indeterminate proportion of persons being counted more than once. Glock and Stark have, in addition, pointed out that in a sample of San Francisco area churches, it was found that fourteen percent of the persons carried on the church rolls (both Protestant and Catholic) should not have been, either because they had become members of another denomination, had moved away, or because they had died. 11

The Gallup poll data on church attendance appears less subject to criticism on reliability grounds. The method used to collect the data at different points in time was consistent and logical, therefore, the changes observed would appear to be reliable. The increase in contributions and investments in church buildings is, in part, a reflection of the general prosperity, but there seems to be little doubt about the increases reported. Concerning contributions, however, Seymour Martin Lipset makes the point that the per capita contributions were lower in 1952 than they were at the peak of the depression. 12

Thus, it is discovered that much of the statistical proof used to show

p. 77.

12
Lipset, "Religion in America," op. cit.

an increase in the religiosity of Americans is totally unreliable, and certain reliable statistical indicators such as the Gallup poll point to the opposite conclusion.

The author is avoiding the use of comparative statistics with relation to belief in God. The reason for this is simply that agreement on what constitutes belief in God has not occurred. Thus, it appears unprofitable for the researcher to compare two studies dealing with belief in God at different points in our history, if both studies use different definitions of what constitutes belief in God.

To move away from statistical proof, the researcher would like to analyze Herberg's misconstructed interpretation that the demise of the village atheist and the socially prominent militant secularist is evidence of an increase in religiousness. 13 It is indisputable that great heretics such as Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll no longer pack auditoriums and have very little impact anywhere in America these days. However, it is also apparent that the targets of such nineteenth century skepticism have also vanished from American life for the most part. Such skepticism was primarily concerned with attacking fundamentalist Christian teachings about the world, such as literal interpretations of the creation story, Noah and the Ark, and other seemingly magical or miraculous fundamentalist

¹³Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, op. cit.

teachings. Thus, "the nineteenth century heretics responded to a direct collision between the developing physical and natural sciences and traditional Christian doctrines."14

If it is accepted that attacks on fundamentalist Christian teachings fail to gather any appreciable notice today, it must also be accepted that such fundamentalist beliefs also fail to gather much militant support in the mainstream of theological thought.

The attacks have ceased to have importance, not because a return of religiousness has caused them to be rejected, but because such attacks have become less dramatic since a large proportion if not most of the American people now accept the validity of the basic charges of the nineteenth century heretics, and the church has accommodated itself to the findings of science to a large degree. Along the same line of thought Joseph Lewis has stated, "Our fight today is no longer against Theism. The arguments that were used by Freethinkers more than a century ago are now being used by the liberal minister against his more orthodox brother." 15

In support of the above statements, the author would like to mention some of the findings in a study conducted by Glock and Stark of nearly 2500 members of Christian churches. Christian churches represented in the study included Congregationalists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterians, American Lutherans,

p. 80.

15 Joseph Lewis, Atheism and Other Addresses (New York: The Freethought Press Association, Inc., 1960).

American Baptists, Christian Sects, and Catholics. Glock and Stark's findings show that only 44% of the Protestants and 47% of the Catholics believe Jesus will definitely return to earth someday, and only 50% of the Protestants and 71% of the Catholics believe Jesus actually walked on water. 16 When checking to see what proportion of Christian church members believed in biblical miracles, it was found that only 28% of the Congregationalists, 37% of the Methodists, and 41% of the Episcopalisms said they believed biblical miracles actually happened just as the Bible says. 17 Thus, the point is made that a large proportion of the church member population of America has seemingly turned away from the fundamentals of Christianity as evidenced by the above study.

B. THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON RELIGIOUS BELIEF

As an initial step toward discovering the effects of colleges on the religious views of students, the following question may be posed: Do American students, regardless of who they are or where they attend college, typically change in certain ways in their orientation to religion during their undergraduate years? One way of answering this question is to determine the consistency in results of studies that have either (1) cross-sectionally compared the religious attributes of freshmen and seniors at a certain college (or certain colleges) at a given point in time, or, preferably

p. 95.

16Glock and Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, op. cit.,
p. 95.

17 Ibid., p. 96.

(2) longitudinally compare the religious characteristics of students as entering freshmen with the characteristics of the same students when they are departing seniors. 18

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values 19 and its revised form, the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, 20 offer an instrument for measuring the relative importance of six types of values which were originally suggested by Spranger. Described in terms of "types of men," the six values are as follows:

- (1) Theoretical. The dominant value of the theoretical man is the discovery of truth. His interests are empirical, critical and rational. His chief aim in life is to order and systematize his knowledge.
- (2) Economic. The economic man characteristically values what is useful and practical, especially the practical affairs of the business world. He judges things primarily by their tangible utility.
- (3) Aesthetic. The aesthetic man sees his highest value in beauty and in form and harmony. Each experience is judged from the standpoint of grace, symmetry, or fitness. He finds his chief interest in the artistic episodes of life.
- (4) Social. The highest value for the social man is other human beings in terms of love in its altruistic or philanthropic aspects. He prizes other persons as ends and is therefore himself kind, sympathetic, and unselfish.
- (5) Political. The political man primarily values power and influence. Leadership, competition, and struggle are important aspects of his interests.

(Fall, 1969), 41.

19C. W. Allport and P. E. Vernon, Study of Values Manual

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931).

20G. W. Allport, P. E. Vernon, and G. Lindzey, Study of Values Manual. 3rd Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).

¹⁸Kenneth A. Feldman, "Change and Stability of Religious Orientations During College," <u>Review of Religious Research</u>, II:1 (Fall, 1969), 41.

(6) Religious. The highest value of the religious man is unity. He is mystical, and seeks to comprehend the cosmos as a whole, to relate himself to its embracing totality. 21

This instrument is seen as measuring the relative importance of these values to the individual, rather than the "absolute" importance of each value. Therefore, it is impossible to score highly on all six values; a preference for certain values must be at the expense of the other values. 22

The strongest and most consistent changes found among the studies using these six scales to compare freshmen and seniors-most of which are longitudinal in design--occur on the religious and aesthetic scales as exemplified by Arsenian, 23; Gordon, 24; Heath. 25; Huntley, 26; Miller, 27; Stewart, 28; and Whitely, 29. Nearly without exception, it has been found that aesthetic values

(Halle: Niemy, 1928).

22 Feldman, "Change and Stability of Religious Orientations

During College," op. cit., p. 42.

23s. Arsenian, "Change in Evaluative Attitudes During Four

Educational Record, 40 (1959), 118-122.

28L. H. Stewart, "Change in Personality Test Scores During College," Journal of Counseling Psychology, XI (1964), 211-230.

²¹E. Spranger, Types of Men, trans. by P. J. W. Pigors

Years of College," <u>Journal of Applied Psychology</u>, XXVII (1943), 338-349.

24J. H. Gordon, "Value Differences Between Freshmen and Seniors at a State University," College Student Survey, I (1967), 69-70, 92.

25D. R. Heath, Growing Up in College: Liberal Education and

Maturity (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968).

26C. W. Huntley, "Changes in Study of Values Scores During the Four Years of College," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 71 (1965), 349-383. 27 Eleanor O. Miller, "Nonacademic Changes in College Students,"

²⁹P. L. Whitely, "The Constancy of Personal Values," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXIII (1938), 405-408.

are of higher relative importance to seniors, whereas religious values are of lower importance. When sophomores and juniors are compared to freshmen, results are the same: the average score on the religious scale decreases and the average score on the aesthetic scale increases. A number of researchers, such as Burgermeister, 30; Hilton and Korn, 31; Plant and Telford, 32, have shown this to be the case.

C. THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

There have been a number of studies published dealing with average change in students' religious orientations, as determined by average change in scores on multi-item scales. These scales are generally interpreted in terms of religious "liberalism" (nonorthodoxy) or, conversely, in terms of religious "conservatism" (orthodoxy). Examples of such studies would include the work of such researchers as Barkley, 33; Brown and Lowe, 34; Corey, 35; Ferman, 36;

Archives of Psychology, 36 (1940), Whole Number 255.

T. L. Hilton and J. H. Korn, "Measured Change in Personal Values," Education and Psychological Measurement, XXIV (1964), 609-622.

³⁰Bessie B. Burgermeister, "The Permanence of Interests of Women College Students: A Study in Personality Development," Archives of Psychology, 36 (1940). Whole Number 255.

³²W. T. Plant and C. W. Telford, "Changes in Personality For Groups Completing Different Amounts of College Over Two Years," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 74 (1966), 3-36.

³³K. L. Barkley, "Relative Influence of Commercial and Liberal Arts Curricula Upon Changes in Students' Attitudes," <u>Journal of Social</u> Psychology, XV (1942), 129-144.

J4D. G. Brown and W. L. Lowe, "Religious Beliefs and Personality Characteristics of College Students," <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u>, XXXIII (1951), 103-129.

³⁵S. M. Corey, "Changes in the Opinions of Female Students After
One Year at a University," <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u>, XI (1940), 341-351.
36L. A. Ferman, "Religious Change on a College Campus," <u>Journal</u>
of College Student Personnel, I (1960), 2-12.

Gilliland, ³⁷; Hassenger, ³⁸; Havens, ³⁹; Hites, ⁴⁰; Hunter, ⁴¹; Jones, ⁴²; Nelson, ⁴³; Thurstone and Chave, ⁴⁴; Young, Dustin, Holtzman, ⁴⁵. These studies generally show mean changes indicating that seniors, compared with freshmen, are somewhat less orthodox, fundamentalistic, or conventional in religious orientation, somewhat more skeptical regarding the existence and influence of a supernatural being, somewhat more likely to conceive of "God" in impersonal terms, and are also reportedly less favorable toward the church as an institution. ⁴⁶

Other studies have reported cross-sectional differences or longitudinal changes on either a single questionnaire item or a series of such items not combined into a scale. Examples of such studies

39J. Havens, "A Study of Religious Conflict in College Students," Journal of Social Psychology, 64 (1965), 77-87.

40R. W. Rites, "Change in Religious Attitudes During Four Years of College," Journal of Social Psychology, 66 (1965), 51-63.

43E. N. P. Nelson, "Student Attitudes Toward Religion," Genetic

46Feldman, "Change and Stability of Religious Orientations During College," op. cit., p. 44.

³⁷A. R. Gilliland, "The Attitude of College Students Toward God and the Church," <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u>, XI (1940), 11-18.

38R. Hassenger, "Catholic College Impact on Religious Orientations," Sociological Analysis, XXVII (1966), 67-79.

⁴¹E. C. Hunter, "Changes in General Attitudes of Women Students During Four Years in College," <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u>, 16 (1942), 243-257.

⁴²v. Jones, "Attitudes of College Students and the Changes in Such Attitudes During Four Years in College," <u>Journal of Educational Psychology</u>, 29 (1938a), 14-25.

V. Jones, "Attitudes of College Students and the Changes in Such Attitudes During Four Years in College, Part II, <u>Journal of Educational Psychology</u>, 29, (1938b), 114-134.

Psychology Monographs, 22 (1940), 323-423.

44L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, The Measurement of Attitude:
A Psychological Method and Some Experiments with a Scale for Measuring
Attitude Toward the Church (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

⁴⁵R. K. Young, D. S. Dustin, and W. H. Holtzman, "Change in Attitude Toward Religion in a Southern University," <u>Psychological Review</u>, 18 (1966), 39-46.

would include the work of such researchers as Allport, Gillespie, and Young, 47; Bain, 48; Dudycha, 49; Garrison and Mann, 50; Heath, 51; Jones, 52; Kats and Allport, 53; Webster, 54; Webster, Freedman, and Heist, 55; Wickenden, 56; Willoughby, 57. These studies also show that seniors, as a group, are less likely to believe in God and more likely to be opposed or indifferent to religion, more likely to conceive of God in impersonal terms, less orthodox or fundamentalistic in religious orientation, and are more religiously "liberal" than freshmen.

48R. Bain, "Religious Attitudes of College Students," American Journal of Sociology, 32 (1927), 762-770.

49G. J. Dudycha, "The Religious Beliefs of College Students,"

Journal of Applied Psychology, 17 (1933), 585-603.

50K. C. Garrison and Margaret Mann, "A Study of the Opinions of College Students," <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u>, II (1931), 168-177.
51D. H. Heath, <u>Growing Up in College</u>: <u>Liberal Education and</u>

Maturity, op. cit.

52E. S. Jones, "The Opinions of College Students," Journal

of Applied Psychology, X (1926), 427-436.

53D. Katz and F. H. Allport, Students' Attitudes: A Report of the Syracuse University Reaction Study (Syracuse, New York: Craftsman Press, 1931).

54H. Webster, "Changes in Attitudes During College," Journal

of Educational Psychology, 49 (1958), 109-117.

55H. Webster, M. B. Freedman, and P. Heist, "Personality Changes in College Students," In N. Sanford (ed.), The American Gollege: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning (New York: Wiley, 1962), pp. 811-846.

Learning (New York: Wiley, 1962), pp. 811-846.

56A. C. Wickenden, "The Effect of the College Experience Upon Students' Concepts of God," Journal of Religion, XII (1932), 242-267.

57R. R. Willoughby, "A Sampling of Student Opinion," Journal

of Social Psychology, I (1930), 164-169.

⁴⁷G. W. Allport, J. M. Gillespie, and Jacqueline Young, "The Religion of the Post-War College Student," <u>Journal of Psychology</u>, 25 (1948), 3-33.

D. NEED FOR COMPARISON GROUPS

From the studies mentioned to this point, it cannot be determined whether the changes that occur during the college years are due to the educational experience per se. It is true that some proportion of students do specify that aspects of college, such as teachers, courses, outside reading, and the like, have directly or indirectly influenced their thoughts and feelings about religion. This has been revealed by studies and research conducted by such people as Arsenian⁵⁸ and Katz and Allport⁵⁹. However, it may be that there are analogous influences on non-college persons of college age, effecting the same overall amount and kinds of changes. Thus, the question arises as to whether or not comparable changes are also occurring in young people of college age who do not attend college. If these persons change in ways similar to college attenders, it could be argued that the changes in both groups reflect either general maturational development within society or are determined by general societal cultural forces at work during the years the sample population was being studied, and therefore reflect a societal trend. To determine whether, and to what degree, change during the college years can be attributed to experiences in educational institutions requires the availability of research data collected in ways designed

⁵⁸Arsenian, "Change in Evaluative Attitudes During Four Years of College," op. cit.
59Katz and Allport, Students' Attitudes: A Report of the Syracuse University Reaction Study, op. cit.

group of non-college persons at the same time that a comparable group of college students are being studied.

Little is known about the comparison between college and noncollege groups with respect to change on religious beliefs due to a
lack of research dealing with the topic. However, Trent and Medsker
conducted a longitudinal study of 10,000 young adults from thirtyseven high schools in sixteen communities from California to
Pennsylvania.60 They compared, among other things, the group of
persons who were to be consistently in college for four years with
the group who were to remain consistently employed during that time.
Unlike their information on other dimensions of change, they failed
to obtain before-after data on religious attitudes. Although, they
did ask persons in both groups, four years after high school, to
give their opinions as to whether they valued religion the same, more,
or less than they had in high school. Trent and Medsker reported
that proportionately more of those in college than those in jobs
reported a decrease in their religious beliefs.

Among the men a greater proportion of the college students compared with the workers reported valuing religion less (26 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively) . . . Twenty-four per cent of the college women placed less value on

Faychological Study of 10,000 High School Graduates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968).

religion, and 7 per cent of the employed women valued religion less . . .61

Among those who claimed they valued religion more, there was no significant difference between college and employed persons. 62

The previous pages have focused on the ways in which American students, regardless of who they are of where they go to college, typically change in their orientation to religion during their undergraduate years. The above facts substantiate the proposition set forth in Chapter II, that is, as educational achievement increases belief in the fundamentals of Christianity decreases.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 174. 62 Ibid.

CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

A. CONCLUSION

Fundamental questions of creation and purpose have been dealt with by man throughout history. The existence of the world, the sun and stars, nature, man-his birth, life, and death--all constitute phenomena demanding some sort of explanations even in the most preliterate societies, as well as in the most advanced technological societies. "And in every society the effort at accounting has included a conception of transcendent forces controlling and constraining the affairs of the world of man."1

Approximately one hundred years ago in the "Constitution of the Catholic Faith," the Church stated,

But never can reason be rendered capable of thoroughly understanding mysteries as it does those truths which form its proper subject. We, therefore, pronounce false every assertion which is contrary to the enlightened truth of faith . . . Hence, all the Christian faithful are not only forbidden to defend as legitimate conclusions of science those opinions which are known to be contrary to the doctrine of faith, especially when condemned by the Church, but are rather absolutely bound to hold them for errors wearing the deceitful appearance of truth.²

David M. Brooks, The Necessity of Atheism (New York: Freethought Press Association, 1933), p. 120.

Charles Y. Glock, "'Images' of 'God,' Images of Man, And The Organization of Social Life," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, II:1 (March, 1972), 4.

The above quote is but the restatement of what Christian Churches have historically uttered so many times and for so long—that all knowledge, material, as well as spiritual, is to be found in the Bible as interpreted by the Church. Thus, fundamental religious beliefs can be seen as stultifying the minds of men, to a large degree, by quashing the urge to search and seek for the truth, which is, of course, the goal of all science, the means by which humanity is set on the road to progress.

Religious beliefs can be seen as a form of cultural lag which hinders present society. On the one hand, that of religion, we have the forces of superstition, and the endeavor to repress and ridicule many advances favorable to mankind. Religious belief can be seen as standing in the way of human progress, because it, quite obviously, hinders man's ability to think logically. Science, on the other hand, does not hesitate to tear down old conceptions, and its only motive is ultimate truth.

Truth to the scientific mind is something provisional, a hypothesis that, for the present, best conforms to the recognized tests of science. It is an evolving conception in a constantly changing universe. It is not that science has attained true conclusions; not that the evidence at hand must remain unchangeable; but that the scientific method of analyzing and formulating assumptions on the basis of discovery, on ascertained facts, is a superior method to the religious method of "revelation." Assumptions, based upon known facts, lead to a working hypothesis which in turn develops

into a theory. If the theory is adopted, it must account for the known facts. However, the theory is not held as final, it is changed or abandoned if necessary to conform to newly discovered data. Science welcomes the critical attitude that leads to the refinement of theories.³

To the scientific mind, knowledge is something to be arrived at by research and study. To the religionist, knowledge is perceived as being contained in an infallible and supernatural insight or statement. Religion, unlike science, exalts the transcendental. To the consistent religionist, his beliefs determine the fact, whereas the scientist relies on empirical evidence to establish facts. Therefore, as people learn to rely on the scientific method, which is taught for the most part in the educational institutions of modern societies, belief in the fundamentals of religion is bound to diminish. The scientific method of approach, as pointed out by David M. Brooks, "has so pervaded our mode of thinking that it is the subtle and most disintegrating force that is shattering the religious foundations." Along the same line of thought, Charles Y. Glock states,

That 'god' is dead is not a message which the majority of Americans have accepted as yet, but the process of erosion appears set on an inevitable course and 'god,' anthropomorphically conceived as residing in heaven and exercising dominion over this world seems destined for residual status and perhaps for oblivion. 5

³Ibid., p. 122. ⁴Ibid., p. 123.

⁵Glock, "'Images' of God,' Images of Man, And The Organization of Social Life," op. cit., p. 13.

B. IMPLICATIONS

In looking to the future, the author cannot help but think that the day will inevitably arise when belief in God will be equated with belief in Santa Claus, and religion will be associated with similar myths and fairy tales.

Joseph Lewis views religious belief as the worst obstacle that has ever blocked the intellectual progress of man. He states, "throughout the ages religion has imprisoned and chained and stultified the brain of man." He also points out that "Galileo was imprisoned; Bruno and John Huss were burnt at the stake by the religionists of their time." And "Thomas Paine, the authorhero of the American revolution was denied entrance to America because of his Diestic anti-religious beliefs."

Freud has stated, "...in the long run nothing can withstand reason and experience, and the contradiction which religion
offers to both is all too palpable." If the above quote has any
validity, and it would appear that it does, future America should
be marked by a decrease in illogical prejudice and an increased
reliance upon science and research.

Gloseph Lewis, Atheism and Other Addresses (New York: The Freethought Press Association, Inc., 1960).

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⁸Tbid.

⁹Sigmund Freud, The Future of an Illusion (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1927), p. 29.

During the future years as religious beliefs continue to be abandoned, it is to be expected that more and more people will become politically active and will become concerned with their society to a greater degree. The reason for this is that religion teaches the individual to place all hopes and all desires in a problematical hereafter. It is typically taught that the stay on earth is so short compared to the everlasting life to come that one should be pious, humble, forgiving, meek, etc. The misery and suffering of his fellow man, as well as his own, leave the religionist cold for the most part; "he can only think of living in the light of his narrow creed so that he may gain his future reward."10 Thus, as the concern for a future life in heaven or hell diminishes, it can be expected that people will become more involved with their present state of affairs. People will become more concerned with creating a utopia than dying and going to one. Along this same line of thought Karl Marx, who felt that religion was a tool used by the bourgeoisie to aid in controlling and exploiting the proletariat, stated.

Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people.

The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusions about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions.

¹⁰Brooks, The Necessity of Atheism, op. cit., p. 122.

The criticism of religion is therefore in embryo the criticism of the vale of woe, the halo of which is religion.

Criticism has plucked away the imaginary flowers from the chain not so that man will wear the chain without any fantasy or consolation but so that he will shake off the chain and cull the living flower. The criticism of religion disillusions man to make him think and act and shape his reality like a man who has been disillusioned and has come to reason, so that he will revolve round himself and therefore round his true sun. Religion is only the illusory sun which revolves round man as long as he does not revolve round himself. Il

¹¹K. Marx and F. Engels on Religion (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), p. 42.

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