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**Drawing back the veil: the socio-psychological correlates of paranormal belief among  
13- to 16-year-old adolescents**

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## **Summary**

This study examines the socio-psychological profile of young people who believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead. Data provided by 33,982 13- to 15-year-old pupils throughout England and Wales demonstrated that almost one in three young people (31%) held this particular belief in the paranormal. The level of belief was higher among females than among males, among year-ten pupils than among year-nine pupils, among pupils of lower academic expectations, among pupils who had experienced the death of a parent or whose parents had separated or divorced, among pupils from lower social class backgrounds, and among those who watched more than four hours television in a day. The level of belief was higher among pupils who had had a religious experience, but lower among pupils who attended church most weeks.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Several studies published since the early 1990s have drawn attention to the extent to which the worldviews of young people continue to support and to sustain a wide range of beliefs concerned with the supernatural, with the paranormal and with the transcendent. Three main kinds of empirically-based data emerge from these studies, concerning the overall levels of such beliefs, concerning the ways in which such beliefs differ from one group of young people to another, and concerning the wider socio-psychological correlates of such beliefs. These three kinds of data will be reviewed in turn.

### **What young people believe**

Different studies have examined highly diverse examples of supernatural, paranormal or transcendent beliefs, and employed a wide range of terms by which to characterise and to categorise such beliefs. Francis and Kay (1995) in their study of nearly 13,000 13- to 15-year-old pupils included a battery of questions concerning supernatural beliefs. The data demonstrated that 19% of the sample believed in the devil, 18% believed in black magic, 31% believed it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead and 37% believed in ghosts. In terms of divination, 35% believed in their horoscope and 19% believed that fortune-tellers can tell the future.

Boyd (1996) characterised his study in terms of occult beliefs and included belief in ouija boards, horoscopes and spiritualism. In a questionnaire survey conducted among 509 14- to 15-year-olds in England, Boyd found that 41% believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead and 28% disagreed that it was wrong to contact the spirits of the dead

using an ouija board. In terms of divination, nearly one-third (31%) read their horoscope on a daily basis, while a further 25% read it on a weekly basis. Nearly two-fifths (38%) stated that they believed in their horoscope, and 21% believed in black magic.

Quesnell (2000) in his study of the religious beliefs and values of 3,432 14- and 16-year-old Czech adolescents also included questions concerning belief in the supernatural. The data demonstrated high levels of belief in different areas of the supernatural: 36% believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead, 34% believed in their horoscopes, 24% believed in black magic, 28% believed that people can be healed physically by supernatural means, and 14% believed that fortune-tellers could tell the future.

Bibby (2001) in his study of 3,501 15- to 19-year-old adolescents in Canada found a wide array of paranormal beliefs. The data demonstrated that 76% believed in near-death experiences, 63% believed that miraculous healing sometimes occurs, and 63% believed they had experienced precognition. Moreover, 59% believed in ESP, 55% believed some people have psychic powers, and 43% believed that contact with the spirit world was possible.

Sjödén (2002) in his analysis of 1,488 16- to 19-year-old Swedish youth found varying levels of paranormal belief. For example, 77% of the sample believed in premonitory signs, and over 50% believed in such phenomena as UFOs and telepathy. Among a second sample of 511 adults (with an age range of 16 to 74 years), Sjödén (2002) found that 30%

believed in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead, 56% believing in premonitory signs, and a quarter (25%) believed in UFOs.

Smith's (2002) study of 3,418 13- to 15-year-old pupils in Walsall found similar results to the previous studies. Nearly half (48%) believed in ghosts, 40% believed in their horoscopes, 33% believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead, 27% believed in the devil, 25% believed in black magic, and 24% believed that fortune-tellers can tell the future.

Thompson (2004) in his study of young people's beliefs informed by the new age movement surveyed 802 13- to 15-year-olds in South Wales. The data demonstrate that 30% believed in the spirit world, 15% would frequently contact a spirit guide, 33% believed it was possible to contact spirits, 26% believed it was possible to contact dead people, and 24% believed that spirits can speak through the living.

Smith (2005) in his study assessing the religious beliefs of 3,290 13- to 17-year-old English- and Spanish-speaking teenagers in the USA found that 9% believed it was possible to communicate with the dead, 41% believed in the existence of demons or evil spirits, 63% believed in the existence of angels, and 6% believed in psychics and fortune-tellers.

Kinnaman (2006) writing about the supernatural beliefs of 3,728 13- to 19-year-old adolescents in the USA found that 19% strongly agreed that people can communicate with

the dead, 35% had used a ouija board, 10% had participated in a séance, 79% had read or looked at their horoscope, 30% had experimented with palm reading, and 9% had called or seen a psychic.

Francis, Robbins and Williams (in press) in their analysis of 995 13- to 15-year-old girls in South Wales found high levels of belief in the transcendent, paranormal or supernatural, with 67% believing that the soul makes a journey after death, 23% believing that the dead can harm the living, 36% believing in ghosts, and 32% believing in evil spirits. Moreover, 28% had used charms to protect themselves from evil.

### **How beliefs differ**

The two demographic factors to which most attention has been given in distinguishing between different levels of belief in supernatural, paranormal or transcendent phenomena are sex and age.

### ***Sex differences***

Francis and Kay (1995) in their study of nearly 13,000 13- to 15-year-old pupils found that sex was an important aspect of individual differences in supernatural belief. Their data demonstrate that males were more likely to believe in the devil (21% compared with 17%), to believe in black magic (20% compared with 16%), and to believe in ghosts (38% compared with 36%). Females were more likely to believe that it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead (33% compared with 30%), to believe in their horoscopes (46%

compared with 24%), and to believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future (24% compared with 14%).

Quesnell's (2000) study among 3,432 14- and 16-year-old Czech adolescents also found important gender differences in supernatural belief. The data demonstrate that more females than males believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead (45% compared with 29%), believed in their horoscope (43% compared with 25%), and believed that fortune-tellers could predict the future (16% compared with 12%).

Bibby's (2001) study of 3,501 15- to 19-year-old Canadians also found similar trends. His data suggest that females were more likely to believe that miraculous healings sometimes occur (68% compared with 59%), that they had experienced precognition (67% compared with 59%), that some people have psychic powers (62% compared with 47%), and that it is possible to have contact with the spirit world (47% compared with 38%). Females were also more likely to believe in ESP (62% compared with 55%), in astrology (65% compared with 48%), and in near-death experiences (82% compared with 71%).

These findings regarding sex differences in levels of belief in the supernatural and paranormal are consistent with the pattern reported by wider population studies. For example, drawing on the 1989 General Social Survey in the USA, MacDonald (1992) found that women were more likely to have felt that they were really in touch with someone who had died. Drawing on the 1984, 1988 and 1989 General Social Survey data, Fox (1992) found that women were more likely to have felt that they were in touch with



someone when they were far away, that they had seen events that happened at a great distance as they were happening, and that they were in touch with someone who had died. Similar findings are reported by MacDonald (1995) drawing on the 1984 General Social Survey data, and Wolfradt (1997) drawing on the responses of 269 students to Tobacyk's Revised Paranormal Belief Scale.

### *Age differences*

Another important area of difference in paranormal belief is age, though conflicting data abounds. Preece and Baxter (2000) have demonstrated that the means of scepticism scores among 2,159 students aged between 11 and 18 years, and 51 trainee teachers, increase according to age. The data demonstrated that 11- to 12-year-old pupils recorded a mean score of scepticism at 19.06, compared with a mean scepticism score of 23.71 among the trainee teachers.

On the other hand, Francis and Kay's (1995) study of 13- to 15-year-old pupils demonstrated that year-ten pupils were more likely to believe in the devil (20% compared with 18% among year-nine pupils), to believe in black magic (20% compared with 16%), to believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead (33% compared with 30%), to believe in their horoscope (37% compared with 34%), to believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future (20% compared with 18%). Both were equally likely to believe in ghosts (37%).

Quesnell's (2000) study of 14- to 16-year-old Czech adolescents demonstrated that in general age differences provided no clear indication of differences in paranormal belief.

The data demonstrated that more year-eight pupils believe in their horoscopes than year-nine pupils (34% compared with 33%), that year-eight pupils are more likely to be scared of walking through a graveyard alone (34% compared with 32%), and that more year-8 pupils believe that fortune-tellers can predict the future (16% compared with 12%).

In his analysis of the beliefs of Canadian youth Bibby (2001) compared the responses of 3,501 Canadian 15- to 19-year-old adolescents with the responses of 1,240 Canadian adults. The data demonstrated that in general adolescents were more likely to hold less conventional beliefs, although in some areas higher levels of belief were held by adults. For example, while adolescents were more likely to believe in near-death experiences (76% compared with 68%), in astrology (57% compared with 34%), and to state that they have personally experienced precognition (63% compared with 58%), adults were more likely to believe in ESP (66% compared with 59%), and that it is possible to contact the spirit world (45% compared with 43%).

### **Socio-psychological correlates**

A few studies have gone beyond the discussion of the broad demographic factors associated with individual differences in supernatural, paranormal or transcendent beliefs to examine the deeper socio-psychological correlates of such beliefs. Two particular correlates deserve review, namely exposure to television and the relationship with religion.

### ***Television***

Francis (1997) drawing on data from 20,698 13- to 15-year-old pupils from England and Wales demonstrated that those who watch five hours or more of television per day were more likely to believe in their horoscope (40% compared with 33% of those who watched less than five hours of television per day), to believe in ghosts (43% compared with 38%), to believe in the devil (25% compared with 10%), to believe in black magic (24% compared with 18%), to believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future (24% compared with 19%), and to believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead (35% compared with 30%).

Williams, Robbins and Picton's (2006) analysis of vampiric beliefs among 1,133 13- to 15-year-old pupils in Wales demonstrated that 22% of those who watched four hours or more of television per day believed in vampires (compared to 11% of those who watched less than four hours a day) and that those who watched four hours or more of television per day were also significantly more likely to believe that the dead can harm the living: 26% compared to 18% of those who watched under four hours.

### ***Religiosity***

Francis and Kay's (1996) study of 13- to 15-year-old pupils operationalised three dimensions of religiosity against which individual differences in supernatural beliefs could be tested. First, religiosity was assessed in terms of church attendance. The data demonstrated that nearly a quarter (23%) of those who attended on a weekly basis thought it possible to contact the spirits of the dead, compared with 32% who sometimes attended

and 32% who never attended. Nearly a quarter (23%) of those who attended on a weekly basis believed in their horoscope, compared with 38% who attended sometimes and 36% of those who never attended. A ninth (12%) of those who attended on a weekly basis believed that fortune-tellers could tell the future, compared with 20% who sometimes attended and 20% who never attended.

Second, religiosity was assessed in terms of belief in God. The data demonstrated that one-fifth (21%) of theists believed in black magic, compared with 17% of agnostics and 21% of atheists. Two-fifths (41%) of theists believed it possible to contact the spirits of the dead, compared with 29% of agnostics and 30% of atheists. Nearly a half (45%) of theists believed in their horoscope, compared with 37% of agnostics and 30% of atheists. Just over a quarter (28%) of theists believed fortune-tellers can tell the future, compared with 19% of agnostics and 15% of atheists.

Third, religiosity was assessed in terms of denominational affiliation. The data demonstrated that over a quarter (26%) of Catholics believed it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead, compared with 22% of Anglicans and 20% of Free Church members. Nearly one-third (29%) of Catholics believed in their horoscope, compared with 23% of Anglicans and 18% of Free Church members. Just over a ninth (12%) of Catholics believed that fortune-tellers can tell the future, and so did 11% of Anglicans and 10% of Free Church members. A tenth (11%) of Catholics believed in black magic, and so did 10% of both Anglicans and Free Church members.

Smith (2002) compared the supernatural beliefs 13- to 15-year-old adolescents across the major religious traditions evident in Walsall. His data demonstrated that Christians were more likely to believe it was possible to contact the spirits of the dead (37% compared with 18% of Hindus, 14% of Muslims and 21% of Sikhs) and were more likely to believe in ghosts (51% compared with 35% of Hindus, 45% of Muslims and 41% of Sikhs). Sikhs (33%) and Muslims (32%) were more likely to believe in black magic (compared with 21% of Christians and 21% of Hindus). Sikhs were more likely to believe that fortune-tellers can tell the future (33% compared with 26% of Christians, 21% of Hindus and 15% of Muslims). Sikhs (42%) and Hindus (45%) were more likely to believe in their horoscopes (compared with 40% of Christians and 25% of Muslims).

Williams, Francis and Robbins (2006a) have demonstrated a small statistically significant but weak association between a positive attitude toward Christianity and greater belief in paranormal phenomena among 279 13- to 16-year-old students in Wales.

### **Research question**

Against the background of this broad body of recent research the aim of the present study is to identify one key indicator of paranormal belief and to interrogate a database provided by nearly 34,000 13- to 15-year-old adolescents in England and Wales in order to examine the socio-psychological correlates of this key indicator. This key indicator is operationalised through the questionnaire item 'I believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead'. The item is important because it contains and expresses two ideas which go right to the heart of paranormal belief. The first idea concerns the persistence of human existence

and identity beyond death, in some (unspecified) form. The paranormal as defined in the present study has to do with the continuation of human life beyond the grave. The second idea concerns the channels of communication between the world beyond the grave and the present world before the grave. The paranormal as defined in the present study has to do not merely with the continuance of human life beyond the grave but with the accessibility to that continuing life beyond the grave by men and women living in the day-to-day world. In principle a belief of this nature (if really taken seriously) should have profound implications for the whole of an individual's worldview.

## **METHOD**

### **Sample**

The Religion and Values Today Survey, described in detail by Francis (2001), was completed by 33,982 pupils attending year-nine and year-ten classes in 163 schools throughout England and Wales. This database was constructed to be thoroughly representative of young people in this age group (13- to 15-year-olds) being educated within both the state-maintained schools sector and the independent schools sector. Of the total respondents, 51% were male and 49% were female; 53% were in year-nine and 47% were in year ten. Of those educated within the state-maintained sector, 86% were in non-denominational schools, 9% in Roman Catholic schools, and 5% in Church of England schools. Of the total sample of pupils, 10% were being educated outside the state-maintained sector.

## **Procedure**

Participating schools were asked to follow a standard procedure. The questionnaires were administered in normal class groups to all year-nine and year-ten pupils throughout the school. Pupils were asked not to write their name on the booklet and to complete the inventory under examination-like conditions. Although pupils were given the choice not to participate, very few decided not to take part in the survey. They were assured of confidentiality and anonymity.

## **Measures**

The present analysis draws on the following key components included in the questionnaire administered to all the pupils.

*Paranormal belief* was measured by the single item ‘I believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead’ rated on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from ‘agree strongly’, through ‘agree’, ‘not certain’ and ‘disagree’ to ‘disagree strongly’.

*Group differences* were measured using a series of forced-choice questions concerned with: school year, sex, expected academic qualifications, whether parents are separated or divorced, whether both parents are still alive, social class, television viewing, bible reading, personal prayer, church attendance and religious experience.

## **RESULTS**

### **Overview**

Table 1 presents the responses of the whole sample of 33,982 pupils to the key question ‘I believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead’. These data demonstrate that responses to this question divides the sample into three groups of quite similar sizes. Just under one third of the pupils (31%) believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, just over one third of the pupils (36%) believed that it is not possible to contact the spirits of the dead, and the remaining one third of the pupils (33%) had not made up their minds what to believe about the idea.

### **Group differences**

Table 2 examines the relevance of eight background factors in predicting individual differences in the levels of belief expressed in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. In this table the agree strongly and the agree responses have been aggregated. The statistical significance of differences between groups has been tested by comparing two cells: the aggregation of those who agreed or who agreed strongly against the aggregation of those who disagreed strongly, disagreed or expressed uncertainty.

*Sex* A significantly higher proportion of female pupils (33%) believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, compared with 29% of the male pupils

*Age* A small but statistically significant increase occurred in the proportion of pupils in year ten (32% compared with 30% in year nine) who believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead



***School type*** Within the state-maintained sector of schools there is a small but significantly higher proportion of pupils who believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead in Roman Catholic schools (34%) compared with 31% in Church of England schools and 32% in non-denominational schools. The proportion is significantly lower in the independent sector of schools (25%) and lowest of all in the relatively new independent Christian schools (21%).

***Expected academic qualifications*** While it is not possible to grade year nine and year ten pupils on the basis of their performance in public examinations which are yet to be taken, it is both possible and sensible to grade them on their self-assessment of likely performance in these examinations. The present analysis simply distinguishes between those who expect to leave secondary or further education with some success at A level and those who expect to leave without A level qualifications. On the basis of this single dichotomy, the data show a small but statistically significant relationship between paranormal belief and expected academic qualifications. Thus, 29% of pupils who expected some A level success believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, compared with 32% who expected no A level passes.

***Parental death*** Knowledge of whether both parents were still alive showed a significant relationship with paranormal belief. While 31% of the pupils whose parents were still living believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, the proportion rose to 38% among those pupils who had suffered the death of at least one parent.

***Parental separation or divorce*** Knowledge of whether the pupils had experienced the separation or divorce of their parents showed a significant relationship with paranormal belief. While 29% of the pupils living in intact homes believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, the proportion rose to 37% among those pupils whose parents had undergone separation or divorce.

***Social class*** Social class in the present project was calculated on the basis of paternal employment according to the classification system proposed by the Office of Population Census and Surveys (1980). On the basis of this classification system, comparisons were made between four different social class groups: professionals, including doctors, accountants, solicitors, and university teachers; semi-professionals, including school teachers, journalists, and social workers; white-collar workers, including secretaries and clerks; and blue-collar workers, including skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual workers. The data demonstrated a clear relationship between social class and belief in the paranormal. While 32% of the pupils from blue-collar backgrounds believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, the proportion fell to 30% among pupils from white-collar backgrounds, to 28% among pupils from semi-professional backgrounds, and to 23% among pupils from professional background.

***Daily television viewing*** In the present analysis pupils were divided into three categories on the basis of the amount of television watched the previous Wednesday: under two hours, between two and four hours, and five hours or more. The data demonstrated a clear relationship between television viewing and paranormal belief. Thus, 30% of the pupils

who watched television for less than five hours a day believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead. The proportion rose, however, to 35% among those who watched television for five hours or more a day.

### **Religious factors**

Table 3 examines the relevance of three religious factors in predicting individual differences in the levels of belief expressed in the sentiment that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead. In this table the agree strongly and the agree responses have been aggregated. The statistical significance of difference between groups has been calculated in the same way as in table 2. The data demonstrate that the three religious factors interact with belief in the paranormal in quite different ways.

*Religious experience* The item concerning religious experience invited pupils to respond to the question ‘Have you ever had a religious experience?’ by checking one of four categories: no, perhaps but not sure, probably but not certain, and yes definitely. In the analysis the two middle categories have been collapsed into the single category ‘perhaps’. The data demonstrated that religious experience and belief in the paranormal were highly correlated. While 29% of the pupils who had never had a religious experience believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, the proportion rose to 33% among the pupils who considered that they might have had a religious experience and to 40% among those who considered that they had definitely had a religious experience.

***Church attendance*** The relationship between church attendance and paranormal belief works in the opposite direction from the relationship between religious experience and paranormal belief. While pupils who have had a religious experience were more likely to believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, pupils who attend church on a weekly basis were less likely to believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead. While nearly one third of pupils who never attend church (32%) or who attended church less often than weekly (32%) believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, the proportion fell to one quarter among the pupils who attended church every week (24%).

***Personal prayer*** The relationship between personal prayer and paranormal belief works in a curvilinear fashion. The highest level of paranormal belief is associated with occasional prayer. Thus, 33% of the young people who pray sometimes believed that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead, compared with 30% of the young people who never pray and 29% of the young people who pray at least once a week.

## **CONCLUSION**

Drawing on the individual differences tradition within social psychology, this paper set out to examine the socio-psychological profile of young people who believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead. Taking this single question as an indicator of paranormal belief has generated a full, complex and intriguing profile of the socio-psychological correlates of paranormal belief among young people in England and Wales today. In particular four key conclusions drawn from these data deserve further discussion and commentary.

The first conclusion concerns the level of belief in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. The fact that nearly one in three young people (31%) hold this belief provides clear evidence that young people today are far from growing up in a world from which the supernatural, the paranormal and the transcendent have been exiled. In a society in which such beliefs remain prevalent, it is also important for the education system to provide space for young people to discuss and to reflect upon such beliefs and to develop a coherent worldview capable of distinguishing between positive and harmful implications of any belief system.

The second conclusion concerns the power of background variables to predict individual differences in belief in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. This finding suggests that the adoption of such beliefs is not entirely random, but conditioned, to some extent, by personal and by contextual factors. Females are more open to such beliefs than males, and increasing age does not erode, but strengthens such belief. The home, too, has significant influence. Young people growing up in professional homes are less likely to hold paranormal beliefs than young people growing up in working-class homes. Young people who have experienced the death of a parent or whose parents have separated or divorced are more likely to hold paranormal beliefs.

The third conclusion concerns the relationship between television viewing and belief in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. This finding suggests that television may have an important part to play in shaping the worldview of young people, and that the

belief structure of young people may be influenced by the extent to which contact with the spirits of the dead is employed as a theme within a defined genre of psycho-drama.

The fourth conclusion concerns the complex relationship between religion and belief in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. In this connection the findings draw a clear distinction between the experiential and the institutional aspects of religion. At the experiential level, there is a significant positive relationship between claiming to have had a religious experience and belief in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. At the institutional level, there is a significant negative relationship between weekly church attendance and belief in the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead. These apparently contradictory findings are connected with the view that the religious quest of humankind involves affirming the lasting connection between life beyond the grave and the here-and-now, while institutional religion has been more concerned to place boundaries between these two realms.

Although the present study has generated a full, complex and intriguing profile of the socio-psychological correlates of paranormal belief among young people, there are significant limitations to this study. The first limitation concerns the way in which the analyses hinge on one single item. Although this method leads to clarity in the presentation of the data, single item measures of any construct may be considered somewhat precarious. Future research in this tradition would benefit from using an existing scale of paranormal belief or from developing a new multi-item measure. The second limitation concerns the way in which the analyses have rested on a series of univariate tests. Although this method

also leads to clarity in the presentation of data, such reliance on univariate tests may serve to disguise the indirect influence of a few major factors. Future research in this tradition would benefit from constructing and testing a multivariate model which could take factors like age, sex and personality into account before examining the wider correlates of paranormal belief. Building on the secure foundations constructed by the present study, further research could now develop greater insight into the prevalence and correlates of paranormal belief among teenagers, and the part played by such belief in shaping the teenage worldview.

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**Table 1** Overview: I believe that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead

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responses	%
agree strongly	14
agree	17
not certain	33
disagree	13
disagree strongly	23

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**Table Two** Background factors: percentage agreeing

factor	agree %	$\chi^2$	$p <$
<u>sex</u>			
male	29		
female	33	69.9	.001
<u>age</u>			
year nine	30		
year ten	32	4.9	.05
<u>type of school</u>			
non-denominational state-maintained	32		
Church of England state-maintained	31		
Roman Catholic state-maintained	34		
Independent	25		
Christian	21	85.3	.001
<u>expected academic qualifications</u>			
no A level	32		
some A level	29	48.1	.001
<u>both parents still living</u>			
yes both still living	31		
no at least one has died	38	35.2	.001
<u>parents separated or divorced</u>			
yes separated or divorced	37		
no, neither separated nor divorced	29	198.1	.001
<u>social class</u>			
professional	23		
semi-professional	28		
white collar	30		
blue collar	32	72.7	.001
<u>daily television viewing</u>			
under 2 hours	30		
2-4 hours	30		
5 hours or more	35	60.3	.001

**Table 3** Religious factors: percentage agreeing

factor	agree %	$\chi^2$	$p <$
<u>prayer</u>			
never	30		
sometimes	33		
weekly	29	32.0	.001
<u>church</u>			
never	32		
sometimes	32		
weekly	24	137.1	.001
<u>religious experience</u>			
no	29		
perhaps	33		
yes	40	112.1	.001