

Mormon Student Religiosity and Higher Education

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ABSTRACT

Mormon Student Religiosity and Higher Education

By Craig L. Marshall, M.A.

This study examines the religiosity of Mormon college students in Britain and its relationship with higher education and their church. Past research has demonstrated a negative association between the level and length of education and religiosity. However, many American studies identify in Mormon students an exception to this general trend. The initial hypothesis to be tested is that British Mormons will show the same resistance to the secularizing influence of higher education as their American counterparts, despite an apparently less favourable social environment. A further proposal is that various agencies of Church support, particularly the Institutes of Religion, are an important element in sustaining religious commitment.

Research methods include questionnaire surveys of students, Church administrators and Institute instructors. Religiosity scales are developed from the student questionnaire through factor analysis, utilizing procedures developed in America. Differences between the British and American scales underline the complex nature of religiosity and reflect the generally contradictory and inconclusive character of wider research in this field.

The scales are used to measure student religiosity and correlations with other variables are calculated. Results confirm that for Mormon students in Britain there is no significant association between years of higher education and religiosity. Associations are demonstrated between religiosity and various Church agencies, including Institute, thus supporting the second hypothesis; however the dependency in several relationships is problematic and the influence of these agencies is not conclusive. This result stimulated a consideration of other areas of belief and practice likely to be important; characteristics of LDS faith are identified which may be significant for the resilience of Mormon religiosity.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

From a distinctly unpromising start, in which it was subject to intense and determined persecution, the Mormon community has developed into an international church of nine million members. Rodney Stark said the following concerning this evolution:

I shall give my reasons for believing that it is possible today to study that incredibly rare event: the rise of a new world religion. . . .

In the 150 years since these obscure beginnings, the Mormons have sustained the most rapid growth of any new religion in American history. Indeed, today they stand on the threshold of becoming the first major faith to appear on earth since the prophet Mohammed rode out of the desert.¹

It remains for future generations to discover if this rather extravagant prophecy will be fulfilled. However, a statement like this, from a highly respected non-Mormon social scientist at least suggests the importance of the Mormon Church as an object of religious research.

The Mormon Church is properly known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It is also widely referred to as the LDS Church, and its members are called Mormons, Saints, Latter-day Saints, or simply LDS. To provide variety of expression, all these terms will be used throughout this work. Other specialized terminology will be explained when it is first used. Whether or not Mormonism qualifies as a church, denomination, sect or cult in any technical sense is not an issue for this study; however the question is briefly addressed at the beginning of chapter three. It will be suggested that Mormonism, at least in this country is most appropriately defined as a sect, even though there are some elements of the tradition which do not fit well with this

¹ Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith", *Review of Religious Research* 26.1 (1984): 18-19.

designation. In addition to their more specific sociological sense, terms such as "church", "denomination", "religion" and "faith" have a general usage, in which they are often virtually interchangeable. This common use will be employed throughout the study, in reference not only to the Mormons but also other religious movements.

This study will examine the religiosity of Mormon college students in the British Isles. The effect of their college experience on religious faith is a central issue; higher education is generally thought to exert a strong secularizing influence on students. In response to the perceived threat from the "godless education" provided by the state, the LDS Church established a system of Institutes of Religion. This organisation is charged with teaching religion at college level, specifically to preserve the religious faith of Mormon students, and will be examined in detail. Thus the term "education" in the title of this study includes the system of religious education provided by the Mormon Church. In addition to the Institutes of Religion, other organisational responses of the Mormon Church to the perceived threat will be examined in detail, together with social and theological characteristics which may be supportive of students' faith and commitment. The author has been employed in CES (Church Educational System), the organisation which supervises Institute, for some twenty years. He has also served as stake president (a senior Mormon church official) for over nine years. The knowledge thus gained of the organisation, beliefs and people of the Mormon religion have been employed in the study which follows.

The study begins with a general consideration of education and religiosity. The greatest interest in this area has been from social scientists, particularly in the U.S.A. After a long period of neglect, a resurgence of research activity began in the 1960s, partially in response to the work of Charles Glock and his multidimensional model.² The major developments in the field will be outlined, and it will be shown that there remains considerable disagreement

² Charles Y. Glock, "On the Study of Religious Commitment", *Religious Education Research Supplement* 42 (July/August 1962): S98-S110.

over even basic issues. Reasons for this, such as conceptual and methodological differences will be discussed. However, there are some areas of consensus and two of them are of particular interest to this inquiry. It is generally agreed that higher education is an instrument of secularization, and that for most students religiosity declines as a result of their college experience. It also appears that LDS students are an exception to this general trend, and that their level of religiosity seems unaffected by length of exposure to higher education.

Almost all the work leading to these conclusions has been done in America. In Britain there has been substantial work with secondary school pupils, but very little published research on religiosity and higher education, and none at all involving Mormon students. The present study is the first investigation in this specific area; indeed it is one of very few British studies of the Mormon Church in any field. The rapid international expansion of the Latter-day Saints, and the current strength of the movement in this country support the timeliness of the investigation.

The LDS Church features some unusual characteristics in its history, doctrine and organisation. Some of them have direct relevance for the inquiry, and others are helpful for understanding the religious setting and background of the students. Accordingly, one chapter provides a selective introduction to the Mormon Church. Where appropriate attributes of the Church which seem of particular importance to the inquiry are highlighted, especially features which may influence the response of members when their religious faith is under pressure.

The heart of the research is the development and application of a number of surveys, mostly postal questionnaires. The lengthiest section of this study describes the methodology and interprets the results of the surveys. The objectives of the research were as follows: measure the religiosity of Mormon students; discover whether an association exists between levels of religiosity and length of exposure to higher education; discover and interpret associations between religiosity and a range of independent variables; examine the effectiveness of Church agencies designed for the support of students.

Essentially, this study attempts to discover if there are changes in the religiosity of Mormon students during higher education, then identify and examine factors which may be associated with their response.

The hypothesis underlying the investigation, based on the weight of evidence from America, is that Mormons in Britain will maintain their religiosity during their time at college or university. This is despite a somewhat less promising environment, in a country where the Church is less well established, and where organised religion seems rather less strong. As will be discussed, this proposition is not the intuitive opinion of LDS leaders and administrators, who generally feel that a college education is responsible for serious losses in active membership. The instrument used to measure religiosity is one developed in America, specifically for use with Mormons. It is a sequence of thirty-three questions incorporated into the student survey. From these questions, religiosity scales are created after factor analysis. The differences and similarities between the British and American results of the factor analysis are discussed at some length, and provide confirmation of the complex, unsettled nature of this field of academic inquiry. Using the British religiosity scales, correlations were computed to show the relationship between religiosity and years at college. As will be shown from the results of the analysis, for this sample of students the hypothesis is upheld, and there is no significant association between religiosity and years at college.

After establishing this position, the study will go on to examine possible explanatory variables. A further hypothesis is that a notable reason for the stability of students' faith is the organisational effort of the Church in supporting its young adults at college, especially through the Institutes of Religion programme. Accordingly, a substantial research effort was devoted to measuring associations between religiosity and various institutional variables, and examining the efficiency, structure and effectiveness of specific Church organisations. Pearson correlations were again used to identify associations between religiosity and various independent variables. After identifying significant relationships with certain variables, multiple regression analysis was

used to assess the contribution of the variables as a group. Although the variables, individually and as a group do have a significant relationship with religiosity, the results of the analysis do not support the second hypothesis as comprehensively as the first. As will be shown, there are clear associations between religiosity and some of the organisations, but the strength of the associations are moderately strong at best, and the nature of the dependence in the relationships is unclear. Furthermore, a detailed examination of the principal organisations shows that they are falling far short of their potential; serious deficiencies were identified which must limit their effectiveness and the extent of their influence.

These findings provoked a reconsideration of the second hypothesis concerning Church agencies for student support. It was clear that they do have some influence, but it also became clear that this was inadequate as a comprehensive explanation of the durability of student religiosity. Therefore, the study goes on to propose the importance of other elements. Theological issues such as faith, belief, doctrine, ecclesiastical leadership and authority are presented as significant contributory factors. The nature of conversion in the Mormon Church is discussed, together with different agencies of social control inherent in the practice and ritual of the Church. Similar issues were touched on in the initial introduction to the Mormon Church. However, in response to the research findings, this study concludes with a more detailed examination of some of these issues, in an effort to identify characteristics of the Church which are likely to be of significance in the secularizing world of the Mormon college student.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGIOSITY AND EDUCATION

Religion and education are both complex, polymorphous human activities which have been intimately related for centuries. Once they were virtually coextensive, with education available primarily through the churches. Robert Ulich suggests that "All early education was religious, and all early religion was also educational."¹ Initially, such education reached only a small proportion of the British population but gradually the network of provision expanded, still supported largely by religion. Other types of school emerged, such as the dame schools, but schools with a religious foundation predominated. It is only in comparatively recent times that the state began to intervene in what was seen as principally a religious responsibility. In 1833 the English parliament provided the first financial support from the state, a subsidy of £20,000 towards school building.² The level of financial support gradually increased, as did efforts to secure greater control over the disparate system of church schools. These developments culminated with the 1870 Education Act, which marked a decisive change for the place of religion in education.

The Act of 1870 is a landmark in the history of religious education in England. Before that date the state had insisted on the union of religious and secular instruction and had made this union a condition of all grants. . . . After 1870 state responsibility was confined to the secular sphere; . . . In the Act itself all references to religious instruction were restrictive . . . The year 1870 is thus the great dividing line. . . . Foster's measure marks the end of an era in English education³

¹ Robert Ulich, *A History of Religious Education* (New York: New York University Press, and London: University of London Press, 1968), Preface.

² Marjorie Cruikshank, *Church and State in English Education: 1870 to the Present Day* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 3.

³ *Ibid.*, 36.

The Act established a dual system of church and state education, in which the voluntary church schools continued alongside newly created board schools. Board schools were supported from the rates; only non-denominational religious instruction was permitted in them and could be excluded altogether, if the local board so wished. Church schools received financial assistance direct from the Exchequer and the Act increased the size of this grant, though at the price of greater restrictions. For example, parents were given the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction and worship, and the timetable of such instruction was required to be at the beginning and/or end of the school session, to make such withdrawal feasible. This was the beginning of a gradual decline in the direct influence of the churches in education. It was, however, a *gradual* decline, and the influence of religion in the schools was felt well into the twentieth century, and is still a matter of much debate today.

The churches are still, as they have been since 1870, partners in the national system of education . . . But circumstances have changed; local authority schools now predominate and the church school is the exception, although all publicly provided schools are required to give undenominational religious instructions.⁴

The development of education and its relationship with religion has been different in America. There, the constitutional separation of church and state has led in the latter half of the twentieth century to an almost aggressive exclusion of religion from state schools and universities. However, at one time religion did have a considerable presence despite the Constitution. The strength of the influence is demonstrated well through the contest between evolutionists and creationists. In America the religious lobby was powerful enough to secure, as late as the 1920s, the passing of legislation in many states to prevent or restrict the teaching of organic evolution in state schools. The earliest of these laws, enacted in March 1925 in Tennessee, was not repealed until 1967. A similar contest was joined in this country, though in a different form, and with a different outcome. Indeed, since the 1944 Education Act the teaching of religion and even an act of worship has been required in state schools.

⁴ Ibid., 177.

However, in recent times the extent of religious activity in British education has fallen off sharply, and the place of religious worship and instruction in school has become a controversial issue. In contrast to the more optimistic view of the church-state partnership of Cruikshank, quoted above, Smith says this: "The fiction still persists among Christians . . . that church and school are partners in a common enterprise of Christian education. That fiction is now wearing very thin."⁵ The traditional morning assembly is now problematic in many schools, partly through a lack of willing staff who may have little or no religious commitment, but also because of the increasingly multi-cultural and multi-religious nature of many communities. In higher education, religion exists as a barely recognisable remnant in tradition and ceremony, except in specifically religious foundations. Teaching and worship is restricted to voluntary associations and religious groups acting independent of any required curriculum.

In America, religion continued to find a place in private institutions of learning, many of which were established specifically to include the religious teaching which was excluded from state schools and colleges. However, even here we see similar difficulties as are manifest in many British schools. Harvey Cox comments on the challenge facing America's many private denominational colleges, who "struggle daily with what to do about a 'church tradition' that usually seems less and less relevant to what they have to do to exist."⁶ With regard to the ancient relationship between church and university, Cox goes on to say that "the current cleavage between the two is wider and more impassable than ever."⁷ The American experience is of some interest to this study, because of the American origins and strong American traditions of the Mormon Church. In some ways, the Mormon Church has attempted to provide an American solution

⁵ J. W. D. Smith, *Religious Education in a Secular Setting* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 23.

⁶ Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (London: SCM Press, 1965), 218-219.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 219.

in a British context. One response of many American churches to the increasing secularism in education was to establish seminaries and Institutes of religion, adjacent to the state schools and colleges. Later in this study, we will see that the establishment of seminaries and Institutes in this country has been a deliberate effort by the Mormon Church to counteract the supposed secularising influence of British education.

In both Britain and America, at least for the majority of publicly funded schools and universities, the relationship between religion and education is now reversed, and it appears that education affects religion more than religion influences education. Today, in the popular mind at least, religion is threatened by the education which it nurtured to maturity; the secularization of society is associated with the education of society. Nevertheless, this relationship is by no means clear or consistent. The subtlety and complexity of these phenomena are a challenge for any researcher, and it should not be surprising that many conclusions have been contradictory and inconclusive. Some writers have even questioned whether there is a general trend of secularization in Western society at all. "Just as the link between modernization and irreligion is anything but clear, so is the relationship between education and religiosity problematic."⁸ However, the most commonly held view, at least by sociologists of religion, is that there is indeed a strong trend of secularization in the modern world, a view represented in the following comment from Bryan Wilson.

From the wider social point of view it makes very little difference whether church-going is a regular habit of the majority or the determined practice of a tiny minority. That the course of modern society proceeds influenced in only the slightest of ways by such differences in expressed religious behaviour illustrates how marginal religious institutions have, in fact, become. It would require an ingenious sociological analysis to show that the development of American society was materially affected by its high rate of church-going, or that of Sweden by its very low rate.

For particular individuals, or for groups, religion may, of course, still be a powerful - perhaps the most powerful - determinant of the conduct of their lives. But that is not true of the generality of men in western society, whether church-going or not.⁹

⁸ Stan L. Albrecht and Tim B. Heaton, "Secularization, Higher Education and Religiosity", *Review of Religious Research* 26.1 (1984): 45.

⁹ Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion In Secular Society* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1969), 12-13.

However, despite broad agreement over the reality of the process there are conflicting views on its nature, and different approaches in its analysis. David Martin has shown how the process and nature of secularization varies widely according to religious, cultural and political context. For example, he suggests that "It is monopoly, above all Catholic monopoly, which ensures abrasive division and militant secularism."¹⁰ He contrasts this with the experience of Protestantism in different degrees of pluralism and states that there is a "fundamental contrast between the sociological consequences of Protestant pluralism and of Catholic monopoly as these proliferate from sector to sector."¹¹ His wide ranging analysis includes many illustrations and categories, and is explicitly a structural approach. He admits there are "certain clear costs associated with my approach. Religion is a creature of the realm of symbol, feeling and meaning and I have concentrated on structure."¹² He states that he has avoided many complicated questions about the nature of religion and the distinction between religious beliefs and institutions. This is an important issue, since the secularization of individual belief is quite a different thing from the secularization of organized religion, even though the two may be related. Bryan Wilson makes this distinction in the following definition:

by the term *secularization*, I mean that process by which religious institutions, actions, and consciousness, lose their social significance. What such a definition does *not* imply is that all men have acquired a secularized consciousness. It does not even suggest that most individuals have relinquished all their interest in religion, even though that may be the case. It maintains no more than that religion ceases to be significant in the working of the social system.¹³

On the same issue, Owen Chadwick, commenting from the point of view of an historian, says the following about secularization:

¹⁰ David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 19

¹¹ Ibid., 41.

¹² Ibid., 13.

¹³ Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 149-150.

We are not trying to chronicle a loss of conviction . . . We ask, first, whether statistics show a decline in attendance at churches, or in giving of money to churches; and secondly, whether (if the statistics so point) that means something momentous about the development of the human mind; whether we could chart an increase in the numbers of people refusing to say *I believe in God*, and whether (if we could so chart) that would mean something momentous about man's religious attitudes. . .¹⁴

Clearly from a sociological perspective the institutional and social implications of religion have the greatest significance. However, individual belief is also important and, as Chadwick mentions, we are entitled to ask if societal trends in religion are accompanied by meaningful changes in religiosity at a personal level. The association may not always be straightforward. For example, Wilson comments on the marked strength of church attendance in America, which is out of step with trends in most other countries in the Western world (though not all, as we shall see). However, he suggests that church-going in America has become merely a socially desirable activity, devoid of real religious significance, and that this masks an underlying trend of secularization manifested in a lack of religious depth and commitment of individual Church members. Alan Gilbert suggests a related trend can be observed in Britain:

The accommodation of the 'church' to a 'world' grown more secular - the secularization of modes of thought and patterns of behaviour within the religious culture itself - has been, without doubt, the dominant trend in modern British religious history. It is illuminating to compare the results of this process with the related, yet far from identical, effects of secularization on American religion.¹⁵

This comment reminds us that churches are part of society and not separate from it, and that secularization is not just the increasing segregation of church and society, but occurs within the church itself. This process, according to Gilbert and many others can be observed in Britain, but is far more pronounced in America. Gilbert refers to Berger in suggesting that the high levels of participation and church attendance in American are stimulated by strong secular incentives. Church attendance has become a norm of respectable

¹⁴ Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 17.

¹⁵ Alan D. Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A History of the Secularization of Modern Society* (London: Longman, 1980), 105.

behaviour, accruing social and business advantage. However, in observing predominant trends and majority positions, it is easy to lose sight of smaller movements which may have great significance. Gilbert goes on to say:

These generalizations ignore significant regional, cultural and religious-cultural diversity in American society, and it is important to recognize that in America, as elsewhere in modern industrial societies, certain energetic sectarian and cultic movements have been able largely to resist becoming 'radically voided' of specifically 'religious' contents. Yet the general trend has been vital, for the bulk of the churchgoing population and the mainstream American religious traditions have been caught up in it, and dominated by it.¹⁶

We previously commented on Martin's observations concerning pluralism versus monopoly in religion. American pluralism, according to Martin, has encouraged the proliferation of the sects, such as Chadwick refers to above. These smaller movements are characterised by a fervour of religious devotion not typical of mainstream denominations and may in fact be a reaction against the secularization to which the larger denominations have succumbed. It is, of course with one of these sects that this study is concerned. We will be considering specifically the impact of higher education on Mormon students, rather than a detailed analysis of the wider secularization issues discussed here.

Several times above we have referred to church attendance and participation in America, and suggested it was not a reliable guide to personal religiosity. One wonders to what extent church attendance was ever a good indicator of depth and commitment of religious faith, in any country. It does seem that social habit and tradition have an important part to play, but precisely how the variables are related, and what weight should be given to each is far from clear. It is possible that Church attendance, at least for many people, has always been primarily a response to social expectations, and only secondarily an expression of religious faith and worship. Institutional religion may not necessarily be a reflection of personal religion, and some have argued that changes in religious practice do not represent a decline of individual religiosity, but simply a change in the character of religion in a rapidly changing society.

¹⁶ Ibid., 105.

According to this argument, religious expression may take many forms, and organised worship such as that provided by a church is only one. Many people who never attend church and who claim no denominational association may nevertheless have strong religious feelings. This point of view tends to draw more heavily on a theological, rather than a sociological view of mankind. Wilson himself, at a later stage in the book, suggests that many people are inherently religious; even outside the fold of the churches.

Despite the abandonment of the Churches by the people, most people in Britain, like those in America, confess a belief in God, and most of them can state this belief in more specifically Christian terms. What is apparent is that the Churches no longer cater for the emotional expression of men in society. Their answers to fundamental questions are seen by the majority to be intellectually deficient.¹⁷

The general view of a steady decline in religiosity has been supported recently. Campbell and Curtis compared Gallup Polls for many nations from the 1940s to the early 1970s, and although they agree with a general trend of secularization, some of their conclusions are unusual.

The pattern of results over time, for the countries where temporal comparisons were possible, may be said to be generally consistent with the view that there has been a decline internationally in religious involvement. The American and British data provide exceptions, however.¹⁸

This exceptional position proposed for Britain runs counter to the opinion of many scholars. Tim Heaton's view that Britain "is a society that now stands out among all modern nations in the degree to which its people are unchurched"¹⁹ is more representative. Yet Campbell and Curtis show that for Britain "some of the belief measures show an increase, with some increases of as much as 30 to 50%."²⁰ They speculate that this may be due to liberal immigration

¹⁷ Wilson, *Secular Society*, 204.

¹⁸ Robert A. Campbell and James E. Curtis, "Religious Involvement Across Societies: Analyses for Alternative Measures in National Surveys", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33.3 (1994), 227.

¹⁹ Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht and J. Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective", *BYU Studies* 27.2 (1987), 126.

²⁰ Campbell and Curtis, "Religious Involvement", 225.

policies in the 1960s to 1980s. They suggest that immigrant cultures are more religious and indeed maintain their identity through religion. This may be contributory, but it seems hardly credible that increases in belief of the scale suggested can be entirely explained by immigration. Campbell and Curtis also show that America is not as unusual as is commonly supposed in other measures of religiosity, particularly church attendance.

The analyses of religious activity call for some qualifications to the view that the United States is exceptionally high in religious involvement. . . . they do not rank highest in church attendance . . . they are sixth highest in the controlled comparisons. . . .

Quite different nations - with different histories, different church-state arrangements, and different patterns of religious organisation - are also as high in religious involvement, variously measured. These nations include the following, it will be recalled: South Africa, Northern Ireland, Mexico, the Republic of Ireland, and Canada.²¹

America does seem to show a greater stability than most other nations, but in terms of total scores, the USA is not unusual.

It will be evident from the foregoing comments that secularization is by no means a straightforward question. This debate in the sociology of religion concerning the wider secularizing trends in society and between nations is an important issue, but it is not central for this study, and therefore will not be pursued in great detail. Here we are specifically concerned with the possible secularizing influence of higher education, as reflected in the religiosity of the students. Of course, colleges and universities are part of a wider society and clearly the trends of that society will be reflected in these smaller communities. This should be born in mind, and where appropriate reference will be made to the broader domain. However, limitations of space and resources for this study have prevented the incorporation of a control group of non-college students for comparison, and the empirical research is largely restricted to college students. We shall see that this narrower field is also characterized by differences of opinion between scholars who interpret similar observations in different ways, or whose primary observations are quite dissimilar.

²¹ Ibid., 226.

Definition of Terms

Charles Glock, in his widely acclaimed 1962 paper (to be discussed in more detail shortly) suggested that part, at least of the disagreements over secularization are due to the lack of agreement over what, precisely religiosity (and hence secularization) consists of.

These disagreements over whether or not a revival had in fact occurred and over the nature of the long term trend in American religiosity were, at least in part, attributable to a failure to specify the dimensions of religiosity that had allegedly decreased, increased, or remained the same. Different observers were defining religion in different ways. Some were equating it with belief, others with church attendance, and still others with the consequences of religiosity.²²

Some scholars make distinctions between different elements of religiosity in terms of the importance of their contribution. For example it is clear that Wilson, in his assessment of American secularization considers belief (similar to Glock's ideological dimension) to be more important than church attendance (Glock's ritualistic dimension) as a measure of religiosity. He also assumes that the nature and depth of belief is not related to frequency of church attendance. Other researchers share the view that religious belief is unusually significant compared with other components of religious expression and experience. Fishbein and Ajzen assume that religiosity is a measure of attitude only.²³ However, they do propose that the set of beliefs is the major determinant of attitude. We will look at this question, and the relative importance of different dimensions of religiosity in due course.

It is undoubtedly true that work in this field is profoundly affected by the different definitions used. Glock suggested that "the most important attribute of those who perceive secularization to be going on is their commitment to a particular view of what religion means."²⁴ In fact, the commitment of

²² Charles Y. Glock, "On the Study of Religious Commitment", *Religious Education Research Supplement* 42 (July/August 1962): S-100.

²³ Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen, *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1965), 95.

²⁴ Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), 82.

researchers to their own point of view is particularly intense in this field. Oliver Tschannen has recently published a paper analysing the secularization debate over the past three decades. He concludes that "there has never been a genuine 'secularization debate', mainly because the purported 'antagonists' are at cross purposes and do not speak the same language."²⁵ One of the reasons for this, according to Tschannen, is that both secularists and anti-secularists are often addressing a personal audience rather than each other or the academic world in general.

The sociology of religion has been caught for more than two decades in the throes of a divisive dispute around the question of secularization . . . there is an intellectual *debate* between one group of scholars who assert that religion in the modern world is continuing its long-term decline, and another group who contends, to the contrary, that it is very much alive and well. . . . the dispute often takes the form where the protagonists, while appearing to engage in a debate with their opponents, are in fact addressing their respective audiences.²⁶

As stated, part of the difficulty lies in the definition of terms. We have already noted Glock's observation, that religiosity itself is a term which is far from precise. Cardwell echoes the same thought: "Religiosity is a widely used but difficult concept to define and consequently has traditionally been a difficult concept for sociologists to research."²⁷ Different researchers use the term to mean different things. Some do not use it at all, perhaps because of the absence of an agreed definition, or perhaps just the awkwardness of the word. For example, in her sound and comprehensive paper on religious belief and commitment, Elizabeth Ozorak manages to avoid using the term "religiosity" altogether, using instead terms such as "religious faith", "religiousness" and so on.²⁸ However, such terms are likely to be just as equivocal as "religiosity".

²⁵ Oliver Tschannen, "Sociological Controversies in Perspective", *Review of Religious Research* 36.1 (1994), 70-96.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁷ Jerry D. Cardwell, *The Social Context of Religiosity* (n.p.: University Press of America, 1980), 1.

²⁸ Elizabeth Weiss Ozorak, "Social and Cognitive Influences on the Development of Religious Beliefs and Commitment in Adolescence", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28 (1989).

An underlying problem is that the word religion itself lacks a universal definition. Religion is a far from easy term to define. Wilfred Cantwell Smith argues that the term is redundant and states: "the sustained inability to clarify what the word 'religion' signifies, in itself suggests that the term ought to be dropped; that it is a distorted concept not really corresponding to anything definite or distinctive in the objective world."²⁹ He suggests that the effort of scholars to arrive at an all-embracing definition is fruitless: "Another device is to propose that we should consider as religion or any one religion what is common to all its instances. . . . It is rather surprising that this view should still find the support that it does, so little tenable does it appear under scrutiny."³⁰ Smith goes on to develop the idea that what we presently term "religion" comprises two distinct elements: personal faith and cumulative tradition. The behavioural sciences, he maintains, have been concerned primarily with the latter, but there has been a tendency to make judgements on the totality from observations of the component. He suggests that we no longer deal with the meaningless amalgam "religion", but deal with faith and tradition as distinct topics. It will emerge that much of this study deals with the "cumulative tradition". Nevertheless, personal faith is of considerable importance to our investigation; we will address this issue from time to time and return to it in detail in chapter seven.

Smith expressed a hope that the word religion would disappear from use in scholarly discourse within twenty-five years.³¹ It is evident that his hope was not realised. The word is so deeply embedded in our culture that it was perhaps over-optimistic to expect that it would vanish, even from academic dialogue. We are, apparently, stuck with the word, and there is still no universal, generally accepted denotation. Writers and researchers on the topic

²⁹ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1962; London: SPCK, 1978), 17.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 148-149.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

often generate their own definition, compatible with their topic of interest or research. C. Stephen Evans has commented on this problem as follows, in which he agrees with Smith that religion is more than the "cumulative tradition" of beliefs and dogmas:

The questions "What is philosophy?" and "What is religion?" are, of course, enormously difficult. Such complex human activities can obviously be defined in many different ways. . . .

Religion is a complicated and rich human phenomenon, and as such it is studied by academicians from many disciplines: historians, psychologists, sociologists and theologians, to name a few. Religion touches on the whole of human existence. . . .

Religion can by no means then be reduced to a purely intellectual phenomenon. A religion is not simply a set of beliefs or dogmas. However, most religions at least include beliefs.³²

Evans stresses the importance of beliefs as a distinguishing hallmark of religion, and argues that the philosophy of religion is primarily concerned with a critical reflection on those beliefs. However, the concept of belief is itself an unusually difficult one. Indeed, understanding precisely what belief consists of and what the word may mean has exercised philosophers for many years. Interestingly, although it has by no means been ignored, it could hardly be said to have attracted widespread study and thought. It is often taken somewhat for granted that the word belief needs little, or no explanation. In Evans work, the topic of belief is addressed, but in a somewhat cursory manner in a few pages. Religion is often defined as a system of beliefs, but belief itself may remain poorly defined. Rodney Needham describes how the lack of clarity of thought concerning belief was the motivation for his interesting study on this topic: "Belief, Language and Experience". After summarizing the major strands of philosophical thought on the subject, he concludes:

In any event, the overriding conclusion is that more than two hundred years of masterly philosophical application have provided no clear and substantial understanding of the notion of belief. As a matter of fact, it rather looks as though we were getting further and further away from any satisfaction of this kind.³³

³² C. Stephen Evans, *Philosophy of Religion: Thinking about Faith* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1982), 12-13.

³³ Rodney Needham, *Belief, Language and Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 61.

Needham goes on in the remainder of the book to argue that belief is such an imprecise term with such a wide and complex range of meanings that it is of limited use in academic discourse. Furthermore, he suggests that the confusions and problems associated with the use of the word are of such fundamental importance that our understanding of the experience we call "belief" must be called into question. This is an oversimplification of his detailed and complex monograph, and it is not the intention here to enter into a detailed etymological study, or an extended philosophical examination. It seems prudent at the outset, however, to be aware of the difficulties inherent in these topics at the basic level of definitions. Often apparent conflict between researchers can be traced to such differences in the initial stages of investigation.

Some individual researchers may adequately define the terms they use for the purpose of their specific piece of research, although some do not; a common assumption is that the terms used *do* have universal currency. Thus, care should be taken when conclusions and results are compared. In ordinary use many words have several definitions and the particular sense is given by context; we should not press the above point too far, therefore. Problems only arise when the results for clearly dissimilar variables are compared. In this study, as in common discourse, the word religion will take on several shades of meaning, which the context should make clear. Generally, however, and particularly in connection with the surveys, religion is considered here to include a system of beliefs concerning a divine being, our relationship to him, and the meaning and purpose of life. This is a somewhat narrower definition than others that have been used. Batson and Ventis, for example, have defined religion as virtually any activity that involves the consideration of any existential question.³⁴ For this study, such a definition seems unacceptably broad. A more acceptable definition for our purposes is provided by Glock and Stark. Drawing on statements by Durkheim, Kluckhohn and others, they suggest

³⁴ C. Daniel Batson and W. Larry Ventis, *The Religious Experience: A Social-Psychological Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 7-10.

that religion is "those institutionalized systems of beliefs, symbols, values, and practices that provide groups of men with solutions to their questions of ultimate meaning."³⁵ We realise that some religious traditions do not involve the concept of a deity active in human life, or at least the notion is not central. This is true, for example of some forms of Buddhism and Confucianism. Furthermore, religion does not necessarily involve a differentiated social structure; it involves a component of personal belief and expression which may be independent of a formal organisation. However, religion as understood in this inquiry does include the concept of a God, and in the case of the sample of Mormon students it includes the formal system of beliefs and practices which comprise a church. We include with this the idea of an individual or personal response. It is frequently the case that studies of religion, especially in the social sciences, emphasise the institutional nature of religion at the expense of the quality, tone and intensity of a personal response to the divine. Indeed, it will be argued later that this is an important, perhaps even a crucial factor in the present study.

Religiosity is the degree of religiousness of individuals: the strength and extent of their religious beliefs, attitudes and expression. This seems straightforward enough, but how does one measure "degree of religiousness"? What is an acceptable method of appraisal for one's strength of belief? We will now proceed to examine these and related questions in some detail.

Measurement of Religiosity

Even when definitions are established, there remain many unresolved questions concerning how religiosity may be measured and assessed. The two issues, definition and measurement, are closely related of course. It is necessary to define at least an area of study in order to apply measurement, but measurement may change the definition. Sometimes this may be desirable, when measurement leads to new understanding of the nature of the subject under

³⁵ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*, 17.

investigation. However, measurement can also result in the unintentional transformation and confusion of original concepts. There is a danger that in pursuing those indicators of religiosity which are most easily measurable, that such indicators are then perceived as religiosity itself, rather than certain manifestations of it. It is very easy in the mind of the observer for example, for church attendance to actually *become* religiosity, rather than one dimension of it. This may be a possible consequence of any study which emphasises the approach of one discipline over others, or one which is unduly narrow or specialized in its approach. Even closely related disciplines see different aspects of the same phenomena.

there is a difference between dealing with these questions in a philosophical and in a religious manner. As philosophical questions the issues tend to be dealt with in the abstract. Answers are universal, not personal, and are not necessarily assumed to affect one's own subsequent life. As religious questions, the same issues are confronted on an intensely personal level; answers are expected to have dramatic effects on one's life (see Fowler, 1977). Of course, the line between religion and philosophy, especially moral philosophy and metaphysics, is far from clearcut. One can discuss religion philosophically, and one's response to philosophical questions can be deeply religious.³⁶

The sociology of religious belief and practice is presently enjoying a resurgence, and during the past decade numerous researchers have explored a wide range of issues, highlighting the role of religiosity in society.³⁷ In addition to sociology, the subject has been approached by several other disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology, social-psychology, philosophy and, of course, theology. However, most of the recent interest in religiosity has been from social scientists, with little reported work from theologians. It is suggested here that no one approach can provide a full understanding; indeed perhaps all approaches in combination will be unable to do so. Wilson says this of the basis of his own work.

Sociology appropriately regards religion as primarily an institutional phenomenon. . . . religious institutions, organizations, affiliations and practices, and institutionalized belief-systems, have been of more social consequence in all societies

³⁶ Batson and Ventis, *The Religious Experience*, 10.

³⁷ Christopher G. Ellison, David A. Gay and Thomas A. Glass, "Does Religious Commitment Contribute to Individual Life Satisfaction", *Social Forces* 68 (1989): 100.

than are the contemporary private beliefs of individuals . . . It is with the structured position of religion within the institutional framework of society that the discussion in the following pages is primarily concerned.³⁸

"Appropriately" in this context is referring, we understand, to the fact that the investigation is sociological, not that such an approach is the only one appropriate for religion. As soon as a decision is taken concerning the nature of the approach to any study, whatever the discipline, a set of assumptions and bases for analysis become operative, which necessarily restrict investigation, and determine to a certain extent the shape and form of any conclusions. Thus, for example, Stark and Glock, after briefly considering a theological problem, state: "In the final analysis, of course, theology is beside the point. We are engaged here in sociological matters, with the churches as human institutions embedded in human society"³⁹ Yet it is clear that religion is far more than an institutional phenomenon; indeed some would argue that the institutional aspect of religion is among its least significant manifestations. For some topics, and we suggest that religion and religiosity are two of them, analysis through a single discipline has the potential to be particularly misleading. This is not to say that such will be the inevitable result, or that such specialised inquiries are of no value. After all, virtually any study of substance is likely to provide only partial understanding of the topic under investigation. The important thing is to keep in mind the limited nature of any explanations which may result, and if possible contrast and balance this with conclusions from other studies. It is increasingly unusual, as academic disciplines become more and more specialised, for a more general approach to be taken; indeed few scholars possess the necessary background and expertise to tackle such an inquiry. In many ways the problems are inherent in the nature of academic endeavour. Size restrictions alone prevent a comprehensive inter-disciplinary treatment of most topics, at anything more than a superficial level. This study is not exempt from

³⁸ Wilson, *Secular Society*, 18-19.

³⁹ Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 21.

these challenges. As stated, some topics by their nature are apt to suffer more than others in an over-specialized treatment, and we reiterate that the topic of this study is one such area. Therefore, although empirical research through a series of surveys comprises the core of the work, we will also attempt to look at the issue of religiosity and education from a wider view. It is, however, an inescapable fact that over the past three or four decades the greater proportion of work in this area has been on the part of sociologists of religion, therefore our investigation, initially at least, should begin in that field.

Multidimensional Nature of Religiosity

In the sociology of religiosity, there has been an interesting evolution of research characterised by a quite significant diversity of opinion and conclusions. There continues to be conceptual and procedural differences which create inconsistencies and make comparisons between research findings difficult. However, recent years have shown a growing consensus of approach, and a convergence of results which is producing increasingly reliable and useful insights. Even so it is nonetheless true that unanimity, save in the most basic and general areas, is still some way off. For example, there remains considerable disagreement concerning the dimensions of religiosity.

After two decades of research attention, it is now generally accepted that the concept of religiosity is best treated as a multidimensional phenomenon. While some still argue against this conceptualization . . . the weight of available evidence strongly supports it . . . However, in spite of this general agreement, there has been considerable variation in the content and number of reported dimensions. Such variation appears to be the product of different approaches to defining and measuring relevant dimensions, of different analytical methods, or of different populations examined.⁴⁰

This concept, that religiosity is a multidimensional phenomenon, is generally accepted to have originated with the work of Charles Glock, in his 1962 paper and subsequent work in collaboration with Rodney Stark.⁴¹ They were

⁴⁰Marie Cornwall et al., "The Dimensions of Religiosity: A Conceptual Model With An Empirical Test", *Review of Religious Research* 27.3 (1986): 226.

⁴¹Glock, "Religious Commitment"; Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*; Stark and Glock, *American Piety*.

not the first to suggest the multidimensional nature of religiosity, and as Cardwell suggests, researchers such as Herberg, Lenski and Allport had drawn attention to the inadequacy of the over-simplistic approach current at the time.⁴² Cardwell further explains how research by Fukuyama⁴³ had extended Glock's preliminary work, before the publication of his 1962 paper. It could even be argued that William James anticipated the concept as early as 1902.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, Glock is credited with having first developed in a comprehensive manner a formalised theory of religiosity as a multidimensional phenomenon. Prior to this, researchers worked with a single dimension, often using only one or two indicators, typically church attendance or Bible knowledge, to assess religiosity. Even when a larger number of variables was used, there was rarely any attempt to group them into statistically discrete dimensions. Glock reported five core dimensions, though as noted by Cornwall in the quotation above, there is still disagreement over their nature and number. Nevertheless, some degree of accord seems to be emerging.

While the number of dimensions of religiosity examined in these recent studies ranges from four to thirteen, there appears to be growing consensus on the importance of the following dimensions: (a) belief or ideology, (b) intellectual or knowledge, (c) public devotion or church attendance, (d) private devotion such as prayer or scripture reading, and (e) experiential or spiritual experience.⁴⁵

These dimensions are similar to four of those proposed by Glock two decades previously, except that in Glock's scheme, the public and private devotion was combined in a single ritualistic dimension. The fifth dimension which Glock proposed has had much less agreement: the consequential dimension. This includes behaviours or attitudes that some people consider to

⁴² Cardwell, *The Social Context*, 7.

⁴³ Yoshio Fukuyama, "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership", *Review of Religious Research* 2.2 (1960): 154-161.

⁴⁴ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, with an introduction by Arthur Darby Nock (1960, Glasgow: Fount-Collins, 1977), 46-48.

⁴⁵ James T. Duke and Barry L. Johnson, "Spiritual Well-Being and the Consequential Dimension of Religiosity", *Review of Religious Research* 26.1 (1984): 60.

be the consequence of religious faith, ranging from being kind, moral or honest, to self-esteem, marital satisfaction and even political conservatism. Duke and Johnson, quoted above feel that there may be several consequential dimensions. Other researchers, such as Clayton and Gladden deny that there is any. Clayton and Gladden go further, and are two of a small number of researchers who deny that religiosity is multidimensional in nature. They found that a factor they called "ideological commitment" accounted for 78 per cent of the variance in one study and 83 per cent in another.⁴⁶ They go on to argue that religiosity is, in fact a unidimensional phenomenon, and that what have been identified by other researchers as different dimensions are merely different expressions of the one dimension, which is commitment or belief. In a rather scathing criticism of Glock's work and subsequent development of the multidimensional concept, Mueller states "a decade of busy research seems to burn down to the trivial insight that religion is mostly concerned with belief."⁴⁷ As we will see when data for this present study is analyzed, the commitment or belief factor does in fact form an unusually strong and internally consistent factor, much stronger than other factors in the analysis. Furthermore, as was previously mentioned, belief has a particularly important place in the theological and philosophical apprehensions of religion. At the other extreme from this unidimensional theory, King and Hunt identified eleven dimensions in several studies, though when one of their studies was replicated by Hilty, Morgan and Burns, and analyzed by different statistical procedures, seven dimensions resulted, only two of which were the same as dimensions produced by King and Hunt.⁴⁸

Conflicting claims such as these are rather typical of the study of religiosity. They appear to reveal an immature and inexact science, where results are very dependent on the theoretical model or conceptual approach, and the

⁴⁶ Richard R. Clayton and James W. Gladden, "The Five Dimensions of Religiosity: Toward Demythologizing a Sacred Artifact", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 13 (1974): 135-143.

⁴⁷ G. H. Mueller, "The Dimensions of Religiosity", *Sociological Analysis* 41.1 (1980): 3.

⁴⁸ Dale M. Hilty, Rick L. Morgan and Joan E. Burns, "King and Hunt Revisited: Dimensions of Religious Involvement", *Journal For The Scientific Study Of Religion* 23 (1984): 252-286.

particular statistical analysis chosen. After enumerating the differences between researchers, Mueller claims that one unifying feature in multidimensional research is "its intuitive, almost impressionistic, *ad hoc* character: the same pie is tentatively sliced in different ways without much elucidating the principles which underlie the divisions other than mere practicality."⁴⁹ As already noted, even in the area of terminology there is confusion, and researchers may use similar terms to describe disparate concepts, and different terms to describe similar concepts. For the present, however, in consideration of the weight of evidence and the majority opinion, we will assume that religiosity is, indeed, a multidimensional phenomenon, though we will reserve judgement as to the nature and number of these dimensions.

Independence and Relative Importance of the Dimensions

Distinctions between the dimensions can be important. Glock and subsequent researchers have recognised that they are not necessarily dependent, or may even be negatively correlated, but that they must clearly be part of a larger whole if they are, in fact separate dimensions of the same thing. Cardwell describes the relationship as follows.

Thus, a religious response on one dimension of religiosity is not *a priori* necessary for attributing a religious response on any other dimension of religiosity. Presumably, however, each of the dimensions of religious commitment is a subset of a larger configuration. Furthermore, one cannot escape the impression that the five dimensions taken collectively are the larger configuration identified as religious commitment. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the "epistemic" correlation between dimensions would be positive.⁵⁰

Note that Cardwell implies that the combination of the five dimensions represents religious commitment. We should question this assumption. It has already been suggested that it is easy in research of this kind to reach a point where the model or the measure becomes the thing being measured in the mind of the observer. We should remember that we are dealing with indicators of a

⁴⁹ Mueller, "The Dimensions", 3.

⁵⁰ Cardwell, *The Social Context*, 7.

complex phenomenon for which sociological analysis may provide an incomplete explanation. The most that could be said of Cardwell's "larger configuration" is that it is a *sociological* description of religious commitment. Perhaps Cardwell implicitly assumes this qualification, but as suggested earlier, there is a tendency to see the world only in terms of one's own specialisation, and in doing so to lose sight of the total reality of the topic in hand. For Wilfred Cantwell Smith, this problem is of crucial importance when analysing religion.

Faith is concerned with something, or Someone, behind or beyond Christianity, or Buddhism. Scholarship must be satisfied with something less, but must make room for that out-reaching faith.

To do this, we are suggesting, scholarship must reformulate its own capacities and limitations, refraining more modestly from attempting to impose its limitations on faith, and recognizing more clearly to what its capacities are relevant. At the same time, faith must recapture its larger vision.⁵¹

As we review what at the moment is mainly sociological research, we should keep in mind that it is primarily concerned with religiosity and related topics as social phenomena. In any case, as we shall see later, Cardwell himself acknowledges that the present level of research can only provide us with a very partial description, even in sociological terms.

To return to the different dimensions, not only may they be independent, but the relative significance of each may be different. This will certainly be the case theologically. It has already been stated several times that issues of belief may have a particular significance in issues of religion. What a person believes may be considered more important than what he knows, for example. Presumably this is the concept that Wilson had in mind when he considers that church attendance in America is devoid of genuine religious commitment, as previously discussed. This of course raises the question of definitions, raised previously; what is meant by religiosity – what does "being religious" consist of? Does it matter how many times a person attends church, if he or she spends a life in service to others? How important are motives? Is belief sufficient, or are good works necessary also? Intensity or completeness of belief may be quite

⁵¹ Smith, *The Meaning and End*, 13.

independent of other religiosity dimensions, as already stated. This would seem compatible with common wisdom: I may be quite certain that smoking is harmful, but the knowledge may not give me any desire to stop smoking. Biddle makes this same observation about smoking and explains there is a difference between "preferences and norms or beliefs".⁵² Needham echoes the same thought:

Since, therefore, there is no necessary or general connection between belief and action, it is to some extent arbitrary to select action as a criterion of belief. . . .

It is a notorious matter of common experience, after all, that the conventional externals of religious belief do not entail a real adherence to the doctrines that they are supposed to acknowledge. Genuflections at the altar, prostration on a prayer mat, and bloody sacrifice tell us equally little about the internal states of those who perform these public actions.⁵³

It seems reasonable that such a concept is as Needham suggests, "a matter of common experience". If this is so, it seems all the more surprising that early sociological investigation should have used predominantly external indicators such as church attendance to assess levels of religiosity. Belief, or faith has always been considered important in religion, and indeed not only distinct from activity, but also from knowledge. This theoretical point of view has some experimental support, as for example in the work of Clayton and Gladdon, already quoted. Furthermore, Glock, in his seminal 1962 paper allowed for this distinction in formulating his five dimensions; the ideological dimension is an expression of belief, and the intellectual dimension one of knowledge.⁵⁴ Stark and Glock were quite clear that belief was the most important of their five core dimensions.⁵⁵ The work of Fishbein and Ajzen has also been mentioned; in their study of the relationship of belief, attitude, intention and behaviour they also emphasise the primal nature of belief.⁵⁶

⁵² Bruce J. Biddle, *Role Theory: Expectations, Identities and Behaviors* (New York: Academic Press, 1979) 168.

⁵³ Needham, *Belief, Language and Experience*, 100.

⁵⁴ Glock, "Religious Commitment", S-99.

⁵⁵ Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 16.

⁵⁶ Fishbein and Ajzen, *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior*.

In this discussion we should remember that "belief" as a sociological dimension may not be precisely the same as "belief" as a theological or philosophical concept. Several of the above questions are indeed primarily theological, and will be considered in more detail in another chapter. It will be particularly important to understand the Mormon understanding of these issues, and this will be attempted in chapters three and seven. In any case, sociological analysis does not claim to address questions of value judgement such as these. Nevertheless, the sociological position does at least affirm the different significance of different measures. For example, Duke and Johnson suggest that the prayer or devotional dimension is unusual.

We should note here, however, that our earlier study of the relationship between demographic characteristics and religious behaviour (Duke and Johnson, 181b) has led us to conclude that the prayer dimension is the most distinctive religious dimension and tends to follow patterns which are decidedly different from other dimensions. This conclusion is quite similar to that made by Lenski (1961) in his analysis of the devotional orientation.⁵⁷

Stott, in his comparative study of Baptists and Mormons discovered that for the Mormon sample, although most dimensions showed no negative relationship with education, the belief dimension did so consistently.⁵⁸ Virtually every study which utilizes a multi-dimensional approach shows significant differences in strengths of association across the dimensions. The difficulty lies in interpreting the significance of these differences, especially since the results vary so much, and different researchers employ different measurements and combinations of dimensions.

Denominational Differences

A further problem which adds to the difficulty of making comparisons between different studies is the denominational factor. What may be very religious behaviour, even bordering on the fanatical for one faith may be no

⁵⁷ Duke and Johnson, "Spiritual Well-Being", 65.

⁵⁸ Gerald Norman Stott, "The Impact of Education on Religiosity: a Study of Mormons and Southern Baptists", Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Illinois, 1981, 81.

more than normal or expected in another. Clearly, the conduct required of members varies widely between churches; therefore does religiosity exist as an independent human response, or should it be assessed only in relation to a particular denomination? In his influential work referred to earlier, Glock recognised the importance of this question. He acknowledged the variation between different faiths but suggested that there were sufficient areas of consensus between religions, at least those in the Judeo-Christian tradition that certain core dimensions of religiosity could be distinguished, and that these core dimensions were adequate to describe religiosity regardless of affiliation. These are his five dimensions previously identified, which have since served as a model for a large proportion of researchers.

This proposition by Glock has been somewhat taken for granted over the years, and there has been a tendency to accept it without serious question. Yet there is a considerable difference in proposing the multi-dimensional nature of religiosity, and then suggesting that specific dimensions may apply equally to different Christian traditions. Only one or two researchers such as Cardwell have questioned Glock's proposition concerning consensus, and the universality of the core dimensions.

There are two issues here. The first concerns the adequacy of the conceptual framework. It would seem reasonable to accept that areas of common ground may be identified, especially among faiths within the Judeo-Christian tradition. However, areas of difference may be considerable. For clusters of denominations, perhaps those described as mainstream churches, the differences may be inconsequential. It may then be possible to apply a universal descriptive framework of religiosity. In other denominations, sects and cults however the differences may be so great that the dimensions proposed may be inadequate; some may be of no consequence, others may be so conflated as to need further differentiation. The situation is even more problematic when considering the religiosity of persons who have a religious belief but no denominational affiliation. Glock's ritualistic dimension would surely have no application in such cases, since it is concerned with the practices expected of members by a church.

Therefore, although the core dimensions proposed by Glock are rationally appealing, there are serious questions over their claim to ubiquitous application and their utility may be more limited than is generally acknowledged.

The second issue is of equal significance. Glock's dimensions are simply a taxonomy of the manner in which individuals express their religion. Each dimension is a conceptual grouping of types of religious expression, not a list of specific activities or conditions. When the theory is applied to research, items are selected for measurement, for each dimension. The items selected may not necessarily have universal validity, and measurement of a dimension may require different items for different denominations. It has been common practice to use a single instrument for multi-denominational samples, and even to compare samples from different denominations. Charles Glock himself realised the danger of this. In a later work in collaboration with Rodney Stark, he commented on the wide diversity of belief between denominations, and said:

Future research will probably reveal the need to develop different typologies of religious belief within which degree of religiosity can be measured rather than a single scale of religious commitment on which all individuals can be measured.⁵⁹

This expectation has not so far been realized. Many researchers have noted that denomination affects the relationship between religiosity and a variety of independent variables, including education, but curiously have failed to consider the implication that denomination may affect the validity of their religiosity scales. Duke and Johnson made the following comment, quoting Roof.

Roof (1979:38) recently reviewed the denominational differences on the various dimensions of religion and concluded that "to date, there has been very little systematic exploration of interfaith comparisons of religious styles (and) the explorations we have, indicate that significant differences exist."⁶⁰

In Cardwell's substantial critique of Glock's work and subsequent developments, he draws attention to the misleading assumption concerning the comprehensiveness of measures of religious commitment, and goes as far as to suggest that such measures may be unattainable.

⁵⁹ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*, 25.

⁶⁰ Duke and Johnson, "Spiritual Well-Being", 61.

it is entirely within the realm of reason that a comprehensive measure of religiosity cannot be achieved. It is also reasonable to suspect that religious preference may be more salient in terms of religious commitment than is denominational membership. . . .

. . . Thus, evidence seems to suggest that attempts to verify Glock's (1962) theory with a comprehensive measure of multi-dimensional religious commitment cannot succeed. This is precisely because a comprehensive measure would have to assume that denominations share a common religious vision that can be tapped for the several denominations; an assumption, in other words, "that is clearly not the case."⁶¹

Note the additional element mentioned here, that of religious preference compared with religious affiliation. Membership in a faith is not necessarily a guide to religious preference. In less conservative, more liberal denominations, religious preference may vary quite widely. It should not be assumed that an individual's religious membership guarantees his acceptance of that particular denomination. In fact, in those faiths with a wide tolerance of individual opinion, many members may have religious views seriously at odds with official doctrine. Again, this is a factor which is frequently ignored in research work.

The manner in which Glock's theory has been developed, namely that a central core of indicators are able to provide a universal measure of religiosity across many churches and denominations now seems problematic. Even if the dimensions proposed by Glock are universal, the indicators used in their definition and measurement are unlikely to be. It may be that in order to achieve acceptable accuracy, wider characteristics of religious commitment should be considered, for each specific denomination. Few researchers have incorporated such an approach in their work. Until the universality of specific dimensions of religiosity can be demonstrated, further research should perhaps be confined to comparisons only within uni-denominational samples. Comparison between denominations, including some of those reported here, should be treated with some caution. It is likely that they provide useful insights of a general nature, but in the matter of specific detail there is often a case for dubiety and qualification.

A number of researchers have judged Glock's model to be inadequate and have either abandoned or considerably modified it. Some of them are reported

⁶¹ Cardwell, *The Social Context*, 16, 17.

in this chapter. A comparative table of ten different typologies is provided by Cornwall,⁶² which demonstrates well the variety of approaches. Some are very similar to Glock, other are quite different. For this study, for the reasons given above, we also propose to use a new model. This seems especially appropriate since the religious movement under scrutiny is not part of the mainstream of Christian faiths. Original research for this study will be restricted to members of this one denomination: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The primary instrument, to be described in detail later is based on scales developed and tested by Marie Cornwall and colleagues, specifically to measure religiosity of members of this one faith.⁶³ The Mormon Church is a conservative, tightly-knit faith in which diversity of religious preference, mentioned above, is less likely to be a significant factor. Furthermore, as we shall explain in chapter three, the Church is extremely homogenous world-wide, which makes comparative studies less problematic. The religiosity scales are based on a conceptual framework describing three components of religiosity: cognition, affect, and behaviour, together with two modes of religious involvement: personal and institutional. This results in six dimensions of religiosity, to which was added a seventh dimension, home religious observance, in recognition of religious behaviour distinctive of the Mormon Church. This will be discussed further in chapter four. We will now turn to the specific issue of the relationship between religiosity and education.

Negative Association Between Education and Religiosity

It should not be surprising, given some of the above comments, that there are mixed opinions concerning the relationship of religiosity and education. Nevertheless, as with the wider religiosity issue, although a broad base of consensus is some way off, there is agreement in some areas. One widely held view is that education, and particularly higher education is negatively

⁶² Cornwall, "Dimensions of Religiosity", 230.

⁶³ Cornwall, "Dimensions of Religiosity".

associated with religiosity. Many studies over a wide period support this conclusion.

The most prevalent view in the literature, then, seems to be that educational achievement impacts negatively on religious commitment and that increased levels of education often lead to apostasy as individuals encounter views that deemphasize spiritual growth and elevate scientific and intellectual achievement.⁶⁴

Although this has been the received wisdom for several decades, it has been challenged. In a recent paper, Larry Petersen states "Although much of the research into education's influence on religious commitment is consistent with the secularization view, there are some important anomalies in the research."⁶⁵ He concludes: "At a minimum, the findings of this study suggest that the common assertion that education has a secularizing influence on the individual is overly simplistic and in need of qualification."⁶⁶ Hunsberger suggests that the tendency of past research to support the view that education is negatively correlated with religiosity is being overtaken by more recent studies. He mentions the lack of clarity concerning such variables as denomination, specific beliefs and practices, and individual change. His research involved two studies, one cross-sectional, and one longitudinal, in which the religiosity of first year students is compared with the religiosity of final year students. Three denominations were represented: Roman Catholic, United Church and Mennonite. The conclusion is that little change takes place.

In combination, the two studies reported in this paper offer little support for the proposal that students become less religious over their years at university. The only consistent finding for both studies was that seniors reported attending church less frequently than did freshmen. Otherwise, statistically significant differences were infrequent, relatively small in magnitude, and those that did emerge were inconsistent from the first to the second study. In addition, contrary to some previous findings . . . conservative or "devout" religious denominations were not more likely to change⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Albrecht and Heaton, "Secularization", 46.

⁶⁵ Larry R. Petersen, "Education, Homogamy, and Religious Commitment", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33.2 (1994), 122.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 133.

⁶⁷ Bruce Hunsberger, "The Religiosity of College Students: Stability and Change Over Years at University", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17.2 (1978): 163.

Hunsberger goes on to suggest that these results are in keeping with an ongoing trend for researchers to find less and less evidence of trends towards liberalization of religious beliefs during college years. He suggests that a general change, if it does take place, may well take place during the secondary school years, and that by the time students reach university their religious orientation is already set.

Gerald Stott, in his comparative study of Mormons and Southern Baptists, also found little solid evidence to support a strong negative relationship. In fact, for the Mormons, the relationship between education and religiosity was positive, showing an increase in overall levels of religiosity for years at college. Concerning the Mormons specifically, there were one or two anomalies in the general trend of a positive correlation between religiosity and education.

Among the Mormons, religiosity, as measured by all of the indicators except belief, tends to increase with educational advancement. . . . the belief/education association is weak but negative.

. . . while graduate education may have some negative influence on certain aspects of religiosity among Mormons, its effect is slight. At most college graduates with advanced degrees are, on average, no less religious than high school graduates with no college training.⁶⁸

This combination of a negative relationship, albeit weak, between the belief indicator and education, and the drop in religiosity from graduate degree to post-graduates for most indicators, is dismissed somewhat by Stott, but may be significant. Even though overall the results show that religiosity increases with educational attainment, the specific indicator of belief is surely one of the more critical dimensions, and precisely the dimension we would expect to show change as a result of the secularizing influence of education. Furthermore, it is at the graduate level where the effect of education might be seen at its most potent. It has been suggested by several researchers that such an affect, however, may not be the result of any change in actual belief, but rather a consequence of the maturing of critical judgement, leading to a less idealised and more discriminating verbal expression of that belief. In other words, the

⁶⁸ Stott, "Impact of Education", 81,82.

religiosity of the individual may be just as strong, or even stronger, but a more mature, reflective individual may be more conservative in assessing his level of commitment and practice in, for example, answers to survey questions. This would explain the difference between the belief dimension and other dimensions noted by Scott, but is purely conjecture at this stage. Nevertheless, despite the above reservation, Stott's general conclusion is as follows.

Denominational affiliation was shown to have a significant influence on the relationship. Religiosity, in general, increased with educational level among the Mormons while it tended to decrease, albeit slightly, with educational level among the Southern Baptists. My findings refute the widely held belief that college education in general and scientific training in particular are detrimental to religious involvement. . . .

. . . Interestingly, religiosity (precollege) was found to be a better predictor of educational attainment than educational attainment was of present religiosity.⁶⁹

Stott's overall judgment that his findings refute that there is a negative relationship between education and religiosity is difficult to understand when for half of his sample (the Southern Baptists) there was, in fact, a negative relationship, albeit weak. However, the results concerning the Mormons are of particular interest for this study, and support other research which has found the Mormons to be consistently resistant to any secularizing influence in higher education. Stott's findings show a clear difference in response to higher education between the two faiths, which emphasises the point made earlier concerning the significance of denominational differences. Even so, since his study utilized the same instrument for measuring religiosity in the two faiths, it may be open to question. This problem was discussed previously; since Latter-day Saints and Southern Baptists are from two very different religious traditions, the instrument used to measure the religiosity of one group may not be equally applicable to the other.

A 1969 paper by Kenneth A. Feldman draws attention to a further question concerning the relationship between education and religiosity. He points out that there have been very few studies in which a control group is used for comparison with college students.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 158.

However, it may be that there are analogous influences on non-college persons (of college age) effecting the same overall amount and kinds of change. The questions therefore arises whether 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 either reflect general maturational development within American society or are determined by general societal-wide cultural forces at work during the years under study and thus effect a societal trend. . . . Little is known about the comparison between college and non-college groups with respect to change on religious attributes.⁷⁰

This concern was mentioned earlier, and it was explained that it has not been possible to include a control group for this study. Feldman goes on to discuss the few studies which have included some form of non-college control group, and demonstrates that some of them support the conclusion of greater change for college students, and some do not – the results are inconclusive. Since Feldman's paper there have been many studies which compare levels of religiosity with levels of education, though few if any have involved the particular procedures he suggests. Nevertheless, comparative evidence from these studies supports the secularization theory. Albrecht, in a 1989 paper discusses several of these studies, including national survey data, comes to the following conclusions.

. . . whatever the historical patterns of increasing or decreasing religious activity, and whatever the depth or superficiality of that activity, the data are overwhelming in their consistency in pointing to a negative effect of education on religiosity. . . . In other words, poorly grounded religious beliefs have simply been unable to stand in the face of challenges generated by modern science and higher education.

The data presented in the following charts, taken from a national survey by the Princeton Religious Research Centre, confirm the Hadaway and Roof findings and show a substantial negative relationship between educational level and a series of measures of religiosity.

On all but one of the indicators, the pattern is the same: the higher the level of education, the lower the level of reported religious belief and experience. The one exception is attendance at worship services, but, as we have noted elsewhere, there is some evidence that church attendance in this country is much like participation in other types of voluntary associations – it has other than religious meanings.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Kenneth A. Feldman, "Change and Stability of Religious Orientations During College: Part I. Freshman-Senior Comparisons", *Review of Religious Research* 11.1 (1969): 53-54.

⁷¹ Stan L. Albrecht, "The Consequential Dimension of Mormon Religiosity", *BYU Studies* 29.2 (1989): 100.

This rather lengthy quotation describes what is by far the prevalent view of researchers. Despite the cautions of Feldman and others described above, the dominant view is that higher education does, indeed have a distinct effect on the religiosity of students, and that the effect is generally negative. We might note in passing that the final paragraph of the above quotation supports the contention of Wilson, mentioned in the early part of this chapter, that church attendance in America is not necessarily evidence of high levels of religiosity.

Parental Values and Influence

Future chapters will describe the importance of families in the Mormon religion, and the great emphasis placed on religious socialization in the home. For this reason we should give some consideration to the influence of parents on the religiosity of their children. However, we will not pursue this area in great detail, since this study is more concerned with the developments which occur during the college experience, rather than the formative stages of childhood and adolescence.

We previously quoted Stott, concerning the predictive power of precollege religiosity. It is possible that change in religiosity is more likely at an earlier age. It agrees with Hunsberger's suggestion, already mentioned (see page 35), that secondary school is the time when religious values are set. Other researchers have noted the significance of age groups in the study of religiosity, and the particular importance of adolescence. For example, Hastings and Hoge considered trends between 1948 and 1974 and observed a tendency for change to take place at an earlier age. They state that "the effect of intellectual training on students' religious views occurs more during high school today than several decades ago."⁷² Elizabeth Ozorak recently studied the changes which take place from early adolescence to young adults of college age.

In summary, adolescents seem prone to revise their religious beliefs, although parents' religiousness is a stabilizing factor, especially if they belong to a faith with a strong

⁷² Philip K. Hastings and Dean R. Hoge, "Changes in Religion among College Students, 1948 to 1974", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 15.3 (1976): 247.

group identity and if they are emotionally close to the adolescent. . . .

. . . The percentage increase in change between ninth grade (11% changed) and 11/12th grade (23% changed) was greater than that between 11/12th grade and college-age (32% changed), suggesting that middle adolescence is a period of readjustment for many individuals.⁷³

The revision of religious beliefs described here, and the function of parental religiosity as a stabilising factor, rather than the dominant variable is characteristic of more recent studies in which the complexity of the relationships have been recognized. Earlier studies tended to the opinion that the influence of the home was more decisive. For example, "Allport and his associates observed the same 'preeminence of parental influence' in the religious formation of some five hundred American college students."⁷⁴ We should note that similar conclusions have been reached in more recent research. After three separate studies of the religious orientation of university students, Bruce Hunsberger concluded that "Overall, the present results point consistently to importance of the home environment."⁷⁵ Hoge, Petrillo and Smith observed that "Socialization theory usually stresses the family as the most important mechanism in value transmission,"⁷⁶ although they acknowledge that the importance of extrafamilial influences has also been recognized.

In a 1979 paper Cornwall, Olsen and Weed demonstrated that for younger LDS groups (they used two data sets, one for twelve to twenty-one year-olds, and one for fourteen to eighteen year-olds), there was in fact a strong association between religiosity and family variables.⁷⁷ Note the significance of

⁷³ Ozorak, "Social Influences", 451,455.

⁷⁴ Hervé Carrier, *The Sociology of Religious Belonging* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1965), 125.

⁷⁵ Bruce Hunsberger and L. B. Brown, "Religious Socialization, Apostasy, and the Impact of Family Background", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 23.3 (1984): 250.

⁷⁶ Dean R. Hoge, Gregory H. Petrillo and Ella I. Smith, "Transmission of Religious and Social Values from Parents to Teenage Children", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 44.3 (1982): 569.

⁷⁷ Marie Cornwall, Joseph Olsen and Stan Weed, "The Influence of Parent on Youth Religiosity", Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Religious Research Association, n.p., 26-28 October 1979.

age here, and the implication that despite the changes which may take place during adolescence described previously, the influence of the home is still strongly felt. There is a suggestion however, that this influence becomes less marked as individuals grow older and enter the age-group with which the present study is concerned. Cornwall et al. comment on what they view as the general consensus of research concerning youth religiosity.

The religious development and socialization of youth has been an area of basic and continuing interest to religious researchers. There is fairly consistent evidence concerning the importance of parental religious commitment and involvement in the acquisition of central religious values and the development of basic patterns of religious participation among youth.⁷⁸

However, they go on to discuss that the relationship revealed in their own analysis is not straightforward, and that different associations, or no association at all, obtain for different dimensions of religiosity and different parent/child relationships. This is in line with the complexity of the issue mentioned earlier.

Perhaps surprisingly, the amount of social and psychological research in this area is relatively meagre. Hoge, Petrillo and Smith tell us that "Religious value transmission from parents to children has seldom been studied."⁷⁹ As recently as 1990, Kirkpatrick and Shaver, while introducing attachment theory as a model state: "little is known about the ways in which early parent-child relationships influence religious development. Empirical research on the topic is sparse."⁸⁰ Acock and Bengtson say that "Until recently, there has been little debate concerning the importance of parental socialization with respect to political and instrumental as well as expressive orientations."⁸¹ D'Antonio, Newman and Wright suggest that research has emphasised social control

⁷⁸ Ibid., 1.

⁷⁹ Hoge, Petrillo and Smith, "Transmission of Values", 569.

⁸⁰ Lee A. Kirkpatrick and Phillip R. Shaver, "Attachment Theory and Religion: Childhood Attachments, Religious Beliefs, and Conversion", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29.3 (1990): 315.

⁸¹ Alan C. Acock and Vern L. Bengtson, "On the Relative Influence of Mothers and Fathers: A Covariance Analysis of Political and Religious Socialization", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 40.3 (1978): 519.

elements of religion and family life, and that qualitative areas have been particularly neglected. They claim that the "reductionism of empirical social science prompts researchers to study those things most easily measurable."⁸² They conclude by saying "We wish to suggest here that social psychological research on family life and religion is sorely needed."⁸³

As already stated, existing research, especially more recent studies, is discovering that these processes are complex. Hoge and his associates summarized as follows: "The prevailing finding is that value transmission from parents to children is sometimes strong and sometimes weak, depending greatly on the concreteness and saliency of the particular topic under study."⁸⁴ They go on to suggest methodological reasons for the inconsistency between studies, and the wide range of variables which may affect the relationships. Such variables include the age of parents and children, sex of parents and children, parental agreement, denominational membership and extrafamilial groups. In their own research, they attempted to control for many of these variables. They discovered that parental agreement and denominational membership were significant, but overall the results were inconclusive.

On only one out of the nine values did we find any consistent impact of family characteristics on transmission - creedal assent. On this value transmission was strongest in families where parent-child overall disagreements were small and where the parents were younger, had definite religious beliefs and agreed on them, and carried out conscious religious socialization in the home.

The findings of this study are theoretically important more for the hypotheses that were unsupported than for the hypotheses that were sustained. Most important of all, the parent-child correlations were weak.⁸⁵

This is in contrast to the findings of Suziedelis and Potvin, who found that "Parental religious practice . . . is clearly a major determinant of adolescent

⁸² William V. D'Antonio, William M. Newman and Stuart A. Wright, "Religion and Family Life: How Social Scientists View the Relationship", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 21.3 (1982): 222.

⁸³ Ibid., 223.

⁸⁴ Hoge, Petrillo and Smith, "Transmission of Values", 569.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 578.

religiousness in both sexes. Every aspect of religiousness is significantly related to church attendance by the parents."⁸⁶ This of course is a relationship with parental religious practice rather than religious values. Roger and Margaret Dudley point out that despite disruptive factors which might weaken the influence of parents, because of the depth and extent of the relationship, we ought to see some similarity in religious values. However, they too describe the unsettled nature of research findings.

studies to establish value similarities between parents and their children have had mixed results. A number of researchers . . . have found agreement between the generations on stated values, but the relationship has often been weak. Even so, some researchers have found positive correlations between the transmission of values and home environment.⁸⁷

They go on to develop an explanation for these results in the interaction of two contrasting theories. One is *social learning theory* and the other is *emancipation theory*. Social learning theory holds that parents are indeed a primary source of values and patterns of behaviour which children internalize and carry through into adulthood. However, emancipation theory deals with how adolescents are likely to reject parental values in order to achieve independence and a sense of separate identity.

The emancipation theory would lead us to expect that teenagers would espouse values quite different from their parents . . . This difference would ordinarily put the youth in a less traditional stance than the parents . . .

Since both social learning theory and emancipation theory have extensive explanatory power and since both receive considerable support in the research literature, how can we fit them together as regards religious values? They would seem to predict opposite outcomes. . . .

. . . if both theories were true, we should find two conditions. In accordance with emancipation theory, a distinct difference would exist between the stated religious values of a group of adolescents and those of their parents. . . .

On the other hand, in accordance with social learning theory, the stated religious values of individual adolescents within this group would tend to resemble those of their particular parents. that is, more traditional parents will tend to rear more traditional

⁸⁶ Antanas Suziedelis and Raymond H. Potvin, "Sex differences in Factors Affecting Religiousness Among Catholic Adolescents", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20.1 (1981): 46.

⁸⁷ Roger L. Dudley and Margaret G. Dudley, "Transmission of Religious Values From Parents to Adolescents", *Review of Religious Research* 28.1 (1986): 4.

children and less traditional parents, less traditional children even though both sets of children, as a group, are less traditional than their parents.⁸⁸

The Dudleys found that the results of their research supported the above hypothesis, which does seem to be helpful in explaining the mixed results of other studies. Other findings of the Dudleys and other researchers follow what we might intuitively expect. For example, the Dudleys concur with Hoge that agreement between parents on religious values increases the likelihood of value transmission to their children. The strength of the religious background and the extent of religious socializing in the home are also important, as are strong denominational attachments.

This may be significant when considering the Mormons, for whom family life during adolescence is likely to have a greater religious influence than in many other religious traditions. Albrecht argues that this is so, and identifies two important ways in which this occurs.

first, in the direct effect evident in the transmission of attitudes, values, symbolic references, and behaviour patterns from one generation to the next; and second, in the impact that results from the channelling of individuals into friendship networks during the teen and young adult years that will sustain and support the religious values taught in the home."⁸⁹

The significance of the family in Mormon belief and practice will be discussed further in the next chapter. The situation may be different in this country, where the "friendship networks" to which Albrecht refers may be less substantial. Nevertheless, the religious attitudes and education of Mormon adolescents in this country was the subject of an earlier study by the present author, in which the strength of religiosity in this age group, and the successful maintenance of it by the Mormon Church was demonstrated.⁹⁰

One interesting area in the study of family relationships is the relative impact of fathers and mothers on sons and daughters. The traditional views of

⁸⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁹ Albrecht, "Mormon Religiosity, 91.

⁹⁰ Craig L. Marshall, "The Provision and Justification of a Volunteer-Based Religious Education Programme", M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1986.

the dynamics of these relationships are expressed in the following quotation from Acock and Bengtson.

There has also been little question that the father, by virtue of instrumental roles within and outside the family, exerts greater influence on the socialization of children's instrumental orientations than does the mother. In addition, there has been no systematic examination of the psychoanalytic premise concerning sex-linked socialization outcomes which suggest that, because of same-sex identification processes, mothers and daughters will be more similar in their orientations than mothers and sons.⁹¹

In their own study of parents and young adults (age 16-26) Acock and Bengtson find little evidence to support either of these propositions in the general range of areas they considered. However, they discovered that although in general the strongest associations were with mothers, "areas in which the fathers had a slight edge were in Religious Behavior, Religiosity, and Tolerance of Deviance."⁹² They suggest that the dominance of the mother may be accounted for by frequency of interaction and greater control of immediate reinforcement with the children. They offer no suggestion of why the father should have a "slight edge" in religiosity and religious behaviour (they define religiosity as belief and commitment). Roger and Margaret Dudley, in contrast *did* find that mothers have a greater influence on the development of religious values than fathers.⁹³ However, the population for their study was younger (high-school age) and more homogenous (Seventh Day Adventists), which may account for the slight differences.

Acock and Bengtson found quite high predictability between parents and children for most measures. However, on the subject of sex-specific relations between parents and children, they found no differences in predictability at all. This is supported by Kirkpatrick and Shaver, whose research into attachment theory found no gender differences for a range of religious measures.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Acock and Bengtson, "Relative Influences", 519.

⁹² Ibid., 528.

⁹³ Dudley and Dudley, "Religious Values", 13.

⁹⁴ Kirkpatrick and Shaver, "Childhood Attachments", 328.

However, Cornwall, Olsen and Weed in a study of Mormon youth discovered that "For both sons and daughters, the cross-sex parent variables appear to be better at predicting youth religious behavior and belief than do the same-sex parent variables."⁹⁵ In other words, fathers have a greater influence on daughters, and mothers have a greater influence on sons, opposite to the traditional view described above. It appears further research is necessary to clarify the position of gender relationships in religious development in the home.

Whatever the relative contribution of the home in the process, several studies suggest that the values which are established prior to attending college or university are highly significant for the response to secularizing influences. In her 1989 study, Ozorak suggests that the strength of religious faith which an individual brings to college is crucial.

The results of this study offer a new interpretation of the widely documented slight decline in religiousness among college-age individuals. In fact, polarization seems to occur, with the decreases of slightly to moderately religious adolescents masking the increases of very religious adolescents.⁹⁶

Albrecht's study of Mormon religiosity supports this view.

The disaffiliated obviously do not feel these ties to the Church. As we interviewed these former Mormons, it became apparent that most of them had always been somewhat marginal in the Church with many reporting that they had never really strongly identified with Mormonism.⁹⁷

From these two studies it would seem that the secularizing influence of college may have much to do with the predisposition of the individual student. For those who are already secure in their faith, with a well-developed conviction and belief, it produces a seige-like response of consolidation and resistance. For those who are less sure, and perhaps even looking for reasons to abandon their position, the corrosion of religious values is much more likely: the weak become weaker, the strong increase in strength. It has also been suggested, by Albrecht, Ozorak and others that self-selection has a part to play. The causal

⁹⁵ Cornwall, Olsen and Weed, "Influence of Parents", 6.

⁹⁶ Ozorak, "Social Influences", 460.

⁹⁷ Albrecht, "Mormon Religiosity", 81.

relationship between religiosity and higher education is by no means clear, and some researchers have suggested that those who are more inclined to apostasy from their religion are more inclined toward an intellectual life.

There seems in general to be an increasing tendency for researchers to qualify their results, as new variables and minority trends which have previously been masked are uncovered. However, there is still general agreement that education and religiosity are negatively associated. The precise nature of the relationship is unclear, and the relative importance of a wide range of variables is open to debate, but the secularizing influence of education seems beyond doubt, at least according to the bulk of evidence so far available.

whatever the historical patterns of increasing or decreasing religious activity, and whatever the depth or superficiality of that activity, the data are overwhelming in their consistency in pointing to a negative effect of education on religiosity. This has recently been confirmed again by national survey data. . . . In other words, poorly grounded religious beliefs have simply been unable to stand in the face of challenges generated by modern science and higher education.⁹⁸

Religiosity and Gender

A further topic which should be addressed, since it will feature in the research findings later is the association of gender and religiosity. We have already touched on this subject in the discussion of gender differences in the home. In the more general area of sex differences it is widely accepted that women are more religious than men. This has long been a recognised axiom in the field of religiosity; Batson and Ventis state: "although the differences are not always large, they are remarkably consistent."⁹⁹ In a recent study, Thompson summarized the research of the past few decades and stated:

Among women, religion appears more salient to everyday activities, personal faith is stronger, commitment to orthodox beliefs is greater, and involvement in religious ritual and worship is more common than among men. . . . It is important to note, however, that not all studies have found women to be more religious. Researchers who have treated religiosity as a multidimensional construct have sometimes been able to find the expected

⁹⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁹⁹ Batson and Ventis, *The Religious Experience*, 36.

gender differences for religious participation, but not for religious belief. . . .

Nonetheless, such occasional non-confirming studies have not shaken the conventional wisdom. The lay and professional literatures still take for granted a strong link between being female and being religious.¹⁰⁰

Evidence for the same trend in Britain has been provided by Leslie Francis, in a study of 16 to 25 year olds. He states: "Although the same number of men and women claim that religion is important to them, this section clearly demonstrates that the women are considerably more religious than the men in term of their beliefs, attitudes and practices."¹⁰¹ However, despite this overall conclusion, in church attendance men and women were quite similar. This agrees with the distinction between private and public dimensions of religiosity, to be mentioned shortly. A more recent study of teenagers by Francis and Kay has confirmed this earlier research with young adults.¹⁰²

Several reasons for the greater religiosity of women have been proposed. At one time, psychological explanations based on biological differences between the sexes were widely accepted. There is still some support for this type of explanation, especially the idea of fundamental personality differences between men and women. However, as Batson and Ventis explain, there are basic theoretical difficulties with these arguments, and so far they have had little, if any empirical support.¹⁰³ More recently, explanations have focused on theories of social influence.

One area of interest is to do with structural locations in society and the division of labour for men and women. De Vaus and McAllister note that "The commonest structural location theory explanation concerns the role that most

¹⁰⁰ Edward H. Thompson, Jr., "Beneath the Status Characteristic: Gender Variations in Religiousness", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30.4 (1991): 382.

¹⁰¹ Leslie J. Francis, *Youth in Transit: A Profile of 16-25 Year Olds* (Aldershot: Gower Publishing Company, 1982), 43.

¹⁰² Francis, Leslie J. and William K. Kay, *Teenage Religion and Values* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1995), 138-139.

¹⁰³ Batson and Ventis, *The Religious Experience*, 36-39.

sets females apart from males: their child-rearing role."¹⁰⁴ However, their research, in Australia, indicated that differences in another area were more important.

The results presented here have shown that the female child-rearing role does not account for the higher level of female religiosity after other aspects of structural location are controlled for. Similarly, family focus does not have much explanatory power after these controls are introduced. By contrast there was clear evidence that work force participation is an important factor. Females in the full-time work force are less religious than those out of it and have a broadly similar religious orientation to males.¹⁰⁵

The importance of full-time work has been confirmed by Ellen Gee, in research utilising the 1985 Canadian General Social Survey.

The hypothesis that women attend church more often than men because they are less involved in the paid labor force has been examined and partially supported. Among full-time workers, Canadian men and women display similar levels of church attendance, as would be predicted by the labor force hypothesis. However, among part-time workers and person outside of the labor force, significant gender differences, in the direction of greater female involvement in religion, persist.¹⁰⁶

As de Vaus points out, reasons for these findings remain speculative. He puts forward three possibilities. One is that full-time employment may simply leave too little time for church involvement. Another is that the workplace may provide a substitute for the social and psychological benefits derived from religion and church involvement. A third possibility is that the dominant climate of the workplace may not be tolerant of religiosity, and subordinate groups (women) are likely to adopt the values of the dominant group (men). This last reason is used by de Vaus to explain why his earlier research had shown that the work force relationship did not hold for American men and women.¹⁰⁷ He

¹⁰⁴ David de Vaus and Ian McAllister, "Gender Differences in Religion: A Test of the Structural Location Theory", *American Sociological Review* 52.4 (1987): 472-73.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 479-80.

¹⁰⁶ Ellen M. Gee, "Gender Differences in Church Attendance in Canada: The Role of Labor Force Participation", *Review of Religious Research* 32.3 (1991): 273.

¹⁰⁷ David A. de Vaus, "Workforce Participation and Sex Differences in Church Attendance", *Review of Religious Research* 25.3 (1984): 247-58.

suggests that the differences between countries may be the greater integration of religion into the American culture, such that religion is more acceptable as part of the workplace.

In addition to structural location theory, gender role and socialization is also a popular explanation of female religiosity. A recent paper by Thompson has suggested a fresh approach in this area. He states: "This sex difference perspective has created the stereotype of religious women and non-religious men, and has ignored the great variations within gender."¹⁰⁸ He suggests the importance of looking at feminine characteristics of both men and women, rather than focusing on sex status. His research provides good support for his theory, and suggests it is worth further study. However, almost all data in this area, as Thompson points out, are from researchers who have studied the comparative religiosity of men and women. Nelson and Potvin state that "sex role socialization has females being more likely than males to embrace religious orientations because these are tied to the feminine expressive role and because they will be the primary socializing agents of their children."¹⁰⁹ They go on to say religiosity has a less important role in the self-conception of boys. They also propose that the different socializing experiences of the sexes would suggest greater differences in the private rather than the public dimension of religiosity. Their research confirmed their hypotheses, including regional variations which they had predicted. They also discovered variation by denomination, and they state:

While sex role definitions among sectarians encourage religiousness in boys as well as girls, the reverse appears true among more churchlike groupings, especially on the more private or personal-experiential dimension of religiosity. Here girls scored significantly higher than boys in religiousness.¹¹⁰

This suggests that for Mormons we should expect to see relatively small

¹⁰⁸Thompson, "Gender Variations", 383.

¹⁰⁹Hart M. Nelson and Raymond H. Potvin, "Gender and Regional Differences in the Religiosity of Protestant Adolescents", *Review of Religious Research* 22.3 (1981): 271.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 279.

differences in religiosity between the sexes. As we shall see later, this is in fact the case. Although there are gender differences, they tend to be in behavioural areas of church activity, such as Institute enrolment.

The study by Suziedelis and Potvin of Catholic youth also confirmed socialization predictions. However, they acknowledge that there is still much that is unknown about these relationships. For example, "It may be that formation of religious beliefs, religious training and religious practice, insofar as they constitute an aspect of socialization, themselves have an influence on the development of sex-role identity."¹¹¹ Thompson supports this thought: "There is also the possibility that the causal direction is the other way around. It is probable that religious experiences affect gender perspective in some way."¹¹² Brinkerhoff and MacKie have argued this point of view in some detail, and their empirical study lends some support for it. One of their discoveries is that the relationship is strongly related to religious affiliation, and that of the churches studied, the Mormons tend to be the most traditional in gender attitudes. However this was not true of actual behaviour between husbands and wives.

married Mormon adults are highly traditional on gender attitudes *but* are highly egalitarian with regard to reported behaviors - division of household labor and familial decision making. How might this discrepancy between attitudes and behavior be explained?¹¹³

For one explanation, they refer to O'Dea's suggestion that there is a conflict in Mormonism between the social idealism inherent in Mormon beliefs, and a strong political conservatism.¹¹⁴ Whether this is true or not, we are introduced here to the first of a number of paradoxical elements in the Mormon faith, some of which will feature later.

¹¹¹Suziedelis and Potvin, "Sex Differences", 49.

¹¹²Thompson, "Gender Variations", 391.

¹¹³Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Marlene MacKie, "Religion and Gender: A Comparison of Canadian and American Student Attitudes", *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 47.2 (1985): 426.

¹¹⁴Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: Phoenix Books - The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 255.

Mormon Religiosity

As was noted earlier, Stott found that overall the religiosity of the Mormons in his study did not associate negatively with education. This has been demonstrated by others. However, as with almost every other area of religiosity, there have been some contradictory findings from a minority of researchers. It was pointed out in Stott's own study that one of the dimensions did show a negative association for some sections of Mormon students. Similarly, Hill and Muren, in a study of Mormon students in California¹¹⁵, found that twenty to twenty-three year-olds with three or more years at college showed a decline in religiosity. However, the other age groups studied (eighteen to nineteen and twenty-four to twenty-six), for whatever length of time at college, showed no significant change. Support for the decline in religiosity of some groups of Mormon students came from Warner, in a 1970 study.¹¹⁶ More recently, Madsen and Vernon came to similar conclusions in a longitudinal study at the University of Utah.¹¹⁷ They, like Hill and Muren, agree that the period of greatest change tends to be the third and subsequent years of study, which also finds some support in the work of Stott. Their study focuses particularly on the effect of campus religious organisations and highlights an important trend.

Campus religious group participation was found to be an important variable related to stability and change. Students who joined campus religious organizations were religiously more homogeneous and more orthodox upon entering college than those who did not join campus religious organizations. The college experience was related to a further accentuation of the initial difference in orthodoxy. Religious group participants tended to increase while the nonparticipants tended to decrease.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Sheril V. Hill and Joseph C. Muren, "The Impact of College Attendance Upon the Religious Attitudes, Beliefs and Practices of California Latter-Day Saint College Students", Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1970.

¹¹⁶ Ross W. Warner, "A Descriptive Study of the Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints to Further the Religious Life of Students as Found In Campus Stakes at Colleges and Universities", Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1970.

¹¹⁷ Gary E. Madsen and Glenn M. Vernon, "Maintaining the Faith During College: A Study of Campus Religious Group Participation", *Review of Religious Research* 25.2 (1983): 127-141.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

This supports the suggestion from Ozorak, Stott, Hunsberger and others, mentioned earlier, that a polarization takes place, that university accentuates religious positions established before the student enters higher education rather than initiating a sudden, radical change. Note that none of these studies show a straightforward negative relationship, and generally indicate that for several groups, and in some studies for most groups, higher education has no detrimental influence on religiosity in Mormon students.

Despite the reservations noted, the consensus from researchers is that in general Mormon college students are not influenced in the same way as most other students, and that for some of them religiosity actually increases during college. A comprehensive summary and assessment of Mormon social science research was undertaken by Bahr and Forste. In this they were critical of many studies for lacking scientific rigour. They classified their compilation of results into "facts", "probabilities", "possibilities" and "unknowns", depending on the reliability of the evidence presented, and this is what they said concerning religiosity and education.

Among the findings that seem to merit being called facts - most of them supported by results from small scale, nonrepresentative samples as well - are these . . .

Although most studies of correlates of religiosity among U.S. adults reveal an inverse relationship or no relationship between higher education and religiosity, among Mormon adults the relationship is direct: college-educated Mormons are *more* apt to attend church and to exhibit other manifestations of "high" religiosity than are less-educated Mormons.¹¹⁹

Partial support for this has been provided from early studies, such as by Alice Clark in 1965.¹²⁰ It is also supported by some of the studies mentioned above, such as those by Warner, Hill and Muren. Although these studies showed partial evidence for a contrary view, their overall conclusions agree with the Bahr and Forste statement. More complete evidence has been provided by more recent studies. In his 1989 study, Stan Albrecht suggests the following.

¹¹⁹ Howard M Bahr and Renata Tonks Forste, "Toward a Social Science of Contemporary Mormonism", *BYU Studies* 26.1 (1986): 92.

¹²⁰ Alice T. Clark, "A Comparison of Measured Change in Students at a Non-denominational Public University", Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1965.

However, in stark contrast to the pattern evident in these national survey data, our studies of Latter-day Saint samples demonstrate a strong positive relationship between level of education and religiosity. . . . Whether we are talking about financial contributions, frequency of personal prayer, or frequency of gospel study, the impact of increased education among Latter-day Saints is positive. These relationships also hold when we control for such variables as attendance at church-sponsored schools, geographic area of the country, and so on. the secularizing influence of higher education simply doesn't seem to hold for Latter-day Saints.¹²¹

It should be noted that the relationship held even when controlling for geographical area. Albrecht's results were based on a sample of six thousand Mormons throughout North America, including Canada, selected randomly from the Church's membership files. This is one of the few truly representative studies of Mormons conducted at a national level, and as such carries more weight than many of the smaller and more localised samples used by other researchers. It was also possible for Albrecht to compare areas of sparse LDS Church population with those of higher density which have been the traditional areas for research in the past. As such, it has relevance for this present study of Mormon students in the British Isles, where the Mormon Church is still relatively unknown and small in size. According to Albrecht, even in areas where Mormons are few in number, they do not succumb to the secularizing influence of higher education. This confirms an earlier observation by Marie Cornwall, from another nationwide survey, that for Mormons "the area in which one lives does not appear to have any substantial influence on personal or institutional religiosity."¹²² These two empirical conclusions contrast with the speculation of Bahr and Forste, who stated with respect to religiosity: "We suspect that contexts where Mormons are a statistically insignificant part of the population differ vastly from higher-density contexts."¹²³

An additional factor to consider for the British Isles is that the Mormon Church does not have the same position of respect and acceptance in Britain as

¹²¹ Albrecht, "Mormon Religiosity", 103.

¹²² Marie Cornwall, "The Social Bases of Religion: A Study of Factors Influencing Religious Belief and Commitment", *Review of Religious Research*, 29.1 (1987): 50.

¹²³ Bahr and Forste, "Toward a Social Science", 79.

in America. In America, even in areas where Mormons are few in number, the Church is often well known, and generally respected as part of the American heritage and establishment.

Albrecht's other interests in his 1989 study were religious disengagement and disaffiliation, and religion and family life. He discovered that for his sample, the critical risk of religious disengagement lies between the ages of 16–25.

Most frequently, the period of disengagement occurs during the teens or early twenties. The period of greatest risk is between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Patterns for men and women are a little different with the period extending a bit longer for men (from fifteen to twenty-eight) than for women (from seventeen to twenty-five).¹²⁴

This is of considerable significance for this study, since the majority of LDS college students are part of this vulnerable group. The most typical period of return is from the middle twenties to the middle thirties, when the individual takes on more responsible roles with such events as marriage. Batson and Ventis review other research in which the same phenomenon is observed, and comment as follows:

Apparently, for many people college brings about only a temporary decline in religious orthodoxy.

This pattern suggests that the effect of college may be largely due to shifts in reference groups. Leaving home and going to college, the student weakens ties with the home-town reference groups and comes under the influence of new ones, most notably other students and the faculty.¹²⁵

If this is so, we would expect to see higher levels of religiosity among students who remain at home, than among those who move away to study. As we shall see, this was not the case for respondents in this study. Interestingly, as was shown previously those who become disaffiliated were often marginal to start with. Furthermore, the factors which led to their disaffiliation were often not primarily or exclusively intellectual in nature, but involved circumstances of social conflict, family problems, and similar situations. From interviews with, and knowledge of LDS college students who dropped out of church during this study, it is evident *each one* was marginal in the Church to a greater or lesser

¹²⁴Albrecht, "Mormon Religiosity", 70.

¹²⁵Batson and Ventis, *The Religious Experience*, 44.

extent before going to college. This small group of about a dozen students, is, of course not a representative sample, but serves to endorse Albrecht's conclusions.

Many of those who drop out of Church activity for a period eventually return. By age sixty-five Albrecht predicts that a surprisingly high sixty-six percent of all Mormons will be active, committed members:

many Latter-day Saints will have a period during their lives when their beliefs or their desire to be involved in the community of the Saints may waver. Most who have such periods will eventually return; their disengagement is seldom permanent. Following Dean Hoge, we are reminded that "a researcher must begin with the view that religious change is often temporary, and usually it occurs in the process of other changes in the total life economy."¹²⁶

The important question, of course, is why the religiosity of Mormon students should relate to higher education in such a singular manner. Several explanations have been put forward, and this whole area will be considered in future chapters. One of the objectives of this current study is to discover if the same situation holds true in the British Isles where there appears to be a much stronger and more widespread trend in the erosion of religious values, and where society in general seems much less religious than in the U.S.A. At least this is so if religiosity is measured in terms of church attendance. As previously mentioned, some sociologists of religion, such as Bryan Wilson, believe that the high church attendance in America is due to factors other than religious commitment, and that the degree of secularization is at least as strong there as in Western Europe.¹²⁷

British Research

It should be noted that most of the references cited throughout this chapter have been from American sources. There has been much less work concerning the relationship between religiosity and higher education in Britain, though there has been some.

¹²⁶Albrecht, "Mormon Religiosity", 86.

¹²⁷Wilson, *Secular Society*, 109-149.

G.W. Pilkington and colleagues have shown that there has indeed been a massive erosion of religious values in Britain, at least among university students. Gould and McCourt replicated a study originally carried out in 1961 by Pilkington and Poppleton. This provided an insight into student religiosity over an eleven year period in the University of Sheffield. They comment as follows.

by 1972 as compared with 1961, there had been a massive and statistically significant movement away from religion on the part of the students. All the eight indices of religious belief, practice or attitude show this shift quite unambiguously. Particularly striking is the fact that, whereas in 1961 nearly three-quarters of the students described themselves as having some form of religious belief, by 1972 this proportion had fallen to just over half. . . .

. . . One might argue that those born in the early 1940s (the 1961 sample in general) are likely to have had a more conventional and stricter religious education than those born in the early 1950s (the 1972 sample in general). Support for this suggestion is the finding . . . that the proportion of respondents who report having had no religious upbringing rose significantly from 3.7 per cent in 1961 to 12.3 per cent in 1972.¹²⁸

This certainly supports the notion that there has been a considerable movement away from the churches and religion, at least among college students. However, this study has no non-college control group, and the nature of the procedure suggests that their findings may be, at least partially, a reflection of changes taking place in society as a whole over this period. In fact, their reference to changes in religious upbringing indicates that such is the case. The considerable societal changes over the decade in question might well be so great that other factors are masked. The researchers themselves suggested that one such complexity is likely to be a different mix of social classes attending university. The Pilkington study is therefore of more value in comparing two generations of college students than it is as an indicator of the impact of higher education on religious values over the eleven-year period. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the instrument used to measure religiosity in this study was somewhat limited, consisting of only seven items in a questionnaire.

¹²⁸ G. W. Pilkington et al., "Changes in religious beliefs, practices and attitudes among university students over an eleven-year period in relation to sex differences, denominational differences and differences between faculties and years of study", *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 15 (1976): 2-3.

These items mostly relate to behavioural aspects of religiosity such as church attendance, frequency of prayer, and membership of a religious group.

These cautions notwithstanding, within each individual study comparisons between the year groups were made and these do give us some insight into the issue at hand. The results were inconclusive for the proposition that religiosity is negatively associated with length of exposure to higher education, in both 1961 and 1972. Although the women in the 1972 survey showed a consistent drop in religiosity scores in successive year groups, the men did not, and even showed a small rise. The 1961 data show a small overall drop in religiosity, but in neither this survey nor the later one were the results statistically significant.

The researchers in this study reached a conclusion similar to that of Hunsberger, concerning the critical age of religious change.

In all, it seems likely that the important factors bringing about a movement away from religious belief and practice occur before students enter the University at all. Thus, from surveys of sixth-form pupils carried out in 1963 and 1970, Wright & Cox (1973) show that the greatest change occurs quite early and is noticeable among 17-year-olds. In fact, these authors suggest that 'the social forces which are hostile to religion have not so much been increasing in strength over the seven years in question as reaching down towards childhood.'¹²⁹

A further conclusion of Pilkington which supports our earlier observations is the fact women are more religious than men. Although both sexes showed the same dramatic fall in religiosity scores over the eleven-year period, the women consistently and significantly scored higher than the men for all items. This difference between the sexes has been discussed, and we will discover the situation for respondents this study in a later chapter. The results also support the suggestion of many researchers, that there has, in fact, been a marked trend of secularization in this country, certainly amongst university students, and probably in the general population.

Although the 1961 study was inconclusive, some trends were supportive of the general American research position that an erosion of religiosity takes

¹²⁹ Ibid., 3.

place during a university education.¹³⁰ In 1962 a follow-up longitudinal study by Pilkington, Poppleton and Robertshaw provided confirmation of this.

Argyle (1958) has summarised a number of investigations in America which seem to show that religious activities become less frequent and religious beliefs more 'liberal' among students during their early years at college. The authors cross-sectional study of 463 Sheffield students in 1961 gave some degree of support to the view that this tendency might also be true of students at British universities, at least those within the faculties of Arts and Pure Science. The longitudinal data reported above, however, confirm this tendency more convincingly.¹³¹

More recently, research by Leslie Francis has provided less ambiguous data concerning the relationship of education and religiosity in Britain. His study of 16 to 25 year olds was mentioned previously, in connection with gender and religiosity. This study reveals a clear falling-off of religious belief according to educational attainment.¹³² Over a wide range of measures graduates show consistently lower levels of religious commitment. For differences in secondary attainment (A levels, O levels and none) there is less consistency, but for higher education the distinction is clear. There is an interesting contrast between religious practice and belief, which Francis describes as follows.

In spite of the considerable differences in beliefs and attitudes, the graduate is just as likely to have attended church within the last year. The primary difference between the graduate and the non-graduate seems to be this. More of the graduates seemed to have rationalised their belief structure. That is to say that, although fewer graduates believe in God or consider themselves to belong to a church, those who do so are more likely to put their faith into practice and to be active members of a church and more regular church attenders.¹³³

Francis has been involved in a number of other studies which have included the topic of religious attitudes. Several of them have focused on the

¹³⁰ P. K. Poppleton and G. W. Pilkington, "The measurement of religious attitudes in a university population", *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 2 (1963): 30.

¹³¹ G. W. Pilkington, P. K. Poppleton and G. Robertshaw, "Changes in religious attitudes and practices among students during university degree courses", *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 35 (1965): 154.

¹³² Francis, *Youth in Transit*, 118-119.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 119.

secondary-school age group. His most recent work, completed in conjunction with William Kay, was also mentioned in the discussion on gender. This study suggests that the falling off in religiosity over years of higher education is reflected at the secondary level. The authors state:

The age trend shows a slight but consistent shift away from belief. Whereas 41% of year nine pupils believe in God, by year ten the figure has dropped to 37% and the reverse perspective shows an increase in those who do not believe in God in the same period from 24% to 28%.¹³⁴

There is nothing however to suggest why this trend exists; it need not necessarily be associated with education.

We should mention at this point that in contrast to the limited research regarding religiosity and higher education, there has been substantial work in Britain concerning the religious attitudes of secondary school pupils. Since the 1944 Butler Act made religious education compulsory in schools, increased interest in this area is not unexpected. Furthermore, it is recognized that adolescence is "the age of religious awakening, during which time people either become converted or decide to abandon their childhood faith, if they had one."¹³⁵ Understandably, it is an attractive and important age to study. There have been numerous studies, reports and books, ranging from Harold Loukes' *Teenage Religion*¹³⁶ to church reports such as *Young People and the Church*,¹³⁷ the data from which led to Leslie Francis' *Teenagers and the Church*.¹³⁸ It is interesting to compare this latter study with the more recent work by the same author, referred to above. It seems clear that in 1979 (the year of the survey) there was evidence of a sharp decline in religious

¹³⁴ Francis and Kay, *Teenage Religion*, 139-140.

¹³⁵ Michael Argyle and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Social Psychology of Religion* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1975), 59.

¹³⁶ Harold Loukes, *Teenage Religion: An Inquiry Into Attitudes and Possibilities Among British Boys and Girls in Secondary Modern Schools* (London: SCM Press, 1961).

¹³⁷ British Council of Churches Youth Unit, Working Party Report, *Young People and the Church* (London: British Council of Churches, 1981).

¹³⁸ Leslie J. Francis, *Teenagers and the Church* (London: Collins, 1984).

involvement by age; Francis comments as follows.

Roughly speaking, for every 24 thirteen or fourteen year old church-goers we can expect there to be 22 fifteen year olds, 19 sixteen year olds, 15 seventeen year olds, 11 eighteen year olds, 8 nineteen year olds and 7 twenty year olds. . . . 71% of the teenagers who go to church at age fourteen would have stopped doing so by the time they reach the age of twenty.¹³⁹

This very clear association with age is in contrast to the findings of this study, to be presented later, which show no association with age for an older group. The differences in sex which have been previously noted are confirmed by this study, with a higher participation from girls; furthermore, the mother was discovered to play the major role as far as church attendance is concerned.¹⁴⁰ The beliefs of those who attend church regularly seem to have diminished slightly over time. It is difficult to compare this study with the 1995 study directly, since the categories in which some results are presented are not quite the same, but it would appear that basic beliefs such as belief in God and in the divinity of Jesus Christ have reduced by two or three percentage points.

Few studies of religion and youth provide such comprehensive data as these reports by Francis, and many use a more impressionistic approach. For example, the General Synod report *Young Peoples' Beliefs*, by Martin and Pluck explicitly states that it does not intend to be "a statistical study in the sense of attempting to give a national picture from a representative sample."¹⁴¹ Such studies can provide excellent qualitative data at an individual level but don't really tell us much about religiosity generally. On the other hand, many studies of youth attitudes and behaviour which *are* representative often give limited attention to religious matters. For example, a 1983 HMSO report on young people includes a section on church attendance, but nothing else related to religious belief and practice. This study of fourteen to nineteen year olds revealed that

¹³⁹ Ibid., 29.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 36-37.

¹⁴¹ Bernice Martin and Ronald Pluck, *Young Peoples' Beliefs: An exploratory study commissioned by the General Synod Board of Education of the views and behaviour patterns of young people related to their beliefs* (London: General Synod Board of Education, 1988), 6.

26 percent of respondents had some kind of involvement with a church, but only 7 percent of the 26 percent attended ordinary church services.¹⁴²

The research with teenagers is interesting as background information, and the age range of some studies overlap with ours and has provided some relevant information. However, we are particularly concerned here with an older age group, and what happens to the religiosity they arrive at college with. We will therefore not explore this avenue of study much further. The three studies involving Poppleton, Pilkington and various colleagues have been virtually the only research conducted in this country during the past three decades on the specific subject of religiosity as it relates to higher education. Additional studies such as *Youth in Transit* by Francis, which include a section on religious attitudes of young adults have been few. One of these, by John McLeish included the subject of religious change over years in higher education, but at a rather superficial level. McLeish looked simply at declarations of church affiliation and discovered that over a three-year course 12 percent of students ceased to claim any religious affiliation.¹⁴³ Pilkington et al. comment that even prior to the 1960s little work of a substantial nature had been done.

During recent years there has been considerable discussion about the religious beliefs and practices of university students in this country. In particular, many have been concerned with the effects, if any, of different kinds of university courses upon the students' religious attitudes and activities. Unfortunately, much of this interesting speculation has been conducted informally and impressionistically on the basis of what casual observation, random interviewing and intuition seem to suggest the students are doing... It is true that some investigators have made incidental studies of students' religious practices when they were mainly concerned with other issues . . . but the amount of such work compares poorly with the numerous empirical enquiries into students' religious behaviour that have been carried out in America.¹⁴⁴

From the sparse research that has been done in the British Isles, the general American conclusion that religiosity is negatively associated with higher

¹⁴² Department of Education and Science, *Young People in the 80's: A Survey* (London: HMSO, 1983), 86.

¹⁴³ John McLeish, *Students' Attitudes and College Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge Institute of Education, 1970), 110-113.

¹⁴⁴ Pilkington, Poppleton and Robertson, "Changes in British Attitudes", 150.

education is not challenged. On the specific subject of Mormon religiosity and higher education, there has been no previous work at all in a British context, or in fact any context outside of North America. This not unexpected, since until recent decades the Mormon Church has been widely regarded as an American church. However, the LDS movement is now expanding worldwide at an unprecedented rate. Some of Rodney Stark's observations from his 1984 paper were mentioned in chapter one; he further comments:

Today there are more than 5 million Mormons on earth. How many will there be in the near future? Projections require assumptions. If growth during the next century is like that of the past, the Mormons will become a major world faith. If, for example, we assume they will grow by 30 percent per decade, then in 2080 there will be more than 60 million Mormons. But, since World War II, the Mormon growth rate has been far higher than 30 percent per decade. If we set the rate at 50 percent, then in 2080 there will be 265 million Mormons.¹⁴⁵

This prediction seems somewhat incredible, and of course the future development of any organisation is not necessarily a model of the past. Nevertheless, Stark's analysis and projections at least demonstrate an emerging stature which up to now, and especially outside North America, has not had widespread recognition. In the ten years since Stark's comments, the Mormon Church has grown from 5.4 million members to 9 million, a growth of 67 percent for the decade. In the British Isles, the present membership stands at about 170,000.¹⁴⁶ This suggests that the Church is an organisation worth rather more research than has been the case hitherto, and gives support for the timeliness of the present study. Almost all of the very considerable research and study of the Mormon Church has not only been confined to America, but to those parts of America where the Church is well established. Bahr and Forste, in their comprehensive and rather sharply critical survey of Mormon social research recognise this.

Our rough estimate . . . is that most research on contemporary Mormons has dealt either

¹⁴⁵Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith", *Review of Religious Research* 26 (September 1984): 23.

¹⁴⁶Statistics supplied to the author by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Public Communications Department, 751 Warwick Road, Solihull, 4 January 1996.

with sublocal samples such as local wards or stakes in regions where Mormons are a majority of the population, or with Utah considered as a whole, where Mormons are the predominant religion . . . Those geographic/ecological sites where most Church growth is taking place and where an ever-larger proportion of all Mormons reside, namely metropolitan areas where the LDS people are less than 1 percent of the population, are virtually ignored in contemporary research.¹⁴⁷

Thus one of the objectives of this study will be to compare the religiosity of Mormon college students in Britain, with similar research of Mormon populations in America. As was suggested previously, the situation is different in this country. Albrecht emphasises the difference between America and Western Europe in the perception of religion, and his observations are generally in accord with the findings of Pilkington et. al., given earlier.

While it is normative for Americans to report membership in a religious organization, this contrasts sharply with the pattern in Western Europe. In America it is generally recognized that religious denominations are 'culture-affirming institutions' that symbolize many of the values any 'good American' should hold. One simply does not find this assumption in much of Western Europe.¹⁴⁸

He then goes on to cite the British Isles as an example, drawing from the history of the LDS Church in this country. After great success in the 1840s and early 1850s, the number of converts suffered a precipitous decline from about the middle of the 1850s, which

closely followed a downturn in British society more generally. Cox describes how the 1850s were followed, first, by an increasingly powerful ethical revolt against Christian orthodoxy and then by the Darwinian revolution in thought, both of which made 'agnosticism respectable if not universal by the turn of the century.'¹⁴⁹

This decline continued steadily into the twentieth century, and has been well documented. Albrecht suggests that the decline seems to be part of the developed, industrial world, where the influence of science and education has the greatest impact. However, the fact that America is an exception to this general trend in the matter of church attendance is not entirely explained by the cultural and social theories proposed, suggesting that there is no simple

¹⁴⁷ Bahr and Forste, "Toward a Social Science", 104.

¹⁴⁸ Albrecht, "The Consequential Dimension", 95.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 98.

relationship, and that a trend from the sacred to the secular may not be an evolutionary inevitability.

It might be expected that in a British setting, in comparative isolation, and without the backup and social network of a strong Mormon community, British students will experience a greater struggle to maintain their faith. Overall, we would expect to see a decline in religiosity during the years in higher education. Anecdotal evidence suggests this is the case; teachers and Church workers, particularly those involved with CES (Church Educational System), lament the disappearance into inactivity ("inactive" is the Mormon term for those who, whilst still wishing to remain members of the Church, take little or no active part and attend Church infrequently or not at all), or even the total apostasy of young adults when they leave home for university. Indeed, the Church has introduced extensive programmes and allocated substantial resources precisely to cope with this challenge and provide support for college students. However, to date there has been no objective research whatever in this country, concerning the impact of higher education on the religiosity of Mormon young adults, or the effectiveness of programmes designed to support them.

Summary

Religiosity is an area of human activity that for some decades has been of more interest to social scientists than theologians. Consequently, much of this chapter has been involved with sociological observations.

In summary, religiosity is a complex phenomenon which until recently has suffered from imprecise definition and inexact research. Even now, there is still a lack of uniformity in conceptual frameworks and operational approaches. Nevertheless, there is a degree of consensus in some areas, such as the multidimensional nature of religiosity, even though the precise number and nature of the dimensions are not agreed. One problem, of which there is growing awareness, is that religiosity scales and measures and even the dimensions themselves may not have universal applicability across different religious

denominations. Since most research has been carried out with the implicit assumption that measures of religiosity are, in fact universal in scope, comparisons between various religious faiths, and between different studies may be problematic.

The above difficulties have resulted in a body of literature characterized by qualification and inconsistency. Nevertheless, there is reasonably broad agreement in some areas. For example, the importance of the home and parental influence is generally recognized, though the nature and extent of the relationships remain unclear. There is also general agreement that women are more religious than men, though explanations for this phenomenon remain tentative. Of particular relevance for this study, the proposition is also widely accepted that a negative association exists between religiosity and education. Higher education particularly is thought to exert a secularizing influence on college students. There is also broad agreement that Mormons are an exception to the above, at least in the U.S.A., and show either a positive association or no association between religiosity and education. This study will go on to examine why Mormons should be such a notable exception, and discover whether similar characteristics apply to Mormon students in the British Isles.

CHAPTER 3

THE MORMON CHURCH¹

This chapter is not an exhaustive examination of the Mormon faith; the main intention is to give the reader a sufficient background to set in proper context the empirical study which follows, and the more detailed discussion of specific issues of doctrine and practice which follows that. Much of the chapter is descriptive rather than analytical, based on study and observation by the author over some thirty years of involvement with the LDS movement. However some evaluative commentary is included, especially on issues which may have a particular bearing on central concerns of this study. For example, some relationships are suggested between characteristics of the Church and the response of students to secularizing pressures; however most of these suggestions are speculative in character, presented as possibilities rather than probabilities.

Theological Considerations

One of the problems we face in parts of this chapter is the substantial difference in language which exists between Mormonism and traditional Christianity. Douglas Davies, a non-Mormon theologian, highlights the issue in his study of the Mormon Church: "One particularly vital theological comment must be made at this point for it is not easy to use theological terms from the mainstream Christian traditions when evaluating or describing Mormon ideas."²

¹ Some material in this chapter is based on work submitted by the author in: Craig L. Marshall, "The Provision and Justification of a Volunteer-Based Religious Education Programme", M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1985. However, it has been considerably modified and expanded.

² Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, [1987]), 86.

Indeed, if "theology" is interpreted in its narrow meaning as a rational, academic study of the nature and being of God, it is questionable whether the Latter-day Saints possess a theology at all.

Though rationally structured, coherent, and ordered, the content of Latter-day Saint faith is not . . . derived from philosophical or scientific inquiries into the nature of things.

. . . Even when theology is seen as essentially descriptive or apologetic, it is not entirely at home in the LDS community.

Not having what has traditionally been understood as theology, Latter-day Saints instead have texts that describe theophanies and special revelations and contain inspired teachings. . . .

Latter Saints can scarcely be said to have much in the way of a dogmatic theology, though they sometimes informally borrow a Christian tendency to designate the whole of their beliefs and dogma by the label "theology".³

This epistemological tradition in the Mormon Church is further emphasised in the following quotation.

It is widely accepted by Latter-day Saints that gospel knowledge must ultimately be obtained by spiritual rather than exclusively rational or empirical means. . . . there is no clear counterpart to the Roman Catholic tradition of natural theology.⁴

The "texts describing theophanies" mentioned above provide a canon of beliefs which approach the modern idea of narrative theology. They are derived from the official history of the Church, a crucially important feature of faith for the LDS people, plus the writings and pronouncements of their prophet-leaders. Douglas Davies has explored this area in some detail, and comments as follows.

What I wish to point out here is that history seems to serve a function in Mormonism which doctrine or theology does in some other religions. . . .

The official history of Mormonism is the account of Joseph Smith's dealings with God. To any non-Mormon this will not count as actual history, as real events which took place, for they are, in fact, matters of belief.

. . . Mormon spirituality is thus grounded in the dual framework of official history and personal testimony. . . . The Mormon historian is, almost inevitably, set within the same situation as the theologian in other churches. . . .

In many ways it appears that Mormon history, or rather, history as it is used in Mormonism, is a type of narrative theology.⁵

³ Daniel H. Ludlow, Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), s.v. "Theology", by Louis C. Midgley.

⁴ Ibid., s.v. "Epistemology" by K. Codell Carter.

⁵ Davies, *Mormon Spirituality*, 61-62.

Of course this context for history is not unique to Mormonism. Honey and Peterson have described a similar tradition for many other societies and religious movements.⁶ Indeed, exemplar historiography as they call it is a paradigm of historical scholarship with a long tradition, still continuing today, though much out of fashion and largely supplanted by functional-structural historiography. Honey and Peterson describe tensions which exist in the Mormon academic community between historians of these different persuasions. They put forward a thesis that since the two are asking different questions and have different objectives, "they cannot compete but only complement each other. At the very least their interactions are usually irrelevant, not mutually exclusive."⁷ This brief treatment of the LDS church will not permit a more detailed account of Honey and Peterson's interesting paper. However, they agree with Davies concerning the official Mormon position, and say:

It is within the framework of this unabashedly teleological view of history that Latter-day Saints function *qua* Latter-day Saints. they view reality, define epistemology, choose modes of explanation, decide issues, and judge conduct on the basis of immediate moral application and ultimate eternal consequences within the framework of the "gospel plan."⁸

An examination of Honey and Peterson's study, and other thoughtful discussions of the subject demonstrate that a position such as this should not be construed to mean that Mormons avoid the application of reason, which of course is required in achieving coherence and developing the implications of revelatory material. Indeed, the systematic and rational nature of Mormon belief is a distinctive characteristic, which will be commented on later. Furthermore, we have been speaking above of the official Church position in these matters. Individual members have set forth their own analysis of the faith, and occasionally "such works approach systematic theology, in that they are

⁶ David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson. "Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History." *BYU Studies* 31.2 (1991): 139-179.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 151.

concerned with identifying truth, its structure, correspondences, and unity."⁹ Most such works, however, more closely resemble a dogmatic theology in their attempt to provide definitive answers for a variety of specific questions. Influential and popular though some of these works may be, they have no official standing and do not represent the authorized position of the Church. Nevertheless, some texts do have at least tacit recognition by Church leaders and are occasionally quoted in this study.

Historical Background

The importance of history in Mormon theology has been noted, and we will begin our examination with a brief historical sketch. This is a bare outline and as such is probably non-controversial, at least within the Mormon faith. The Church was founded in 1830, in America, by Joseph Smith. For the previous twenty or thirty years America had been subject to periodic waves of intense religious revivalism. The crusade started in the New England states and spread throughout the nation. Ministers of different Christian faiths united in their efforts to "convert the unconverted". The area of New York state where the Smith family lived became known as the "burned-over district", because of the intensity and frequency of the conversion programmes there.¹⁰ In the religious excitement and confusion young Joseph Smith could not decide which of the sects he should join, and in 1820 the fourteen year old boy sought guidance through prayer. The result of his prayer, he asserted, was a vision of the Father and Son, through which he was instructed to join none of the churches. As he grew older, he experienced more visitations, and finally he claimed to have received a bestowal of priesthood authority, and a divine commission to restore to earth the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, which had become corrupted and fragmented over the centuries. The importance of this account for Latter-day

⁹ Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, s.v. "Theology" by Louis C. Midgley.

¹⁰ Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the LDS Church to 1846* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), 11.

Saints cannot be overemphasised. The "First Vision" as it is called is a cornerstone of their religion, and together with the subsequent revelations claimed by Joseph Smith is an essential feature of their theology. It is second in importance only to the life and works of Jesus Christ, which they interpret in a literal manner from the New Testament narratives. J. Reuben Clark, a former member of the First Presidency, after a brief exegesis of these two areas of faith, made the following statement concerning them.

Without these two great beliefs the Church would cease to be the Church.

Any individual who does not accept the fulness of these doctrines as to Jesus of Nazareth or as to the restoration of the Gospel and Holy Priesthood, is not a Latter-day Saint. . . .

I have set out these matters because they are the latitude and longitude of the actual location and position of the Church, both in this world and in eternity.¹¹

The restoration story of Joseph Smith necessarily involved the rejection of traditional Christianity, which alienated many existing churches and ministers, and incited considerable bitterness and persecution. The opposition escalated to extreme mob violence, fuelled by various political and social factors, leading to the murder of Joseph Smith. The Mormon people, under the leadership of Brigham Young, fled to the remote security of the Rocky Mountains. Here they settled the Great Salt Lake Valley and surrounding territory virtually isolated from the rest of the world for a time, though always seeking converts at home and abroad with a strong evangelistic zeal. This resulted in considerable growth, despite the many social, political and physical difficulties involved in settling the territory. Not the least of these challenges was the polygamy issue. This had been known in the time of Joseph Smith, and had caused a degree of trouble, but it did not become a major problem until the 1870s and 80s.¹²

¹¹ J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "The Charted Course of the Church in Education", An Address to Seminary and Institute of Religion Leaders at the Brigham Young University Summer School in Aspen Grove, Utah, 8 August 1938 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1992), 2-3.

¹² Church Educational System, *Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989) 424-442.

Eventually the practice was abandoned in 1890 by manifesto from President Woodruff, after a long and exhausting battle with the Federal Government.¹³ The Mormons claim the Manifesto was a result of divine revelation to their prophet, but non-Mormons are more inclined to see it as capitulation to unprecedented legal and political pressure which eventually threatened the existence of the Church as an autonomous organization.

A period of consolidation and reconciliation followed the Manifesto, however the financial strain of the polygamy struggle had weakened the Church almost to the point of bankruptcy. By the turn of the century it was facing a major financial crisis, with debts of well over a million dollars. This was resolved by re-committing members throughout the Church to the principle of tithing, which had always been part of the gospel, but had been rather neglected for many years. This proved so successful that within eight years the Church was completely clear of debt.¹⁴ Tithing has remained ever since as the principal source of revenue for the LDS organisation. It is interpreted literally: members are expected to donate one-tenth of their income to the Church. That Mormons are prepared to do this is a measure of their commitment, which is partly because of their view of history, described earlier. We have only been able to give the bare bones of the story, but as we noted earlier it is important to realise how vividly Mormons perceive the hand of God in these and other events. For example, the re-commitment to tithing is viewed as a special revelation to their prophet, and the event is surrounded with faith-promoting, miraculous stories which are part of Mormon folklore and accepted as the literal truth by the LDS people.

With polygamy no longer an issue, and with a secure financial base, the Mormon Church was in a position to move forward, and the twentieth century has proved to be a story of success and growth. The total membership of the Church

¹³ *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sacred Scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 ed., "Official Declaration 1."

¹⁴ Church Educational System, *Fulness of Times*, 454-455.

at the time of this study is approximately nine million, with a world-wide annual growth rate of some 5 percent.¹⁵ Demographic trends predict that at some point in 1996 a majority of members will be living outside the United States. The LDS membership in the British Isles is approximately 170,000, growing at 3 percent per annum.¹⁶

Immigration had an important part to play in the consolidation and growth of the Church in the Salt Lake Valley. Foreign missions proved essential for strengthening membership at a time when persecution and anti-Mormon feeling was causing severe difficulties in America. The British mission was particularly fruitful in the middle decades of the last century. Indeed, for a period there were more Mormons in Britain than America. However, the clarion call was for members worldwide to emigrate to "Zion", to build up the Church in America.

By the end of the century, over 48,000 converts had emigrated from Britain; in the same period, approximately 110,000 were baptized in this country.¹⁷ However, those who remained were often the poorest, least well educated and least committed. The emphasis on emigration continued well into the twentieth century, and did not significantly change until 1958, when a Mormon temple (to be discussed later) was built in Britain. The LDS leadership began to discourage emigration shortly after the turn of the century; periodically they emphasised that converts should remain to build up the Church in their own countries, yet there was still considerable interest among members for "gathering to Zion". It took some fifty years for the momentum of emigration and the enthusiasm for the "gathering" to finally cease. One consequence of this trend is often overlooked. Although the Mormons have had a significant presence here for over 150 years, in many practical ways the

¹⁵ The First Presidency, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, "Statistical Report 1994", *Ensign* (May 1995), 22.

¹⁶ Statistics supplied to the author by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Public Communications Department, 751 Warwick Road, Solihull, 4 January 1996.

¹⁷ Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1984), 244-245.

British LDS Church is only thirty or forty years old. The massive flow of emigrants prevented the establishment of tradition and leadership. For most of its history in this country Mormonism was in a curious transitory state, dependent for leadership and continuity on American missionaries. As Richard Jensen suggests, "Until the practice of gathering was modified, the Church in the British Isles had little sense of permanence."¹⁸ Only in the last decade or two has the Church in Britain begun to approach self-sufficiency in local leadership.

The rejection of and consequent ostracism by other Christian churches, together with the initial period of physical isolation in the Salt Lake valleys, has encouraged a strong sense of independence in the LDS people which permeates all aspects of their culture, including education. The LDS view of education is of considerable interest for this study, and will be considered in detail shortly. It should be noted that the problem of acceptance by other Christians has been a challenge for members of the Church for many years, and is an important factor to consider when we examine the challenges facing LDS students in colleges and universities. The LDS Church teaches members to be part of, and contribute to the community in which they live. Acceptance and respect for other churches is also encouraged, and good relations with members and clergy of all denominations is sought. This can be somewhat difficult, however; the LDS doctrinal position towards other churches has changed little since 1830, and involves a proposition along the following lines: "We are the only true church on the earth with the authority to act in God's name; all other churches are wrong. You may have some truth in varying degrees of completeness and there may be much good in your religion, but only the Mormon Church has a fullness of truth, and salvation can only be achieved through the doctrines and ordinances of our Church". It can be a little difficult to establish positive relationships with such

¹⁸Richard L. Jensen, "The British Gathering to Zion", in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles*, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, Larry C. Porter (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 165.

an uncompromising philosophy. The practical expression of this doctrine in the lives of some Latter-day Saints demonstrates as much misunderstanding of it by them as by their non-Mormon neighbours. James R. Christianson, a prominent Mormon academic comments as follows:

Given the general prejudice many of us have against non-Mormon religions, is it possible we may have misread the intent and content of the Lord's statement to the boy Joseph Smith? . . . Believing that all are wrong in a total and irreconcilable sense has led some to a general condemnation of other professors of religion and hindered the development of a genuine Christian brotherhood with them. they claim our attention only if they are willing to listen, and our continued interest in them is often too exclusively conditioned upon their acceptance of our message.¹⁹

He goes on to make the plea: "God help us not to be so concerned with being right that we have no time or inclination for being good."²⁰ The following quotation by Grant Bangerter, one of the General Authorities, indicates that this perspective is shared by the senior leadership of the Church.

It is clearly apparent that have been and now are many choice, honourable, and devoted men and women going in the direction of their eternal salvation who give righteous and conscientious leadership to their congregations in other churches. Joseph Smith evidently had many warm and friendly contacts with ministers of other religions . . .

Are ministers of other religions inspired of God? Of course they are if they are righteous and sincere. . . .

Can ministers of other churches call forth blessings from God upon their people? Most assuredly they can and do. . . .²¹

Some Church members have difficulty relating to other faiths, and see them more as rivals than potential friends. This is not surprising, since despite the desire of the Church for peaceful and cooperative coexistence with other churches, and a recognition of the undeniable goodness that exists in other faiths, the belief concerning the pre-eminence of the Church over any others in matters of authority and doctrine remains a fundamental tenet of the Mormon religion. Although in many social, humanitarian and political issues the Church

¹⁹James R. Christianson, "Humanity and Practical Christianity: Implications for a Worldwide Church", *BYU Studies* 29.1 (1989): 39.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 43.

²¹William Grant Bangerter, "Its A Two-Way Street", fireside address given at the BYU Marriott Centre, Provo, Utah, on 4 August 1985.

may work alongside other churches, there is no possibility of the Church belonging to, or supporting any ecumenical council or movement designed to bring the Christian world together doctrinally.

An awareness of this basic, underlying position could create social barriers in the mind of a Mormon student, even before he is called upon to defend it. Such a theological stand has the potential to alienate him from both the religious students on campus and also the non-religious. Indeed, the former are actually more likely to react negatively. The Mormon student may therefore find himself out on a limb, ostracized by those who for most other religious students might be counted on for support, and left to fend for himself against the secular world. The fact that his Church teaches him to reach out and form friendships could be seen as a challenge rather than a help. No doubt many Mormon students achieve integration with a wide cross-section of students on campus; nevertheless, it would seem to require a particular combination of self-assurance, deep conviction and social adeptness to successfully cope with the situation. A Mormon student has some potentially difficult choices when interacting with non-Mormons. He may choose to moderate the theological position of the Church in order to win acceptance. However by so doing he will compromise his belief, and perhaps open himself to further rationalizations. On the other hand, if he strongly defends his belief, he runs the risk of rejection and isolation.

Classification: Sect or Cult? Christian or Non-Christian?

It is not immediately obvious how the Mormon Church should be classified. It was stated in the introduction that the common every day usage of terms such as "church" and "denomination" would be employed in this study, however we should give some brief consideration to a more technical definition for the LDS movement. The classification of religious groups has not developed into a universally accepted taxonomy. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the different approaches, for which Stark and Bainbridge provide an excellent

summary.²² Four main terms predominate: "church", "denomination", "sect", and "cult". Churches and denominations are often thought to share similar characteristics, as do sects and cults; the division between the two pairs of terms is usually thought of as being greater than that between the terms of each pair. However, there is no great measure of precision in these definitions and they are clouded by subjective values.

Church, denomination, sect and cult are the other widely used technical terms that refer to communities of faith.

. . . Yet these are vexing terms in which subjective rankings stubbornly inhere. . . . Descriptions of faith communities as churches or denominations are usually interpreted as expressions of respect, while descriptions of the same communities as sects or cults are generally thought to be expressions of disrespect, with *cult* being the more pejorative term.²³

Size is not necessarily a distinguishing feature, though in practice churches and denominations tend to be larger than sects and cults. Of more significance is the manner of origin of the movement, its organisational structure, doctrines, requirements for membership and its relationship with other religious bodies and the wider society of which it is a part. Of course, the size of the movement is likely to affect this latter relationship. Churches and denominations generally accept the social environment in which they exist, while sects and cults exist in tension with it. Bryan Wilson has suggested the following list of qualities as being typical of a sect.

it is a voluntary association; membership is by proof to sect authorities of some claim to personal merit - such as knowledge of doctrine, affirmation of a conversion experience, or recommendation of members in good standing; exclusiveness is emphasised, and expulsion exercised against those who contravene doctrinal, moral or organisational precepts; its self-conception is of an elect, a gathered remnant, possessing special enlightenment; personal perfection is the expected standard of aspiration, in whatever terms this is judged; it accepts, at least as an ideal, the priesthood of all believers; there is a high level of lay participation; there is opportunity for the member to spontaneously express his commitment; the sect is hostile or indifferent to the secular society and to the state. . . . the commitment of the sectarian is always more total and more defined than that of

²²Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 19-37.

²³Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 47.

the member of other religious organisations. The ideology of the sect is much more clearly crystallised than that of the denomination or church.²⁴

It will become clear as this chapter progresses than the Mormon Church fulfils many of these criteria. Indeed, Wilson refers to Mormonism as a sect in his work. However, it does not really fit any of the four classifications of sect which he subsequently defines, though it includes elements of some. In a later work he refined and added to these four descriptions; the new list entails seven categories: conversionist, revolutionist, introversionist, manipulationist, thaumaturgical, reformist and utopian.²⁵ Mormonism combines certain elements of all of them except perhaps the manipulationist and thaumaturgical categories, but it also differs in significant ways from each. In a chapter entitled "Some Exceptional Cases", Wilson describes Mormonism as "the many sided sect", and shows how the complexity of the movement makes neat classification difficult.²⁶ He mentions paradoxical elements in the Mormon faith in which it differs from many other sects. For example, the Puritan work ethic is a strong LDS tradition, yet this is "dissociated from the tensions of Puritan asceticism"²⁷ since Mormons place great value on recreational activities which other sects generally consider worldly. Sects are typically indifferent or hostile to the wider society; yet Mormonism stresses patriotism and enthusiastic involvement with civil and social institutions. Sects are often suspicious of education, but Mormons are strongly encouraged by their church in the wholehearted pursuit of education. These and other attributes of the movement will be described in more detail shortly.

Wilson also calls Mormonism a "churchly" sect, and describes it as having qualities "more characteristic of a long-instituted church than of a new sect."²⁸

²⁴ Bryan R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development", *Patterns of Sectarianism*, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann, 1961), 23.

²⁵ Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 37-40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 197-203.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 200.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 200.

He qualifies this, however, by pointing out that no matter how the movement has developed, its origins have been definitely that of a sect. This introduces the concept of time; geographical significance for classification will shortly be mentioned, but time also creates boundaries. For example, many observers would classify nineteenth century Mormonism as an adventist (Wilson's revolutionist) sect. Although millennialism is still an important part of LDS teachings, the explicit emphasis is so much less today that the movement could hardly be described in these terms. At one time it was a distinguishing characteristic, but such is no longer the case.

Definition and classification are to some extent a function of social context. Thus within Utah it would be odd to view Mormonism as a cult or sect, since as the majority religious faith it is so contiguous with the wider society and enjoys such universal acceptance. Indeed, the Mormons in Utah come closer to being a "church" there than many larger denominations elsewhere in the U.S.A. Stark and Bainbridge say this concerning the status of Mormonism:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints presents problems of classification. Clearly it is not just another Protestant sect. . . . the Mormon church has added so much novel doctrine to the Christian-Judaic tradition that it represents a new religious tradition in its own right, and there can be no doubt that this tradition is deviant.²⁹

Here they introduce the concept of deviance; by this they mean deviant from predominant religious traditions. For Stark and Bainbridge, a sect is always a schism from an existing tradition, whereas a cult is a movement arising from a novel doctrinal position, usually associated with charismatic leadership. They therefore plump, despite the anomalies, for cult status for Mormonism. However, they point out that if the population of Utah was taken into account, this would become problematic. They therefore remove Utah from their comparative calculations, but even having done this they go on to say, with reference to the membership density of cults throughout America:

Why are Mormons an exception to this pattern? We think the answer is that Mormonism often acts more like a sect than a cult and that it appeals to a different population segment than do most other novel religious movements.

²⁹ Stark and Bainbridge, *Future of Religion*, 245.

. . . Mormons tend to convert whole families, not isolated individuals. Moreover, Mormonism is a very strong religious organisation in the sense that it deeply immerses members in a dense and active subculture of believers. In these ways, Mormonism more closely resembles militant Protestant sects than most cults.³⁰

Jan Shipps is another researcher who finds some difficulty in classifying the Mormon religion. She says that Mormonism has "moved along the rigorous and treacherous path from cult to religious tradition"³¹ and that the "transition from cultic movement to religious tradition follows the pattern by which other traditions made the transition [including Christianity]."³² She then states, after reference to unique Mormon eschatology:

When this theological conception is added to the peculiar understanding that Saints have of themselves and their Hebraic-Christianness, which grew out of their past as peculiar people, it becomes as clear as can be that, nomenclature notwithstanding, Mormonism is a new religious tradition.³³

Shipps implies that Mormonism is no longer a cult, since she describes a transition from this. She associates the term "religious tradition" with Christianity, and thereby implies it is to be used parallel with and not instead of sect, denomination and church. However, the question is left open as to whether Mormonism is a church, denomination, sect, or some other category. For the purposes of this study, and in the specific context of the British Isles, classification is not quite so complex as it seems to be in America. Although it does not fit precisely it has been stated that Mormonism agrees remarkably well with Bryan Wilson's definition of sects. Wilson himself points out that definitions of this kind cannot hope to be exact. We therefore suggest that Wilson's generic classification should be accepted and that by this description, for the British Isles, Mormonism is clearly a religious sect.

We now turn to the question of whether or not the LDS movement is Christian. Christ is certainly the centre of the Church's doctrine and liturgy,

³⁰ Ibid., 246-247.

³¹ Shipps, *Mormonism*, 51.

³² Ibid., 65.

³³ Ibid., 149.

and Mormons would argue strongly that they are indeed followers of Jesus Christ and hence Christians. However, the Church departs in crucial areas from traditional Christian creeds and dogma, despite a somewhat fundamentalist approach to the Bible. For example, the Church accepts other books, in addition to the Bible, as scripture, notably the Book of Mormon. The LDS Church regards this as a volume of sacred writings of the ancient inhabitants of the Americas, abridged by one of their last prophets, Mormon, and translated with divine help by Joseph Smith. The record describes a people of Jewish origins, living with the expectation of a Messiah, and to whom the resurrected Christ appeared, establishing a Christian church parallel with that in the Old World. Such beliefs set the LDS Church beyond the pale, for many Christian leaders, who consider them so unorthodox as to place the Church outside the Christian fold altogether.

In a recent essay, Jan Shipps has pointed out the complex nature of the question. She suggests that asking whether *Mormons* are Christians is not necessarily the same as asking whether *Mormonism* is Christian.³⁴ She submits that if the inquirer is thinking in terms of analogy, analysis or historiography, then perhaps the queries are the same. However, if the question is more theological or religious, there is usually a normative implication. In this case not only should the two questions be treated separately but the answer is more problematic:

definitive answers to normative questions assume the reality of discoverable norms . . . In the absence of a single source of authority whose nature is universally respected, I believe that humanity has to struggle along with provisional rules and standards. thus, I conclude that definitive answers to normative questions are not forthcoming in the sort of pluralistic situation in which the contemporary world finds itself. All my years of study notwithstanding, if the question of whether Mormonism is Christian is a normative one, I do not presume to provide a normative answer.³⁵

However, from a socio-historical point of view, Shipps is more confident that a reasoned response can be given, and she suggests that

³⁴ Jan Shipps, " 'Is Mormonism Christian?' Reflections on a Complicated Questions", *BYU Studies* 33.3 (1993): 439.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 441.

just as the early Christians believed they had found the only proper way to be Jews, so the early followers of the Mormon Prophet believed they had found the only proper way to be Christians. . . . The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is best understood as a form of corporate Christianity which is related to *traditional* Christianity -- that is, the existing Protestantism, Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy -- in much the same way that early Christianity was related to Judaism.³⁶

Certainly, the Church does not fit comfortably with either Catholic or Protestant traditions, and makes no pretence of doing so. Neither does it seem to relate well with modern evangelical sects. In a 1984 paper Rodney Stark said the following.

Indeed, it was in Nauvoo that Smith revealed the full scope of his revelations thus giving final form to a Mormon theology that clearly made it a *new* religion. the *Book of Mormon*, first published in 1830, may not have added enough doctrinal novelty to the Christian tradition to have made Mormonism more than a Protestant sect. The doctrines revealed in Nauvoo, however, added as much novelty to Christianity as it, in turn, had added to Judaism.³⁷

Nevertheless, there are many similarities between Mormon doctrine and that of traditional Christianity, as Johnson and Mullins suggest:

Any consideration of LDS ideas and practices as outside the mainstream must be balanced with a healthy respect for ways in which official Mormon belief and practice are solidly within the broader parameters of the Christian tradition. Certainly Mormons consider themselves monotheists, trinitarians, and Christian. They regard Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ, the son of God. They regard the Bible as a very important sacred text. Such factors should not be overlooked in assessing the LDS tradition. Clearly some Christian groups have failed to appreciate such matters.³⁸

Johnson and Mullins, however, agree with Stark that there are some major differences.

In sum, the evidence presented here indicates Mormons make a strong statement of acceptance of many commonly held Christian beliefs while at the same time maintaining other theological beliefs clearly outside accepted Roman Catholic and Protestant beliefs. Differences between Mormons and other groups studied are greater than differences reflected between Roman Catholic and Protestant groups studied.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid., 441.

³⁷ Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith", *Review of Religious Research* 26.1 (1984): 19.

³⁸ Martin Johnson and Phil Mullins, "Mormonism: Catholic, Protestant, Different", *Review of Religious Research* 34.1 (1992): 53.

³⁹ Ibid., 60.

It would seem that a reasonable statement, acceptable to Mormons and many researchers is that Mormons are Christians but neither Catholic, Protestant nor Orthodox. For some, this is a contradiction in terms, and in order to be considered Christian it is necessary to be one of the three traditions. It is this feeling that has caused much bitterness and controversy, and created a rift between Mormons and many other churches, especially in the early days of the Mormon Church, but persisting even today. This is revealed in the prejudice which may still occasionally be observed, even at an academic level as the following comment from Rodney Stark (a non-Mormon sociologist) illustrates.

I continue to be astonished at the extent to which colleagues who would *never* utter anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic or even anti-Moslem remarks, unself-consciously and self-righteously condemn Mormons. It is time we did better.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, it *is* true, as we have indicated, that there are considerable differences between Mormonism and mainstream Christianity. Furthermore, these differences exist at a fundamental theological level, as we shall now see.

Creation and the Nature of God

A distinction by Jan Shipps was referred to earlier, between *Mormons* and *Mormonism*. We have said that Mormons follow the teachings of Christ and see him as their Saviour, in the manner of most Christians. From the point of view of the practical Christian gospel in ordinary everyday life, it would be hard to deny their claim to be Christian. However, the nature and being of the God they worship is radically different from the God of traditional Christianity. It is when such beliefs are examined that we can see the point of theologians who refuse to accept Mormons as fellow Christians. It is not only in the matter of new scripture such as the Book of Mormon that differences exist; there are significant differences at the most basic levels of Christian theology.

The roots of Christian theology, from the early Church Fathers, through Origen to Augustine and beyond have little relevance for the Mormons. They

⁴⁰Stark, "A New World Faith", 27.

claim no allegiance to the dogma and creeds which emerged from the Councils of Nicaea and other general councils of the Christian Church. It is their claim that an apostasy from the Gospel of Christ set in rapidly following the death of the apostles, and they accept no writing or teaching as authoritative other than that from the New Testament authors. Any study of early Christian theologians is by individual members and has no official standing. Typically, such authors will draw attention to minority, heretical or very early views which agree with LDS beliefs, and cite them as residual evidence of truths which have been lost or corrupted. For example, Origen's belief in the pre-existence of souls⁴¹ could be offered as support for the Mormon belief in a pre-existent life, although the two views differ considerably in detail. Hugh Nibley, a popular Mormon writer and scholar claims to find support for the Mormon position in a wide range of doctrinal issues, including baptism for the dead and other Mormon temple rituals, from his study of early Christian writers and teachers.⁴²

Nowhere is this difference between Mormonism and traditional Christianity more significant than in the creation story and the concomitant doctrine concerning the nature of God. This is of fundamental significance, indeed "The biblical view of creation is so familiar to us that its role as the foundation of all Christian theology may not be apparent."⁴³ The major Christian traditions interpret Genesis as describing a creation *ex nihilo*, the universe of which we are part was called into being by God out of nothing. From this it is concluded that God is fundamentally different in nature and substance from his creation, that he is the only self-existent entity, that matter and energy as we know them are finite in space and time. This ontological distinction is not accepted by Mormons. For them, Genesis describes the organisation of pre-existent chaotic matter into form and order; such matter is infinite and eternal

⁴¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1971 ed., s.v. "Origen", by Henry Chadwick.

⁴² Hugh Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company and Provo: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1987) and *Mormonism and Early Christianity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company and Provo: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1987).

⁴³ Diogenes Allen, *Philosophy for Understanding Theology* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1985), 1.

in nature and co-extensive with God. In this view they have more in common with the Greek philosophy of Aristotle and Plato than Augustinian Christianity. It has far-reaching consequences; for example, as Douglas Davies has pointed out,

Mormon doctrines of Jesus Christ are intrinsically different from traditional Christologies which distinguish between the very essence of God and Man, . . . The theologically and historically important expression that Jesus as the Son of God was "of one substance" with the Father, or *homoousios* as it is in the Greek, is quite redundant in Mormon theology.⁴⁴

Mormons reject the traditional Christian concept of the Trinity. For them, the Godhead consists of three distinct and separate individuals, united in purpose but not in body. The Father and his Son Jesus have glorified physical bodies, but the Holy Ghost is a spirit, as was Jesus before the incarnation. In LDS doctrine the resurrection of Jesus is taken literally, as a permanent physical reality, and though a resurrected body has different properties and powers than a mortal body, it is nonetheless physical in substance. Eventually, according to LDS teaching, we will all follow the same path and be resurrected, through the power of the Saviour's resurrection. Resurrection, in Mormon theology, is not synonymous with salvation. All who have ever lived on earth will be resurrected, this being a gift to all mankind whether good or bad, but the degree of exaltation is determined by the kind of life we live here, and the obedience we give to the commandments and ordinances of God.

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the Mormon concept of terms such as "infinite", "eternal" and "omnipotent" is unusual. God is omnipotent only within laws of which he himself is a part: he cannot contradict his own nature. This is not a particularly unusual theological concept, of course. It is widely accepted in many theologies that omnipotence does not mean that God can do something which is logically impossible, such as create a square circle, to use a familiar example.⁴⁵ However, the associated LDS doctrine concerning the

⁴⁴ Davies, *Mormon Spirituality*, 86.

⁴⁵ C. Stephen Evans, *Philosophy of Religion: Thinking About Faith* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1982), 34.

relationship of human beings to God is certainly unusual; according to this, we are all co-eternal with God: creation *ex nihilo* cannot happen, in Mormon theology. Life cannot be created or destroyed, neither can matter. We became spirit offspring of God by his initiating a process of change in us from a previous form of existence, about which we know nothing. This implies a quite different definition of deity from any that are normally employed in Christian theology. God ceases to be the only necessary, self-existent entity; all sentient beings appear to share this same characteristic. The creation process is to do with the organising of existing things from one state of existence into another. This applies to all things, not just living creatures. The earth was created from already existing matter or energy, of which presumably there is an infinite supply. The following quotations are from the Doctrine and Covenants, written largely by Joseph Smith.

Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be. . . .

For man is spirit. The elements are eternal, and spirit and element, inseparably connected, receive a fullness of joy.⁴⁶

There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes.⁴⁷

From this necessarily brief outline, and that which follows, something of the systematic nature of Mormon doctrine may be glimpsed; it appeals to the reason of man because it is reasonable, despite a superficially fundamentalist approach. Fundamentalism in the LDS Church has more to do with attitude than content. There is a deep reverence for the factual account of the Bible, but this is tempered with the qualification "as translated correctly."⁴⁸ Interpretation is subject to the authority of revelation through their prophet rather than the literal meaning of words in the text. Thus, for example, Mormons do not accept

⁴⁶ *Doctrine and Covenants*, sacred scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 ed., 93:29,33.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 131:7

⁴⁸ *Pearl of Great Price*, Sacred Scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Articles of Faith:8.

that the creation was accomplished in six twenty-four hour days; however they *do* believe that there was a creation, and that God is the creator. They believe in the literal existence of Adam and Eve, but that elements of the Adam and Eve story are figurative. However, current revelation is understood as a literal fact, and has a crucial position for the Church at all levels. It is regarded as the primary source of truth, rather than scriptural texts, or a rationally satisfying theology. Nevertheless, such a theology may be of help to the university student, striving to come to terms with his faith in relation to his reason. The LDS view of the relationship between faith and reason is represented well by the following quotation.

Though argument does not create conviction, lack of it destroys belief. What seems to be proved may not be embraced; but what no one shows the ability to defend is quickly abandoned. Rational argument does not create belief, but it maintains a climate in which belief may flourish. (Austin Farrer on C. S. Lewis)⁴⁹

The relationship between faith and reason has been explored by several writers. James Fowler in his work on faith development has pointed out that knowledge through faith does not invalidate knowledge through reason.

to attend to these more affective, imaginative and holistic modes of knowing does not *negate* the part played by the operations of the logic of rational certainty. It does not mean a capitulation to unbridled fantasy or subjectivity, nor does it mean a relinquishing in faith of the critical role of rational reflection. Rather the challenge is to see how rational knowing plays the crucial role of conceptualizing, questioning and evaluating the products of other modes of imaginal and generative knowing.⁵⁰

Fowler also suggests that faith is a larger form of knowing than cognition, that it transcends but also includes it, and says "we must not capitulate to critics who see this as representing an anti-rational or irrational understanding of faith."⁵¹ Mormon theology would certainly accept this: there need be no

⁴⁹ Dallin H. Oaks, "The Historicity of the Book of Mormon", Speech delivered at the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies Annual Dinner, Provo, Utah, 29 October 1993, F.A.R.M.S., Provo, Utah.

⁵⁰ James W. Fowler, "Faith and the Structuring of Meaning", in *Faith Development and Fowler*, ed. Craig Dykstra and Sharon Parks (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1986), 24-25.

⁵¹ James W. Fowler, *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 103.

incompatibility between reason and faith. The Mormon view is that each will never contradict the other in any ultimate sense; apparent conflicts will eventually be reconciled as new scholarship or new revelation reveal fresh knowledge, or new ways of understanding existing knowledge. Temporary disharmony might occur when reason arrives at false conclusions, or when faith is inadequately developed. Disharmony between faith and reason, however it may be caused is clearly a situation that students may find exacerbated in a university setting. A logical question when considering this issue is: "what stage of faith?" Mormons could accept Fowler's general proposition that faith is developmental in nature, but not necessarily his model with its stage descriptions. The Mormon perception of faith and reason is such that they would have no difficulty accepting the relationship of faith development and Piaget's cognitive stages, proposed by Fowler. However, their concept of faith is much narrower than Fowler's, and in LDS theology the only legitimate kind of faith is religious in nature, whereas Fowler's object of faith, his "shared centre of value and power" need not involve the existence of God at all.⁵²

As might be inferred from the previous account of some LDS beliefs, the Mormon concept of faith, even in its highest form, includes the strong fundamentalist element of the literalism of Fowler's stage two and also the authority oriented elements of stage three. However, they also aspire to some of the liberalizing characteristics of stages four and five. Green and Hoffman have suggested that "A social psychological perspective on faith development would focus, in part, on individuals' perceptions of their group memberships."⁵³ They suggest that stages two and three will tend to result in the rejection of outside groups, and four and five will help in the acceptance of others. Given the combination described for Mormon faith, therefore, we might predict a paradox, such as was described for the university student, desiring on the one

⁵² Ibid., 4, 16-31.

⁵³ Charles W. Green and Cindy L. Hoffman, "Stages of Faith and Perceptions of Similar and Dissimilar Others", *Review of Religious Research* 30.3 (1989): 247.

hand to reach out to others, but at the same time constrained from doing so. Other important issues concerning faith will be explored in more detail in a subsequent chapter. The essential point to be made at this stage is the broad agreement in Mormon belief that faith includes systematic, rational processes and that although it goes beyond cognitive means of knowing and awareness, it need not be in conflict with one's intellectual activity.

The Family and the Purpose of Life

The preceding explanation of the systematic approach in the Mormon understanding of the purpose and meaning of life is involved in the strong emphasis on families in the LDS faith. The Mormon stress on family values is not just a response to a loss of traditional Christian standards. The whole concept of salvation for the Mormons is intimately bound up in family ties and responsibilities. The life after this will continue a social organisation based on the family. God is seen as a perfect father and husband. Hence a strong encouragement for religious teaching in the home. The ideal LDS family will be actively involved in daily family prayers, blessing of food at meals, Bible reading and religious discussion. All worship services are for the whole family, and Sunday School provides for all age groups. In this sense, Mormonism is quite close to the popular image of Judaism, a religion which is an entire way of life, where theology permeates decisions and actions on a day-by-day basis, and where the family is pre-eminent. Naturally, the extent to which the ideal is realised will vary between families, and one of the objectives of this study will be to determine the influence of the family on the religious beliefs and practices of college students. Since there is such a strong emphasis on religion in the home for LDS families, our hypothesis is that home background will show a strong association with religiosity for the respondents.

The family has always had a distinctive and strongly formative place in the doctrine of the LDS Church. The family is seen as the basic unit of society, the Church, and in fact, of Heaven also. In LDS doctrine, families continue in the life after this. One consequence of this is the great emphasis placed on

genealogical activity in the Mormon Church. Parenthood is regarded as the highest and noblest of life's opportunities. Presidents of the Church have consistently affirmed this position. A statement by the ninth president, David O. McKay, is a well-known catchphrase in the Church; "No other success can compensate for failure in the home."⁵⁴ A similar statement, from the eleventh president, has received similar prominence:

The most important work you will ever do will be the work you do within the walls of your own home. Home Teaching, bishopric's work and other church duties are all important, but the most important work is within the walls of your home.⁵⁵

This philosophical stance is difficult to live up to, especially in a religion where so much time out of the home is required of so many. In fact, the conflicting demands on time from different areas of the same faith can create considerable tensions in some families and individuals. This is attested to by the more-or-less constant exhortations given by Church leaders. Scarcely a month goes by without articles on family relationships, raising children and related topics in Church periodicals.

For many people, the Mormon emphasis on families is one of the most attractive features of the religion. Furthermore, a family-like closeness is generated by the intimacy of relationships in a typical Mormon congregation. David Martin suggests that the family is a relatively stable repository of values and relationships in an increasingly fragmented, depersonalised world. He claims that some religious groups, including the Mormons, with their emphasis on the family and family-like social groupings will appeal to the need for identity and security represented by traditional home life.

The one form of social organization which remains relatively resistant to binding on a purely instrumental basis is the family. In the sphere of the family intrinsic motives remain comparatively secure. So it is here that religion finds a contemporary point of attachment, because there is some degree of overall coherence and the image of the world remains personal. . . .

⁵⁴ David O. McKay, *Conference Report, April 1964* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1964) 5.

⁵⁵ Harold B. Lee, *Strengthening the Home* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1973) 7.

. . . the fragmented detritus of contemporary social organization is partly picked up by close intimate sects like Witnesses and Mormons, offering substitutes for the experience of the family.⁵⁶

The reason for such emphasis on the family is rooted in the LDS doctrine concerning the nature of God and the purpose of life. The Fatherhood of God is understood in a literal sense; Mormons believe that mankind existed in a pre-earth life as the spirit children of God. Life itself is conceived to be eternal in nature: we have always existed, and always will exist as an individual, sentient entity. The Church teaches that we are in a process of progression from one state of existence to another, the object of which is to become like God. A famous Mormon couplet, attributed to Wilford Woodruff, the fourth president, is: "As man is, God once was; and as God is, man may become." It can be seen why in the early days of the Church, the cry of "blasphemy" was heard, which together with other factors created so much opposition from the Christian world. It can also be seen why researchers such as Jan Shipps, quoted above, talk of Mormonism being a new religious tradition. The LDS definition of God is unlike that of any other Christian faith. Anthropomorphism is extended to suggest that not only is God *like* man, he once *was* a man; furthermore, each person on earth has the potential to become a god. Belief in an eternal cycle of progression such as this leads to the inevitable conclusion that there must be many gods, perhaps an infinite number. However, Mormon doctrine goes no further on the issue, except to state, unequivocally, that as far as this earth and this universe is concerned, there is only one Godhead, which is supreme, omnipotent and omniscient. If other gods exist, we have nothing to do with them; they are not part of the creation of which we are part; they are unknown and unknowable; we have no interaction with them, and speculation concerning them is fruitless. In every practical sense in terms of normal worship and devotion, Mormonism is monotheistic.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 89-90.

⁵⁷ Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, s.v. "Godhood" by K. Codell Carter.

The Temple

The significance of the temple is a central theological issue which is closely related to issues of the family, and the purpose of life. Even though some students may not be eligible for temple worship because of age or circumstance, Church teachings are such that it should be an important goal for them to work towards. In particular, single adults are taught that temple marriage is essential for salvation, and therefore the only satisfactory kind to plan for.

The temple is reserved for certain ceremonies and teachings which are not part of normal weekly worship. It will be remembered that Mormons believe in the continuance of family ties in heaven, and that the family will form the basis of society in that future life. However, it may also be recalled that the Mormons have a particular view of authority, and that the saving ordinances must be performed in the right way, with appropriate authorization. The continuance of the marriage covenant therefore, according to Mormon belief, is only possible when performed in the correct manner, which means in one of the Mormon temples, by someone with the "sealing power". Temple marriage is not something, like civil marriage, that can be performed by a Mormon bishop. A limited number of temple officials receive the authorization to perform the ceremony from the First Presidency of the Church. In countries where civil law permits it a temple marriage can also function as a civil marriage. However, in countries like England, which require marriages to be performed in some public place this is not possible. Temples are not open to the general public, like Mormon chapels. Indeed, they are not open to all Mormons; it is necessary to reach a minimum level of faithfulness in observance of Church teachings, and to have been a member of the Church for at least one year. Following a satisfactory interview, members are issued with a certificate of authorization, called a "temple recommend", which will gain them entry to any of the Church's temples. The possession of a current recommend, which is renewed annually, has become an important attribute of worthiness and conformity.

For a faithful Mormon in this country, the procedure for marriage would first entail a church wedding, somewhat in the conventional manner. Normally

such marriages are performed by the bishop. Although this event has the usual celebratory character of a normal Christian wedding, it is regarded as a legal formality, rather than the "true" wedding. Following their church wedding, the couple will travel to the temple as soon as possible, often on the same day, and participate in a second marriage ceremony, or "sealing", in which, according to Mormon belief, the marriage union is joined not only for this life, but also for the next. Much less pageantry is associated with the temple ceremony, and a smaller number of relations and friends will be present: seldom more than twenty or thirty, and often as few as nine or ten of the couple's closest acquaintances.

Since non-Mormons are denied entrance to the temple, it follows that a marriage between a Mormon and a non-Mormon cannot be sealed in the temple, unless the non-member partner joins the Church. For this reason, Mormons are very strongly encouraged to marry within the faith. This ideal is taught to LDS children from an early age, and the concomitant teaching is that LDS youth should only, or predominantly date members of their own faith. This can be a source of frustration in countries where the Church is thinly scattered. It partially explains the considerable mobility of young adults (to be discussed later), and their willingness to travel long distances for dances and social events. These teachings concerning marriage are set in the wider context of the primacy of the home and family. They contribute to the sense of exclusiveness and community that so many other beliefs referred to here also reinforce. A strong, committed Mormon couple whose child married outside the faith would normally be troubled and unhappy about the match, and would fervently hope that the non-member spouse would eventually be converted.

Temple worship includes more than marriage, although for many people, marriage and the sealing of families is the crowning fulfilment of their Church experience. The central ordinance of the temple is in fact the "endowment". This is a lengthy and detailed ritual, which is required before a temple marriage can be entered into.

The endowment of "power from on high" in modern temples has four main aspects. first is the preparatory ordinance, a ceremonial washing and anointing, after which the temple

patron dons the sacred clothing of the temple.

Second is a course of instruction by lectures and representations. These include a recital of the most prominent events of the Creation, . . . All participants wear white temple robes symbolizing purity and the equality of all persons before God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ.

Third is making covenants. The temple endowment is seen as the unfolding or culmination of the covenants made at baptism. . . .

Fourth is a sense of divine presence. . . . In the temples there is an "aura of deity" manifest to the worthy . . . Temple ordinances are seen as a means for receiving inspiration and instruction through the Holy Spirit, and for preparing to return to the presence of God.⁵⁸

As may be inferred from this, temple worship involves a great deal of symbolic ritual which is largely absent from normal Sunday worship. The temple is regarded as the place of the most sacred and important of LDS teachings and ceremonies. They are consequently emphasised and expressed through the elaboration of symbol in dress, action and instruction. Much of this instruction is to do with the nature and purpose of the creation, and our relationship with God. Earlier we commented on the distinctive Mormon conception of God and the creation, in which the traditional Christian distinction between matter and spirit is redundant. In this connection, Douglas Davies made the following observation concerning temple activity.

Time and Eternity are categories which replace the normal dichotomy between matter and spirit in orthodox churches. If Roman Catholic sacramentalism is exemplified best in the doctrine of the Mass, then Mormon "Sacramentalism" is best viewed in its doctrine of the Temple. . . .

What goes on in Mormon temples . . . opens out the entire flow of cosmic duration far beyond the period of life on earth. Not only is the pre-existence of human souls a central idea in teaching given at temples . . . Temples furnish the appropriate context on earth in which to prepare for and initiate eternal duties and outlooks.⁵⁹

One further item concerning the temples is important in helping to further clarify the Mormon position in relation to families and authority. This is the concept of vicarious ordinances, or work for the dead. Mormons believe that baptism, confirmation, ordination and the various temple ordinances are

⁵⁸ Daniel H. Ludlow, Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), s.v. "Endowment", by Alma P. Burton.

⁵⁹ Davies, *Mormon Spirituality*, 81.

essential for all mankind. This is not a unique position; other Christian faiths maintain that baptism is essential for salvation. Historically, the unbaptized were often denied burial in consecrated ground, and in some theologies were denied entrance to paradise. However, unique in Mormon teaching is the notion that those who do not have the opportunity of accepting Christ in this life will have the opportunity in the next, and that the necessary rites may be performed vicariously by living persons for their dead ancestors. There is evidence that this practice existed in the early centuries of Christianity, from writers such as Tertullian, Epiphanius and Ambrose;⁶⁰ however it was judged heretical and abandoned. It is therefore a further doctrinal division between the Mormon Church and the contemporary Christian world. Vicarious ordinances like baptism for the dead are only carried out in temples. Faithful Mormons are strongly encouraged to establish family ties through genealogical research, in order to have such vicarious ordinances performed. The ceremonies include the sealing of families, in accordance with the belief described above that family units are intended to endure for eternity. The temple therefore is a crucially important symbol for Mormons. It represents the concept of marriage for the living and also salvation for the dead; it is symbolic of the eternal nature of life and the associated doctrines and beliefs which are central in the LDS faith.

Spiritual Gifts

The Mormons believe in many of the traditional gifts of the Spirit, as recorded in the gospels. For example, faith healing is commonly practised, even encouraged in the Church. However, the attitude and manner in which this is done reveals again the rational, pragmatic component that is so characteristic of this Church, and which blends so frequently with the mystical or supernatural elements of religion. The healing of the sick is accomplished through a specific priesthood ordinance, the form of which is prescribed. Only those men holding office in the Melchizedek priesthood are allowed to perform

⁶⁰ Nibley, *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, 121-135.

the rite, which consists of an anointing with consecrated oil, the laying on of hands, and the pronouncing of an inspired blessing. Furthermore, the ceremony is performed quietly, in private, with at the most a few close friends or relatives. The large congregational involvement, singing and emotional fervency that are sometimes generated in connection with faith healing are entirely absent. Nor would the recipient ever be encouraged to neglect orthodox medicine; in the Mormon philosophy conventional treatment may be part of a miraculous healing process.

A similar approach is evident in the gift of tongues. The LDS Church believes that this ancient practice is a gift of the Spirit, but only if an interpreter is present to interpret the message. Speaking in tongues is never given separate from the interpretation of tongues, in Mormon theology. If such were to happen then it would be considered an attempt at deception by Satan. The Mormon view is that God would have no purpose in giving an unintelligible message. Furthermore, the nature in which the gift will come is understood to be in harmony with what the Mormons understand to be the manner in which the Spirit operates: with controlled inspiration, a feeling of joyful peace and calm. The trance-like states and hysteria sometimes associated with the Gift of Tongues have no place in LDS practice. It should be noted that for Mormons an alternative manifestation of this gift, by far the most common recognised in the contemporary Church, is the miraculous use of modern languages. Examples of this are reported incidents where individuals or congregations understand an important sermon given in a previously unknown language, or where young missionaries learn a foreign tongue in a miraculously short time. The gift of tongues of the "traditional" type is seldom, if ever reported.

These illustrations reinforce what was said earlier. The LDS faith is fundamentalist in some respects, and accepts many of the supernatural elements of traditional Christianity, but interprets them in a manner which may seem moderate and reasonable.

Church Leadership and a Lay Ministry

The LDS Church claims to be a restoration of the ancient order of things as Instituted by Christ, rather than a development from the Protestant or Catholic traditions. The Mormon Church today reflects an allegiance to what is regarded by Mormons as the New Testament Church. For example, the leader, or President of the Church has the title (and for members, the attributes) of "Prophet"; he is assisted by two counsellors, and a Council of Twelve Apostles. These leaders, in common with all leaders in the Church are drawn from all walks of life and receive no formal training, since the Church believes strongly in a lay ministry. The position of the Church concerning the lay ministry is a little complex. Many missionaries are unable to support themselves entirely and are therefore assisted by money from the Church. Furthermore, a small number of ecclesiastical leaders such as the First Presidency and the Apostles are permanent, full-time leaders. In the eyes of many people, they would therefore be regarded as a professional ministry, albeit small in number. However, in the Mormon Church it is not perceived as such.

One possible reason is that they have all come into their ministry, many in middle age, from a variety of backgrounds and careers. They do not apply for, or seek the positions which they occupy; they respond to a "call" which comes from the existing leadership. The concept of a "call" and a "calling" are important in the LDS Church, and the words have a specific meaning to members. There is considerable significance in this for students, to be expanded further in later chapters. It is understood that a call is from God, and that the leader who extends the call is acting under the inspiration and authority of God. One does not request or apply for a calling; such action would be regarded as inappropriate. On the other hand, Mormons are taught that they should not decline a calling when it comes, since it is from God. This does happen, of course, but those who do decline are typically regarded as less faithful members.

A calling to the senior leadership of the Church is theoretically regarded in just the same light as any other calling. In fact, the Church makes much of

the notion that an Apostle is no better, necessarily, than a Sunday School teacher; he just has a different kind of responsibility. Nevertheless, the financial needs of the senior leaders, or General Authorities as they are called, are provided by the Church and in the eyes of most people they would be regarded as professional clergy. The fact that Latter-day Saints do not accept them as such would appear for many people to be a strange contradiction of belief, yet the perception of a lay ministry in the Church is very strong.

Actually, there is provision in the doctrines of the Church for ministers to be paid for their services. In the Doctrine and Covenants, a book accepted as scripture by the Mormons, the following verses can be found:

He who is appointed to administer spiritual things, the same is worthy of his hire, even as those who are appointed to a stewardship to administer intemporal things; Yea, even more abundantly, which abundance is multiplied unto them through the manifestations of the Spirit.
Nevertheless, in your temporal things you shall be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the Spirit shall be withheld.⁶¹

The position of the Church with regard to the ministry, therefore, is not as straightforward as first suggested. More accurately, the Mormon Church believes in a lay ministry except in circumstances where this is impossible or impractical, where the Church will pragmatically recognize the necessity for financial support. However, although doctrinally the Church accepts provision for the payment of some of its ministers, in practice this is limited to a very small proportion of leaders, and the concept of a lay ministry remains an important doctrinal position.

All members of the LDS Church are expected to participate in its administration, and the holding of voluntary leadership and teaching offices is regarded as a normal expectation of membership. Almost all ecclesiastical offices, are voluntary, part-time positions, carried out in addition to a normal profession or trade. Some senior posts for which full-time involvement is essential may be held for a limited period of three to five years, at the end of which the individual

⁶¹ *Doctrine and Covenants*, sacred scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 ed., 70:12-14.

will return to "civilian" life. As explained above, only a very small number of ecclesiastical leaders in the central administration are in permanent full-time positions.

Thus, in a typical LDS ward (a local congregation roughly equivalent to a parish), there may be as many as seventy or eighty adult leaders, including the presiding minister (confusingly called a bishop, though equivalent to a parish priest or vicar), who are part-time helpers, acting in a voluntary capacity. Under this system, all male members of the Church are ordained to the priesthood at age twelve, and thereafter take on increasingly responsible functions according to age. Girls and women, though not ordained as priests, have various responsibilities, particularly in organisations specific to their sex and age. They also preach and pray in general meetings of the Church, and take a substantial burden of work in social and welfare activities. However they are not permitted to function in any of the ordinances of the Church, which are performed exclusively by men or boys of appropriate priesthood office. The work of all these volunteer helpers is coordinated by various councils, in which the leaders of the various Church organisations have a seat, and are able to represent the needs and concerns of their members.

Despite this egalitarian leadership structure, there is strong central control, and deference is emphasised towards those in leadership positions. Official Church policy and doctrine are the only ones admissible; personal, unorthodox opinions such as are voiced by senior leaders in many churches from time to time are very rare from LDS leaders. Although radical Mormons do exist, it is not easy to be a radical in the LDS Church and feel comfortable in an average ward. As might be expected given the extent of member participation in the organisation, there are many discussions, sometimes quite lively, concerning programmes and procedures. However, seldom will any similar debates occur concerning established Church doctrine. Discussion of unsettled doctrinal issues is discouraged. The degree of orthodoxy expected of members in this area is considerable. This may be a significant issue for this study. An LDS student, perhaps away from home for the first time, and being taught to

question and critically analyze the world around him might find the room for manoeuvre for his religious beliefs very small. The uncompromising stand of the Church might make adjustments to college life and thought more difficult than in other, more flexible faiths. In fact, a disaffected Mormon student who was interviewed said as much: one of her intense frustrations, leading in part to her rejection of the Church, was the difficulty of expressing alternative views in Church classes, because of the hostile reaction from others in the group, and particularly the teacher. However, the research suggests this experience is not typical. Furthermore, it is possible that for many students the security of a strongly prescriptive faith may be more of an advantage than a disadvantage. We will explore this important topic more fully at a later stage.

One significant issue related to orthodoxy is the extent of uniformity in the LDS Church. It has implications for the comparative research later, and for our consideration of the experience of college students who move away to study. The organisational formula is unvarying, and the liturgy is likewise the same throughout the world; we have already referred to doctrinal conformity. The authority of the First Presidency and the Twelve in these matters is absolute, and the hierarchical system of leadership and accountability ensures that any deviance is quickly corrected. The Mormon Church is a remarkably homogenous organisation. Students who move from one ward to another, even from one country to another are unlikely to encounter a significantly different church. What does vary is the strength of membership. The manpower available varies in numbers, experience and ability, thus there will be differences in quality, even though the blueprint remains the same. However, in any ward of the Church the same ideals, objectives and organisational structure will be encountered.

The Mormon attitude to conformity is not quite so rigid and austere as this account implies. Doctrinal compliance must be considered in relation to the concept of personal revelation, agency and freedom, to be discussed in more detail later. For example, Joseph Smith reacted in the following way, when a prominent Church member was guilty of preaching false doctrine.

Elder Pelatiah Brown, one of the wisest old heads we have among us, and whom I see before me, has been preaching concerning the beast . . . and for this he was hauled up for trial before the High Council.

I did not like the old man being called up for erring in doctrine. It looks too much like the Methodists and not like the Latter-day Saints . . . I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels good not to be trammelled. It does not prove that a man is not a good man because he errs in doctrine.⁶²

One proposition, to be examined in more detail at a later stage is that despite a conservative, authoritarian approach in some areas, such as doctrinal issues, the unusual combination of LDS doctrine and practice, including a strong commitment to individual freedom illustrated by the above quotation, results in a greater capacity for members to cope with the challenges created by higher education.

A related challenge not found in some other churches concerns the lay leadership. The bishop and other leaders may come from a very humble social and educational background. Perhaps he is a poor preacher and stumbles over words and phrases when reading scripture at the pulpit. He may have had no experience of management or administration until his present calling, and his skill in the chairing of meetings and committees leaves much to be desired. It may be difficult for a bright young college student to respond positively to such leadership.

The bishop has unquestioned authority in his ward during his term of office of typically five to seven years, yet clearly he must delegate much of the work. Although a small number of functions, such as marriage, are retained as his exclusive prerogative, under the bishop's direction any worthy priesthood holder of appropriate office may perform almost any of the ordinances of the Church, including baptism, confirmation and communion. Such responsibilities begin at an early age; for example, a sixteen year old boy may be authorized to bless the sacrament (celebrate holy communion), and baptize. All members, male and female, young and old, take turns in preaching the sermons and voicing the prayers in the worship services. The substantial and meaningful involvement

⁶² Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978), 5:340.

of adolescents in the Church is in contrast to the normal expectation in other churches, as described by Leslie Francis in his 1984 survey of non-Mormon churches.⁶³ It probably serves to create greater commitment and more likelihood of involvement in the young adult years. However, this situation poses some challenges when the young person goes to college or university. By this age, the men have normally been ordained elders, and the women assimilated into Relief Society (the Church organisation for women). A substantial contribution to the Church may be expected, especially of someone bright enough to be accepted for higher education. However, too extensive a commitment might be damaging to their studies, yet too little involvement may affect their faith and commitment. This area will be examined in more detail elsewhere in this study.

A further important aspect of a church run entirely by laity, is that the concept of voluntary work is so much a part of the community, that usually little difficulty will be found in finding teachers for a programme such as Institute. (Although this depends on the priority of this programme in the mind of the bishop – the quality of teacher he is prepared to make available may leave something to be desired. This, like so many other topics raised in this chapter will be explored in more detail elsewhere.) Furthermore, in a church where success depends on a largely inexperienced staff, the need for "on the job" training and supervision has led to the development of training programmes and manuals of a high standard. One disadvantage of a lay church is that the more talented people are often weighed down with too many responsibilities. Not only that, but there is a tendency for the institution to become an end in itself; for meetings to proliferate to the detriment rather than the benefit of people.

Agency, Conformity and Control

Free Agency is a familiar term in the LDS Church, and constantly referred to in sermons and lessons. It is a fundamental doctrine of the Church that

⁶³ Leslie J. Francis, *Teenagers and the Church* (London: Collins, 1984), 45-47.

freedom of choice is essential for the salvation of the individual. It is a partial explanation for Mormons of why God permits wars, crime, poverty, suffering and other catastrophes. The need for agency is so paramount that God will only interfere in the choices men make in unusual circumstances, even if terrible suffering and evil is a consequence of those choices. The concept is expressed in this quotation from Spencer W. Kimball, the twelfth president of the Church.

Could the Lord have prevented these tragedies? The answer is, Yes. the Lord is omnipotent, with all power to control our lives, save us pain, prevent all accidents, drive all planes and cars, feed us, protect us, save us from labor, effort, sickness, even from death, if he will. But he will not.

We should be able to understand this, because we can realize how unwise it would be for us to shield our children from all effort, from disappointments, temptations, sorrows, and suffering.

The basic gospel law is free agency and eternal development. to force us to be careful or righteous would be to nullify that fundamental law and make growth impossible.⁶⁴

This free-will explanation of evil is not exclusive to Mormon theology, of course, any more than it is a complete defence against the familiar atheistic arguments based on the existence of evil. However, it has a particular prominence in LDS teachings, where it is a well-aired topic, taught in Sunday School and various study groups. Free agency is a doctrine which any reasonably active member of the Church will be well acquainted with.

With the strong emphasis described previously on the duty of parents to teach their children, and the need for conformity, it may be thought inevitable that in the homes of LDS families, and in organisations such as Institute, religious education would degenerate into a crass indoctrination of the worst kind. However, in LDS doctrine the idea of individual freedom has at least as much prominence as the concept of the family. In fact, the contest between good and evil is seen to centre around the free agency of the individual. The following quotation from the Book of Mormon gives scriptural authority to the concept.

And because that they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon . . . Wherefore men are free

⁶⁴ Spencer W. Kimball, *Faith Precedes the Miracle* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1975), 96.

according to the flesh; and all things are given unto them which are expedient unto man. And they are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great Mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil.⁶⁵

Therefore, O my son, whosoever will come may come and partake of the waters of life freely; and whosoever will not come the same is not compelled to come.⁶⁶

These are two of dozens of similar statements; good is associated with freedom, and evil is associated with coercion. Coercion in any form is abhorrent in LDS philosophy. In the missionary work of the Church, there is considerable emphasis on the individual enquirer deciding for himself through study and prayer. Missionaries are instructed repeatedly to avoid extensive argument and debate, since the Church does not wish to win converts by this means. The idea is that the facts should be presented, testimony is declared, and through the witness of the Holy Spirit the enquirer will be converted. This is an important concept for this study, and will be examined more closely later on. "The prerogative to persuade or convince rightfully belongs to the Holy Ghost, and those appointed to teach must not presume for themselves the role of convincing or ratifying."⁶⁷ Although this is the theory, the practice is not always straightforward. Highly committed members in their anxiety to save souls often bring a strong emotional drive to their evangelism. Furthermore, in a lay church where the opportunity for considerable leadership power is granted to so many, there may be some for whom the intoxication of authority itself is a corrupting agent. These dangers have been recognised by Church leaders. Joseph Smith, in 1839, after four months of imprisonment without trial, reflecting on the abuse of authority, wrote the following in a letter to the Church:

the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven . . . but when we undertake . . . to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the

⁶⁵ *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ*, sacred scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 ed., 2 Nephi 2:26,27.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, Alma 42:27.

⁶⁷ Gerald Lund, Moritsen and Brickey, *Foundations For Gospel Teaching* (unpublished discussion paper, Church Educational System 1976), p. 12

children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold the heavens withdraw themselves; the spirit of the Lord is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or authority of that man. . . .

We have learned by sad experience that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion. . . .

No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned.⁶⁸

Brigham Young, successor to Joseph Smith, continued the same strong emphasis on individual freedom, and emphasised the need for tolerance in matters of religion. More recent comments illustrate contemporary concern in the Church for this principle. Dean Larsen, a prominent Church leader, said this:

Such freedom to exercise moral agency is essential in an environment where people have the highest prospects for progress and development. . . .

The existence of laws, regulations and procedures has never been sufficient to compel men to obedience. Productive obedience comes through the exercise of free will. . . .

Programmed behaviour cannot produce the level of spiritual development required to qualify one for eternal life. A necessary range of freedom and self-determination is essential to one's spiritual development.⁶⁹

These principles can create considerable tensions in teachers and parents whose own perception of their faith is such that they see their greatest responsibility as the conversion of their young people. The idea that for a Christian, doing the right thing is not enough, it must be done for the right reasons, is firmly rooted in Church teachings. One familiar Church saying is "better that a man should remain in ignorance, than be *forced* into the light." This has implications for the nature of religious instruction in Institute, which will be examined in chapter six. It also has significance for the very conservative attitude to orthodoxy, referred to earlier. Despite a strong central control and hierarchical authority structure, there is great respect in Mormon teachings for the autonomy of the individual.

⁶⁸ *Doctrine and Covenants*, 121:37-39, 41.

⁶⁹ Dean L. Larson "Self Accountability and Human Progress", *Ensign* (May 1980), 76-77.

Education

Since agency is so important, LDS attitudes to education are of considerable significance in this study. The acquisition of knowledge and the development of the mind are principle features of LDS doctrine, and have influenced Church practice toward education considerably.

learning has been a way of life for the faithful Latter-day Saint, who deems it his duty and obligation to learn as much as he can in this life first of all as pertaining to the principles of the gospel and secondly to secular education. "The Latter-day Saint student conceives his schoolwork to be part of his purposeful preparation for eternal life and joy." This philosophy of determined learning is derived from statements given in the Doctrine and Covenants in the early years of the Church⁷⁰

The Doctrine and Covenants (a collection of the revelations and writings of Joseph Smith) is peppered with statements such as: "study and learn, and become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues, and people."⁷¹ "It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance."⁷² "if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life . . . he will have so much the advantage in the world to come."⁷³

Joseph Smith, like many living in rural America at that time, had received very little formal schooling, and aspired to surmount this shortcoming. He established various institutions of learning, some for adults, such as the "School of the Prophets", in which he himself enrolled. "The Prophet's enthusiasm for learning became contagious. John Corrill said it inspired the whole Church with an extravagant thirst for knowledge."⁷⁴ All of the presidents of the Church have shown this same commitment. Their attitude is summarized in the following statement by John Taylor, the third president.

⁷⁰ Russell R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations, A History of the LDS Church from 1846 to 1972* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1972) 518.

⁷¹ *Doctrine and Covenants*, 90:15.

⁷² *ibid.*, 131:6.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 130:19.

⁷⁴ Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration, A History of the LDS Church to 1846* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), 220.

Would you seek for knowledge? Yes, as I would for a hidden treasure. Would you like the people to be acquainted with the arts and sciences etc.? Yes. We want to so educate our children, and if necessary make sacrifices ourselves for that purpose, in order that they may be men and women capable of coping intellectually with any persons that live upon the earth.⁷⁵

The LDS Church embraces education in its broadest sense, including social and recreational skills. Indeed, in the early days, the Church's attitude to recreation and the enjoyment of life was one of the many causes of friction with other churches, in an age when the stage, dancing and novels were considered inventions of the devil by many churchmen. Said Brigham Young, himself a keen amateur actor and singer:

There is no music in hell, for all good music belongs to heaven. . . . If you want to dance, run a foot race, pitch quoits or play at ball, do it, and exercise your bodies, and let your minds rest. . . . If you wish to dance, dance; and you are just as much prepared for a prayer meeting after dancing as ever you were, if you are Saints. . . . I built that theatre to attract the young of our community and to provide amusement for the boys and girls, rather than having them run all over creation for recreation. Long before that was built I said to the Bishops, "Get up your parties and pleasure grounds to amuse the people."⁷⁶

The popular image of Brigham Young (polygamy aside) is of a practical, down-to-earth, rather stern colonizer in the Puritan mould. Yet this seems to be a misunderstanding of his character, since his outlook ensured that for his people the vicissitudes of frontier life were tempered by a vigorous seeking for culture and learning. He saw recreation as an extension of education; there were no taverns or saloons in Salt Lake City, and the frivolous, the wasteful and the idle were condemned; but he believed life was to be enjoyed. Education for him was not merely a means to an end, but something to valued for its own sake. "For Brigham Young knowledge was what Aristotle calls a good of first intent, a thing of good and desirable in itself needing no argument or excuse for its

⁷⁵ Joe J. Christensen, "Religious Education: A Latter-Day Saint Point of View", *The Growing Edge* 6 (May 1974), 2.

⁷⁶ John A. Widtsoe, *Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973), 242, 243.

existence."⁷⁷ This clear doctrinal position emphasised by the leaders was neither easy to implement nor was it necessarily accepted wholeheartedly by all members. The early years in the Salt Lake Valley were hard: a precarious struggle to avoid starvation, attacks by Indians, and many other trials incident to colonizing the American West. Nevertheless, only a few months after the first party of Mormons arrived in the Valley in June of 1847 the first school was opened. Of this, William Berrett, Mormon historian comments:

in the latter part of October, 1847, Mary Dilworth opened the first school. One of the newly constructed buildings, comprising the wall of the fort and containing loopholes in case of Indian attack, was the first schoolroom.⁷⁸

He goes on to describe the initial rather inauspicious developments:

the school system throughout the territory was in a disorganized condition for many years, and the majority of the rising generation spent very little time under formal schoolroom instruction.⁷⁹

However, these incomplete and disorganized first efforts were eventually strengthened and consolidated.

when the seventh census of the United States was taken in 1850, it showed the average illiteracy in the country to be 4.9%; whereas in Utah it was only 0.25%, the lowest of the states and territories cited.⁸⁰

The emphasis on education has continued unabated in the Church from Joseph Smith to the present day. However, as the Church expands internationally, the traditions described above might become diluted, or modified by national traditions and social structures. According to a 1987 paper, the percentage of British Mormons going on to further education is slightly higher than the national average; 17 percent of males (compared with 16 percent nationally) and 12 percent of females (compared with 10 percent nationally).⁸¹

⁷⁷ Nibley, *More Brigham Young*, 3.

⁷⁸ William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1974), 305.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 306.

⁸⁰ Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*, 519.

⁸¹ Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht, and J. Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective" *BYU Studies* 27.2 (1987), 131.

Further education seems to have less prominence in Britain than in America, and many of the current adult leadership of the Church have not been students themselves. In the survey of Mormon bishops conducted for this study, 51 percent of bishops had some form of college or university education. The equivalent figure for Institute teachers was 46 percent. These figures suggest that about half of the leaders and teachers have never been to college. Thus we may have a theology which strongly emphasises the worth of education, but at a practical level there may be limited understanding or support for those involved. We will return to this concern when considering the various student support agencies of the Church.

Religious Education

All education is important in the LDS Church, but religious education occupies a place of special prominence; Brigham Young comments:

There are a great many branches of education: some go to college to learn languages, some to study law, some to study physics, and some to study astronomy, and various other branches of science. We want every branch of science taught in this place that is taught in the world. But our favourite study is that branch which particularly belongs to Elders of Israel - namely, theology. Every Elder should become a profound theologian - should understand this branch better than all the world.⁸²

The concept has been restated, this time in an address to the youth and young adults of the Church, by Spencer W. Kimball, a recent Church president.

One need not choose between the two but only as to the sequence, for there is opportunity for one to get both simultaneously; but can you see that the Seminary courses should be given even preferential attention over the high school subjects; the institute over the college course; the study of the scriptures ahead of man-written texts?⁸³

Seminary and Institute, referred to in this quotation, are Church organisations for the teaching of religion to secondary school age and college age students respectively. Institute will be examined in detail in chapter six, but it can be seen here that considerable emphasis is given to these programmes

⁸² Widtsoe, *Discourses*, 258

⁸³ Spencer W. Kimball, "Beloved Youth, Study and Learn", *Life's Directions: A Series of Fireside Addresses by the General Authorities* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1962), 180, 181.

by the Church. Part of the reason for this is suggested in the following quotation from the Book of Mormon.

O that cunning plan of the evil one! O the vainness, and the frailties, and the foolishness of men! When they are learned they think they are wise, and they hearken not unto the counsel of God, for they set it aside, supposing they know of themselves, wherefore, their wisdom is foolishness and it profiteth them not. And they shall perish. But to be learned is good if they hearken unto the counsels of God.⁸⁴

It seems that the secularizing influence of higher education was recognised in 550 B.C.! (the date of the above scripture according to Mormon belief). This, of course, pin-points the dilemma. On the one hand, the Church wholeheartedly endorses education and the pursuit of knowledge, but also recognises the spiritual dangers inherent in the process. As Gerald Stott said, in his comparative study of Mormons and Southern Baptists:

Acceptance of these findings - Mormonism, with its theological emphasis on education, has in general, instilled within its adherents a strong proclivity towards educational achievement - raises the question, "What are the religious consequences of this high educational achievement?" Is Mormonism latently promoting its own secularism?⁸⁵

What the Church would like is for spiritual development to progress at the same pace as intellectual development; spiritual development here means a testimony of the truth of the LDS Church, and a widening knowledge and acceptance of its doctrines. The extent to which these two objectives are compatible is closely associated with the main issues of this study. The normative intention implicit in this is unacceptable to many people, and suggests a closed system of religious nurture which is antithetical to the education process and also to the way in which a church should conduct its ministry. However, the LDS commitment to what they term "free agency" has already been discussed; fanaticism and intemperance have never found a place in Mormon theology. Religious education is deemed important because it gives structure and meaning to all other aspects of life and learning. The Church's concern over an excess of religious zeal is tied in with the LDS emphasis on the primacy of

⁸⁴ *Book of Mormon*, 2 Nephi 9:28,29.

⁸⁵ Gerald Norman Stott, "The Impact of Education on Religiosity: A Study of Mormons and Southern Baptists" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Illinois University, 1981), 27.

knowledge. Hugh Nibley, a noted Mormon scholar, said this:

"Many, having a zeal not according to knowledge", said the prophet, ". . . have no doubt, in the heat of enthusiasm, taught and said many things which are derogatory to the genuine character and principles of the Church. . . .
 . . . True knowledge never shuts the door on more knowledge, but zeal often does."⁸⁶

Despite the emphasis on education, and a strong rationality in its theology, the Mormon Church does not intellectualize religion. "Intellectual" is generally used as a pejorative term for Church members who try to do so. There is, in fact, a great emphasis on spiritual discernment and understanding. It is felt that there is the potential in man to receive knowledge through other than the five senses, and that prayer, fasting and meditation are important – in fact the most important avenues to follow in order to receive a knowledge of God. The great emphasis on personal revelation as the main avenue to religious knowledge is worth considering. It was suggested earlier that the rational theology of the Mormon Church may help a university student to remain true to his faith. However, there is a difference between *having* a rational theology, and *rationalizing* theology. The Mormons would probably accept the former, but deny that they engage in the latter. Bryan Wilson suggested that the rationalizing of Christianity has encouraged the trend towards secularization.

The Reformation reduced the mystical elements in religion, and Calvinism took this process further. The development of Arianism, Socinianism and Unitarianism in the eighteenth century led to a more fully rationalized religious ethic. The Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the miracles and the Virgin Birth all successively became open to challenge within the context of religious discussion. Tradition still had its strength, of course, but as the influence of superstition waned, so these beliefs – even where they were still strongly held – became socially less significant.⁸⁷

If Wilson's view is accepted, we may conclude that the process is at least as influential as the product in theology. A university student, or anyone for that matter, observing past and present developments in doctrine and dogma may well fail to discern the sure hand of an omnipotent God, despite what

⁸⁶ Hugh W. Nibley, *Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless* (Provo: Religious Studies Centre, Brigham Young University, 1978), 267, 268.

⁸⁷ Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion In Secular Society* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1969), 47-48.

religious leaders might claim. It may well appear that the discussions, disputes, compromises and committees have more to do with the mind of man. From there it is a small step to the decision that religion itself is an invention of the mind. If it once appears that theology is shaped by expediency, that doctrines which were once accepted without question are now no longer accepted, because they are challenged by modern thinking or scientific discovery, then clearly questions may arise which might pose a major challenge to faith. There may well be greater strength, in maintaining traditional, if apparently irrational beliefs, and maintaining a stronger claim to divine authority.

In the case of the Mormon student, there is a largely systematic, intellectually satisfying theology which (according to Mormon claims) has remained unchanged since it was revealed directly to their prophets from God. Critics of the Mormon Church will dispute this, but the Church is consistent and emphatic in its claim to divine revelation, and the non-evolutionary nature of the doctrinal principles which underlie the faith. This relates back to our earlier discussion of Mormon historiography. It is an act of faith to accept this concept in the first place of course. However, it is arguable that a religion which takes this stand of immutable revelation and remains true to it, even in today's secular world, is in a stronger position than those faiths who give the appearance of changing their doctrine to fit the changing views of society or the academic community.

Official revelation is complemented in the Mormon Church by the insistence on personal revelation to the individual. Each member is expected to reach a knowledge of the truth not only by intellectual effort but by spiritual devotion. However, Mormon teaching concerning spiritual communication also involves a strong rational element. The Church teaches that revelation usually follows investigative effort on our part. In fact, one concern of the Church is that this emphasis on the instruction of the spirit can lead people to seek an excuse for avoiding the hard mental exertion and time required for conventional study. Hugh Nibley criticizes the tendency to see knowledge, whether spiritual or intellectual, as a pre-packaged supermarket commodity, distributed by the

Spirit as a reward for conformity to the "outward ordinances":

Can't the spirit hurry things up? No - there is no place for the cram course or quickie, or above all the superficial survey course or quick trips to the Holy Land, where the gospel is concerned.⁸⁸

William E. Berrett echoes the same thought:

The prophet made one great truth pretty clear to us: "There is no revelation without a student" - unless you are a seeker after truth, you will never have a revelation, nor will the president of the Church or anyone else.⁸⁹

Helping and encouraging the students to want to discover the truth for themselves is as important as the actual learning, for the LDS Church. The research results will indicate how close the reality comes to this vision. Certainly, the Seminary programme, for the fourteen to seventeen age group comes much closer to the ideal than might have been supposed.⁹⁰ One reason for this must be the unquestioned priority given to Seminary by the Church, in terms of cash, material and human resources. We will see if the same can be said for Institute and college students.

An attempt has been made here to describe the unusual contrasts in LDS doctrine relating to education. On the one hand, there is a strong commitment to, and appreciation of the intellectual process and the value of knowledge and learning for its own sake. On the other hand, the concept of spiritual experience and individual revelation is central to Church teaching. However, this does not necessarily lead to conflict. Spirituality in the Mormon Church is not identified with the emotional ecstasy characteristic of some charismatic, evangelical movements today. Typically, in Mormon theology, spiritual experience is associated with a condition of quiet wellbeing; a calm, contemplative state, often following a period of intense study and thought. Douglas Davies comments on this.

⁸⁸ Nibley, *Timely and the Timeless*, 268.

⁸⁹ William E. Berrett, "Scholarship" (address given at Brigham Young University, 11 July 1958), 3.

⁹⁰ Craig L. Marshall, "The Provision and Justification of a Volunteer-Based Religious Education Programme" (M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1986), 144-159.

Believers belonging to main-line Christian Churches often presume in their ignorance of the Mormon Church that it must be a highly emotive and enthusiastic body. This general view of sects presumes them to be even more developed forms of the most extreme Protestantism and is usually quite incorrect. Certainly as far as the Latter Day Saint movement is concerned ideas of conversion are tied more to a rational process of educated change than to a momentary emotional crisis and climax.⁹¹

This is probably significant, when considering the impact of further education on Mormon students. The LDS approach to spiritual realities recognizes the importance of thought and reason. Even though it is considered essential, recognition and acceptance of the Holy Spirit does not involve the surrender of cognition or self control. Stott discovered that the religiosity of Southern Baptists was affected more by education than Mormons, and made the following observation.

Education dampens emotionalism. Torbet (1950:34), commenting on the excessive emotionalism of the "Second Great Awakening," observed that, "Education and sophistication were the principle forces which tended to restrict the emotional elements in religious experience." Revivalism, with its emphasis upon emotionalism (being touched by the Spirit, taking Christ into your heart, etc.), is still vigorously preached and practised by Southern Baptists. The revivalist tradition is, thus, another factor which is expected to dampen the educational commitment of Southern Baptists.⁹²

This suggests that theological positions do have a significant influence on the way in which students reconcile their beliefs with their educational experience. Mormon theology is apparently complimentary to, and not in conflict with, higher education. If this is so, it may have an important part to play in sustaining Mormon religiosity through a college experience. The intention here has been to provide a relatively concise overview, sufficient to give the reader a feeling for the significance and background of relevant aspects of the Mormon Church in the lives of its students. Those doctrinal and other issues which appear to be especially pertinent for the specific topic of this study will be returned to and examined more closely following the research analysis.

⁹¹ Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, n.d.), 71.

⁹² Stott, "The Impact of Education", 40.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND FACTOR ANALYSIS

Aims and Objectives

One major aim of this study is to examine the effect of higher education on the religiosity of Mormon college students. Therefore, research was planned to measure religiosity and examine factors which may influence it. Clearly, the main area of interest is the students themselves, though two other subjects were considered important. These were first, the specific agencies in the Mormon Church designed to support students, and second the general level of pastoral care provided in wards and branches of the Church. Two Church agencies exist for the support of students: the Latter-day Saint Student Association (LDSSA) and Institutes of Religion. It seemed reasonable to suppose that since these programmes are specifically aimed at students, they might have an important influence; plainly any efforts by the Church to support students on such a substantial scale deserves careful study. Consequently, a substantial proportion of the research was devoted to discovering the characteristics, success and effectiveness of these programmes (particularly Institute, by far the stronger and better established), including the identification of strengths and weaknesses in their administration.

Research Methods

A variety of methods was employed. Postal questionnaires were chosen as the main instruments, because the relatively small size of the Mormon Church necessitated a wide geographical area (the whole of the U.K. and Ireland) in order to obtain a reasonable sample. Research was carried out principally through four questionnaires: to college students, Institute teachers, CES coordinators, and Mormon bishops. The student questionnaire was

supplemented by a longitudinal case study of students, to provide more detailed information at an individual level. In addition, many informal conversations and interviews were conducted with students, teachers and administrators. Finally, the handbooks, records and reports of Institute were studied carefully.

It was a deliberate aim of this study to approach the topic in a broad manner; the intention of the research is to provide a general analysis. This seems consistent with the fact, previously discussed, that this is the first investigation of Mormon students in Britain, and indeed is one of very few studies of any kind in this country concerning religiosity and education. It has been noted that a range of instruments were used with several forms of inquiry, including four separate questionnaire surveys. This produced large and diverse sets of data and information, not all of which could be used in this study. That which has been included are those areas which seemed to have greatest relevance to the specific topic in hand: the relationship of higher education and religiosity.

Student Questionnaire

Although several research instruments have been used to gather data, the survey of Mormon college students is the most important. Other surveys and case studies provide supplementary data; the student survey is central. The survey consisted of a six page, eighty-five item questionnaire, designed to obtain information about students' religiosity, and factors which may influence it. There were five main sections: a) personal and family background; b) influences of higher education on religious belief; c) general Church support; d) specific Church support – Institute and LDSSA; e) religiosity. The complete questionnaire can be seen in the appendix.

The pilot study posed one or two problems. Since the available sample was relatively small, it was desirable to avoid reducing it still further through a pilot study. It was therefore decided to run a pilot study with Mormon students who had recently completed their course. Such individuals would be sufficiently close to their student experience to be able to give meaningful

responses, and would not affect the sample. Twenty-eight ex-students were identified, who had completed their course in either 1989 or 1990 (in relation to the pilot, the current or previous year). The questionnaire was posted to them at the beginning of December 1990 and thirteen responded. The questionnaire was altered following the pilot; seven new items were added, some existing questions were rephrased, the order of the sections was changed, and the appearance was improved.

The sample for the survey comprised all identified Mormon students in the U.K. and Ireland. Although this was the maximum possible sample it was still relatively small (459 students). It was also somewhat problematic, and a more detailed discussion is provided in the analysis of the questionnaire in a following chapter. Timing of the survey was important, partly because of the nature of the study. It was necessary to conduct the survey late enough in the academic year for a majority of new students to have been identified. It was also desirable to do it at such a time that comparisons between different years at college would be most meaningful. With these considerations in mind, the questionnaire was posted during the last week of January, 1991. This was the earliest date by which a large enough proportion of students had been recorded by CES, and it was thought also that distinctions between the different years at college would still be noticeable. The questionnaire included written instructions and a stamped addressed envelope for the return. The initial response was a disappointing 44.8 percent. After two reminder letters, over an eight-week period, this rose to a more reasonable, but still somewhat disappointing 56.9 percent.

Considerable thought had been given to the subject of confidentiality. The subject of personal worthiness, or the good standing of the individual in relation to Church standards and beliefs is considered a very personal and private matter in the Mormon Church. Some important questions, especially those measuring religiosity were closely related to individual worthiness and were thus very sensitive. It was essential that students could be confident of complete anonymity. It was felt, after much debate, that actual anonymity,

rather than assurances concerning the integrity of the researcher would result in a higher return rate plus more candour and honesty in responses. The penalty which had to be accepted by following this course was the inability to identify non-respondents and so check on the possibility of bias in the return. This restriction has to be born in mind when interpreting the results.

Measuring Religiosity: The American Model

The inconsistency and notable lack of invariance among existing religiosity models has been discussed in chapter two. We are still far from having scales, tests or assessments that have universal application. Much of the development in this field has been based on the work of Charles Glock, yet it was demonstrated that Glock's model is itself problematic. In particular, Glock's assumptions concerning the universality of his core dimensions has been challenged. There is, in fact, no individual model today that is sufficiently successful to command widespread acceptance. This has resulted in the proliferation of approaches described in chapter two, as researchers develop new models in the attempt to achieve greater reliability. There is concern over the often implicit assumption that applications are equally valid for different denominational settings. Caution in this regard is particularly warranted when a religious movement is at some distance from the mainline churches. For these reasons a new model was sought for this study, as mentioned in chapter two, with measures which would be specific to the Mormon faith.

The measure of religiosity in the questionnaire was a thirty-three item sequence based on a model devised and tested by Marie Cornwall and colleagues in America.¹ The work of this research team was briefly mentioned in chapter two, which also addressed the issue of problems which may arise when using the same instrument to measure religiosity in different denominations and churches.

¹ Marie Cornwall et al., "The Dimensions of Religiosity: A Conceptual Model With An Empirical Test", *Review of Religious Research* 27.3 (1986): 226 - 244.

This problem has been noted by several researchers, especially Cardwell.² Cornwall and her associates sought to overcome this difficulty by designing an instrument specifically to test the religiosity of one religious group: the Mormons. It attempts to identify elements of religiosity which are universal to all, or at least most Christians, and in addition those factors which are specific to one denomination, in this case, the Mormons. It may be possible to use the instrument with other churches with appropriate modification of the institution-specific items.

This model seemed to be conceptually satisfying, and the empirical testing was sufficiently successful and persuasive that it was chosen for incorporation in the student survey. It was also used in the case-studies (to be discussed later), to measure religiosity over a period of three years; it is in fact the central feature of the student research. An additional advantage of using this American application is that it gives us an opportunity to compare the results of two studies, using the same instrument, for the same religious faith. It should be remembered that the Mormon Church is a tightly controlled organisation, with considerable uniformity of doctrine and procedure worldwide. Using the same instrument for American and British Mormons should therefore provide similar results, providing of course that the samples are comparable.

The conceptual model for the religiosity scales suggests three components and two modes of religiosity.

The three components of religiosity . . . are familiar to social psychologists who generally recognize the importance of making a distinction between knowing (cognition), feeling (affect), and doing (behaviour). This distinction is not new to the study of religiosity. Hall (1891), Starbuck (1899), and Leuba (1912) made early distinctions between religious belief, religious feelings, and religious works or practices.³

Although many researchers use these concepts, confusion is caused by the variety of terms used to describe them. Thus "ideology", "orthodoxy" and "creedal assent" have all been used to describe what is essentially the knowing,

² Jerry D. Cardwell, *The Social Context of Religiosity* (n.p.: University Press of America, 1980), 15-18.

³ Cornwall, "The Dimensions of Religiosity", 227.

or cognitive component. Some researchers employ different terms for the same concept in a single paper. Each of the three components, in the Cornwall study, are divided into two *modes* – personal and institutional.

Religiosity also consists of two *modes* of religious involvement: the personal mode and the institutional mode. the literature on religiosity is replete with such a distinction. Dittes (1971) made a distinction between religion in a relatively explicit mode – public, social, institutionalized, and formalized – and religion in the more subjective mode – deeply held personal attitudes, values loyalties, and commitments.⁴

In the division between these two modes differences between churches are recognised. Cornwall suggests that the personal mode comprises beliefs, attitudes and behaviours which are common to most Christians, regardless of denominational alliance. The institutional mode includes components of religiosity specific to a particular church or religious group. This results in a conceptual model of six dimensions of religiosity: personal belief, institutional belief, personal commitment, institutional commitment, personal behaviour and institutional behaviour. A seventh factor was added, in recognition of the considerable emphasis placed by Mormons on family religious observance. This could be considered an aspect of institutional behaviour, however it was thought sufficiently distinctive that it should be considered separately.

The family religious observance dimension was one area of difference between the American survey and that used for this study. The American survey assumed a family setting, whereas the majority of respondents in the student survey are single adults living alone. Consequently, items relating to family activity were not used to test student religiosity, though they were utilized elsewhere in the questionnaire to obtain information about family background. These family items were incorporated with the other religiosity measures in a factor analysis, to ascertain the difference they might make, since factor analysis can be affected by the variables in the model. It was discovered that, although a sixth factor for the family items was added, there was no difference at all in the composition of the other five factors, and the pattern of

⁴ Ibid., 227-228.

correlation values was similar. Thus the exclusion of the family items from the religiosity test for students seems to make little difference to the results, and comparisons with the American data should still be sound. A detailed examination of the factor analyses will be given shortly.

Other modifications of the American test were introduced and three items of behaviour were added which seemed more appropriate for single adults. These were: attendance at non-Sunday activities, personal scripture study, and fasting. Furthermore, the Cornwall report itself made recommendations for some modifications, particularly in the way some questions were worded, and these were adopted for the student survey.

Thirty-four questions were devised for the American survey, based on the seven dimensions, and these are listed in Table 1. One might quibble over some of the choices. For example, the existence of Satan (traditional orthodoxy) is by no means universally accepted by Christians today, certainly not in a British setting, and not all faiths share the same enthusiasm for encouraging others to believe (religious behaviour). Such issues would have to be considered if the instrument were to be used in testing religiosity in other faiths. These items were retained for the student survey to enable comparisons with the American results, and also because they were applicable for a Mormon study anyway. However, distinctions between some of the items in the two modes of belief do seem questionable, and this was confirmed by the analysis, to be considered shortly. Despite such reservations, in general the scheme seems conceptually sound, and certainly an adequate model for testing. It was incorporated by the Cornwall team in a much larger project, involving a thirty-two page questionnaire, sent to a random sample of 1,874 Church members over the age of eighteen, in all parts of the United States.

In preparation for factor analysis, a correlation matrix was produced, of the religiosity items for the British test. This can be seen in Table 2; the matrix revealed a wide range of significant correlations of varying strength, indicating that this group of variables was suitable for factor analysis. Only two variables failed to register any high correlations; these were "I share what I

Table 1: Religiosity Items, American Study

BELIEF

1. **Traditional orthodoxy**
 - a) There is life after death.
 - b) Satan actually exists.
 - c) The Bible is the word of God.
 - d) I believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ.
 - e) I have no doubts that God lives.
2. **Particularistic orthodoxy**
 - a) The president of the LDS Church is a prophet of God.
 - b) The Book of Mormon is the word of God.
 - c) The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints is the only true church on earth.
 - d) Joseph Smith actually saw God the Father and Jesus Christ.

COMMITMENT

1. **Spiritual commitment**
 - a) My relationship with the lord is an important part of my life.
 - b) The Holy Ghost is an important influence in my life.
 - c) I love God with all my heart.
 - d) I am willing to do whatever the Lord wants me to do.
 - e) Without religious faith, the rest of my life would not have much meaning.
2. **Church commitment**
 - a) Some doctrines of the LDS Church are hard for me to accept (-).
 - b) I don't really care about the LDS Church (-).
 - c) Church programs and activities are an important part of my life.
 - d) I do not accept some standards of the LDS Church (-).
 - e) The LDS Church puts too many restrictions on its members(-).

BEHAVIORAL

1. **Religious behaviour**
 - a) I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.
 - b) I live a Christian life.
 - c) I share what I have with the poor.
 - d) I encourage others to believe in Jesus.
 - e) I seek God's guidance when making important decisions in my life.
 - f) I forgive others.
 - g) I admit my sins to God and pray for His forgiveness.
 - h) Frequency of personal prayer.
2. **Religious participation**
 - a) Frequency of attendance at Sacrament meeting.
 - b) Frequency of attendance at Relief Society/Priesthood meetings.
 - c) Percent of income paid as tithing.
3. **Home religious observance**
 - a) Frequency of family prayer (other than blessing the food).
 - b) Frequency of family religious discussion.
 - c) Frequency of Bible reading or reading of other scriptures.
 - d) Frequency of family discussions about right and wrong.

have with the poor" (abbreviated "share" in the table) and "I forgive others" (abbreviated "forgve"). Under normal circumstances, they might have been deleted at this stage, but in order to permit a more complete comparison with the American analysis, they were retained for the time being.

Table 2: Correlation matrix, religiosity variables

	DVNITY	BLVGOD	LFEDTH	SATAN	BIBLE	PROPH	BOM	TRUECH	VISION	RELSHP	INFLNC	LVEGOD	WILLNG	MEANNG	DCHARD
DVNITY	1.0000														
BLVGOD	.9135	1.0000													
LFEDTH	.8453	.8740	1.0000												
SATAN	.8560	.8570	.8205	1.0000											
BIBLE	.8010	.8127	.7954	.8284	1.0000										
PROPHET	.7139	.7177	.7043	.7385	.6964	1.0000									
BOM	.7549	.7524	.7086	.7792	.7037	.9087	1.0000								
TRUECH	.6958	.6838	.6885	.6636	.6279	.7537	.7868	1.0000							
VISION	.7864	.7666	.7377	.7959	.7332	.8921	.9576	.8114	1.0000						
RELSHP	.4926	.5317	.5166	.4341	.4249	.3952	.4008	.4342	.3983	1.0000					
INFLNC	.5196	.5254	.5291	.4808	.4675	.4348	.4512	.4687	.4691	.8466	1.0000				
LVEGOD	.5149	.5764	.4858	.4937	.4729	.4457	.4748	.4160	.4726	.7029	.6955	1.0000			
WILLING	.4228	.4821	.4140	.3939	.3965	.3531	.3483	.4006	.3671	.6985	.6700	.6356	1.0000		
MEANING	.4169	.4409	.4812	.4626	.4385	.4565	.4123	.4655	.4422	.4347	.4855	.5164	.5040	1.0000	
DCHARD	-.3373	-.3166	-.3249	-.3210	-.2815	-.3634	-.3692	-.3632	-.3791	-.3965	-.4046	-.3419	-.4218	-.3213	1.0000
DNCARE	-.4735	-.4959	-.4769	-.4570	-.4416	-.5231	-.5586	-.4672	-.5326	-.5070	-.4894	-.3773	-.4560	-.3524	.3707
ACCEPT	-.3540	-.3923	-.3778	-.3768	-.3736	-.4861	-.4734	-.4294	-.4707	-.5772	-.5796	-.4825	-.5556	-.3943	.4934
RSTRCT	-.3274	-.3541	-.3322	-.3417	-.3071	-.3645	-.3547	-.4141	-.3504	-.4962	-.4660	-.4074	-.4970	-.3479	.5074
IMPORT	.5184	.5479	.5711	.5125	.4912	.5929	.6414	.6133	.6113	.6599	.6492	.5619	.5441	.4935	-.4003
OTHERS	.3406	.3446	.3295	.3114	.2777	.3231	.2949	.3582	.2924	.5437	.5380	.4430	.5355	.2982	-.2927
GUIDNC	.4412	.4790	.4674	.3978	.4019	.3802	.3840	.3931	.3837	.7870	.7733	.6052	.6350	.4139	-.3857
SINS	.4184	.4573	.4585	.3741	.3947	.3685	.3658	.4387	.3822	.7462	.7582	.5719	.6454	.4218	-.4099
PRAYER	.4349	.4726	.4758	.3977	.4225	.3820	.4074	.4446	.4333	.7507	.7208	.5687	.5397	.3699	-.3829
DEALING	.2402	.3003	.2545	.2343	.1956	.1577	.1873	.3164	.1878	.6808	.6204	.5821	.5749	.3507	-.3473
CHRSTN	.2074	.2527	.2463	.2159	.2354	.2682	.2571	.2123	.2117	.4678	.5010	.5790	.5016	.3480	-.2550
SHARE	.0783	.1130	.0466	.0692	.0730	.0828	.0949	.0876	.0771	.2101	.1898	.2523	.2134	.1049	-.0459
FORGVE	.1390	.0781	.0957	.1351	.0804	.1485	.1242	.0676	.1175	.0511	.0743	.0993	.0830	-.0699	-.2024
SACMTG	.3636	.3864	.3970	.3214	.3666	.5022	.5209	.5272	.5093	.5050	.4767	.3432	.4621	.3067	-.2767
RSPSTD	.2193	.2475	.2599	.2003	.2177	.2737	.2993	.3397	.2979	.4178	.4303	.3060	.3605	.2692	-.2227
TITHE	.2865	.3448	.3452	.2849	.3107	.3806	.3920	.4336	.3811	.4604	.4286	.3058	.4686	.2931	-.2605
ACTVTS	.2180	.2278	.3042	.2549	.2309	.2924	.2672	.2593	.2407	.3885	.4163	.3066	.3924	.2412	-.2782
FAST	.3208	.3198	.3557	.3303	.3460	.2981	.2383	.2987	.2489	.5003	.4657	.4328	.4245	.2931	-.2677
SCRPTS	.3273	.3652	.3867	.3066	.3306	.3651	.3903	.4131	.3985	.6024	.5682	.4439	.5344	.3291	-.3910
DNCARE	ACCEPT	RSTRCT	IMPORT	OTHERS	GUIDNC	SINS	PRAYER	DEALNG	CHRSTN	SHARE	FORGVE	SACMTG	RSPSTD	TITHE	
DNCARE	1.0000														
ACCEPT	.6200	1.0000													
RSTRCT	.5930	.7059	1.0000												
IMPORT	-.6747	-.6646	-.5605	1.0000											
OTHERS	-.2908	-.4015	-.3629	.5217	1.0000										
GUIDNC	-.4536	-.5456	-.4033	.5543	.4963	1.0000									
SINS	-.4290	-.5303	-.4093	.5849	.4928	.7892	1.0000								
PRAYER	-.4773	-.5750	-.4417	.6397	.3814	.7221	.7281	1.0000							
DEALING	-.3436	-.4963	-.4829	.5686	.5120	.5873	.6365	.5901	1.0000						
CHRSTN	-.2529	-.4349	-.3195	.4694	.3340	.4751	.5218	.4837	.5548	1.0000					
SHARE	.0311	-.1089	-.0933	.1593	.2687	.2195	.2064	.1502	.3184	.2742	1.0000				
FORGVE	-.0757	-.1811	-.1462	.0845	.1446	.0568	.0914	.0340	.1601	.2309	.2372	1.0000			
SACMTG	-.5845	-.5517	-.3770	.7316	.3350	.4649	.4942	.5725	.4443	.4291	.0493	.0661	1.0000		
RSPSTD	-.3407	-.4376	-.2928	.5014	.2835	.3817	.3892	.4585	.3740	.3660	.0501	.0284	.7006	1.0000	
TITHE	-.3391	-.4599	-.3052	.5090	.3427	.4659	.4668	.5362	.4094	.4463	.1662	.0034	.5547	.3922	1.0000
ACTVTS	-.2675	-.4085	-.3227	.4622	.3087	.3160	.2963	.3863	.2975	.4094	.0040	.0971	.4985	.3798	.4375
FAST	-.3962	-.5120	-.4402	.5109	.4096	.4262	.4599	.5195	.4817	.4580	.1871	.1784	.4738	.3795	.4538
SCRPTS	-.4274	-.5198	-.3697	.6293	.4059	.5731	.5998	.7276	.5151	.4979	.1374	-.0235	.6696	.5053	.5865
ACTVTS	FAST	SCRPTS													
ACTVTS	1.0000														
FAST	.5046	1.0000													
SCRPTS	.5033	.5646	1.0000												

NOTES:
Minimum pairwise N of cases: 223
Bold figures are not significant at .01 level; all others are significant at least at .01, most at .001

Factor analysis assumes a linear relationship between variables. The correlations in Table 2 are Pearson product-moment correlations which measure a linear association. The size of many coefficients is quite high and we can be reasonably confident that linear relationships exist, however an effort was made to check this assumption by producing scatterplots for each pair of variables. Although a scatterplot for variables with such a small range of scores is not always clear, it was found possible to obtain a reasonably good picture for most variables. With one exception, none of the sets of relationships were found to be grossly non-linear, and the majority showed a clearly linear pattern with strengths of association corresponding to the Pearson correlations. Tithing was the problematic variable, producing plots which were polarized in two distinct clusters. For the time being, tithing was retained in the analysis to preserve parity with the American study. However, as will be seen, it was removed at a later stage.

A further issue which merits consideration prior to factor analysis is the distribution of the variables. Table 3 displays the mean scores and standard deviation for each of the religiosity variables, for both the American and British data, a comparison of which will be considered shortly. All but four items have a maximum score of five, though for the first four church commitment items, for the British data, the *lower* the score the higher the commitment. Three items have a maximum score of seven (personal prayer, reading the scriptures, attending non-Sunday meetings) and one a maximum score of ten (tithing). An examination of the data suggests a strong negative skew in the distribution of almost all variables, particularly for the British data. A frequency analysis confirmed that this was so. In fact, only two variables ("some doctrines hard to accept" and "share with the poor") did *not* have a distinctly negative skew, and even they were somewhat skewed.

The need for a near-normal distribution of scores is often cited for parametric analysis such as the Pearson correlations on which the factor analysis is based; the more non-normal the distribution, the more unreliable will be the results. However, this is not strictly correct; in fact "the two measures

Table 3: Mean, standard deviation and number of cases for factor items

	American Survey			British Survey		
	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
<u>Traditional Orthodoxy</u>						
Divinity of Christ	4.64	.75	899	4.85	.48	230
God lives	4.61	.97	902	4.88	.45	230
Life after death	4.62	.72	909	4.90	.37	230
Satan exists	4.56	.79	906	4.87	.47	230
Bible word of God	4.51	.72	904	4.80	.52	230
<u>Particularistic Orthodoxy</u>						
President is prophet	4.44	.90	906	4.77	.66	230
Book of Mormon	4.42	.88	905	4.81	.61	230
LDS Church true church	4.21	1.11	905	4.78	.66	227
Joseph Smith's vision	4.37	.86	908	4.82	.58	229
<u>Spiritual Commitment</u>						
Relationship with Lord impnt	4.34	.94	907	4.40	.97	230
Holy Ghost important influence	4.04	1.19	902	4.23	1.06	230
Love God	4.53	.82	903	4.51	.83	228
Willing to do God's will	4.15	1.04	893	4.40	.79	229
Life no meaning without faith	4.08	1.26	906	4.26	1.06	230
<u>Church Commitment</u>						
Some doctrines hard to accept	3.40	1.49	901	2.46	1.44	229
Don't care about the Church	4.32	1.23	853	1.28	.76	230
Do not accept Church standards	3.92	1.40	884	1.62	1.13	228
Too many restrictions	3.91	1.12	902	1.60	1.01	229
Programs/activities important	3.28	1.46	900	4.56	.93	230
<u>Religious Behaviour</u>						
Encourage others to believe	3.76	1.28	888	3.78	1.11	230
Seek God's guidance	4.08	1.15	910	4.22	1.00	230
Admit sins to God	4.04	1.21	905	4.03	1.06	229
Frequency of personal prayer	5.09	2.22	905	6.19	1.52	229
Carry religion over	3.81	1.27	907	4.07	1.04	230
Live a Christian life	3.90	1.04	905	4.21	.84	230
Share with the poor	3.98	.96	859	3.34	.89	228
Forgive others	4.02	.91	909	4.17	.72	229
<u>Religious Participation</u>						
Attendance at Sacrament Meeting	3.45	1.67	886	4.63	.91	230
Attendance at Priesthood/RS	3.39	1.75	856	4.36	1.23	226
Full tithe payer	2.08	.88	843	7.78	4.14	227
Frequency of scripture reading* . . . . .	...	...	...	5.67	1.70	228
Non-Sunday activities* . . . . .	...	...	...	4.15	1.60	229
Frequency of fasting* . . . . .	...	...	...	2.59	.82	230
<u>Home Religious Observance</u>						
Family prayer**	3.60	2.45	876	...	...	...
Family religious discussion**	3.63	1.85	877	...	...	...
Read Bible/other scriptures**	3.10	1.96	880	...	...	...
Family rt/wrong discussions**	4.37	1.90	873	...	...	...

* British survey only ** American survey only

do not need to be normally distributed, they merely need to have similarly shaped distributions" [emphasis original].⁵ In the case of this data, the variables do indeed have similarly shaped distributions, in fact the consistency of the means and standard deviations is a notable feature of Table 3. We may therefore proceed with the factor analysis with some degree of confidence. Furthermore, the generally similar pattern of distributions for the American and British data suggest that comparisons of the two sets of factor solutions will also be more reliable. However, since the database for the American study is not available, tests for assessing the significance of differences between the two factor analyses could not be used.

Factor Analysis of Religiosity Items

The primary objective of the data analysis, as far as the American team was concerned, was to determine the validity of the seven dimensions of religiosity described in their conceptual model. The thirty-four items were subjected to a principal component factor analysis with VARIMAX rotation (using the SPSS computer software), with a pairwise deletion of missing data.⁶ This process will identify discrete factors (groups of related variables which in combination seem to describe the same aspect or function), according to pre-determined criteria. In this instance the criteria chosen were an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 for each factor and a factor loading greater than .45 on any one variable. The procedure was duplicated for the data obtained in the British student survey. The American report provides only the rotated solution of the factor analysis. Before comparing this with a similar solution for the British data, we will consider the non-rotated principal components for the British data. For the principal components analysis, the communality is initially represented

⁵ Michael B. Youngman, *Analysing Social and Educational Research Data* (McGraw-Hill: London, 1979), 74.

⁶ Pairwise deletion was used because of the number of cases with missing data. It will be seen later (Table 3), that this was not such a problem with the British survey, but pairwise deletion was still used to maintain parity between the two analyses.

by unity in the leading diagonals. The resulting solution can be seen in Table 4. The variables have been grouped according to the conceptual model previously described.

Table 4: Principal components matrix for religiosity items

	British factor loadings					Communality
Factors:	I	II	III	IV	V	(h ²)
<u>Traditional Orthodoxy</u>						
Divinity of Christ . . . . .	.74	.52				.856
God lives . . . . .	.77	.48				.868
Life after death . . . . .	.76	.46				.806
Satan exists . . . . .	.72	.55				.843
Bible word of God . . . . .	.70	.50				.764
<u>Particularistic Orthodoxy</u>						
President is prophet . . . . .	.73	.50				.826
Book of Mormon . . . . .	.75	.53				.873
LDS Church true church . . . . .	.74					.708
Joseph Smith's vision . . . . .	.76	.55				.888
<u>Spiritual Commitment</u>						
Relationship with Lord impnt . .	.81					.829
Holy Ghost important influence .	.81					.797
Love God . . . . .	.73					.683
Willing to do God's will . . . .	.73					.657
Life no meaning without faith . .	.59					.418
<u>Church Commitment</u>						
Some doctrines hard to accept . .	.53					.533
Don't care about the Church . . .	.68					.672
Don't accept Church standards . .	.73					.757
Too many restrictions . . . . .	.61				.47	.757
Programs/activities important . .	.84					.756
<u>Religious Behaviour</u>						
Encourage others to believe . . .	.58					.445
Seek God's guidance . . . . .	.75					.746
Admit sins to God . . . . .	.75					.735
Frequency of personal prayer . .	.77					.718
Carry religion over . . . . .	.63	-.50				.696
Live a Christian life . . . . .	.56					.586
Share with the poor . . . . .					.45	.574
Forgive others				-.78		.710
<u>Religious Participation</u>						
Attendance at Sacrament Meeting .	.70		-.52			.816
Attendance at Priesthood/RS . . .	.53					.558
Full tithe payer . . . . .	.60					.569
Frequency of scripture reading* .	.70					.719
Non-Sunday activities* . . . . .	.50					.475
Frequency of fasting* . . . . .	.60					.519
<u>Eigenvalues</u> 15.068 3.734 1.741 1.368 1.244 23.155						
<u>Percentage of variance</u> 45.7 11.3 5.3 4.1 3.8 70.2						

* British survey only
For clarity, loadings less than .45 are not given

The table shows what appears to be a fairly typical principal components solution. There is one general, two common and two unique factors. The greater proportion of variance in the model is accounted for by factor I, at nearly 46 percent. This is a substantial proportion, but not unusually high for the first principal component; the factor procedure extracts the maximum possible variance for the first component, then for each subsequent component in turn. The loadings are generally of a reasonable size, and every variable is included except two; as such, factor I serves to represent the general interrelationships between the variables which were revealed in the correlation matrix. The two variables not included are those which the matrix revealed as having low levels of correlation with the others. The overall range of loadings shows no particularly sensible or recognisable pattern. Rotation reveals a more useful separation and this will be presented shortly.

The second component is interesting, insofar as the significant loadings appear to identify it as a belief factor, which accounts for some 11 percent of the variance. However, the variables load on both factor I as well as factor II, and once again, rotation will help to help clarify the position. The remaining factors do not seem to display any particularly significant pattern. The communality figures are fairly high in general, indicating reasonably high levels of common variance accounted for by the components. The total variance accounted for by this solution is 70 percent. Two or three of the variables do have a communality of less than .5, which gives some concern over their reliability. However, the figures are not so low that these variables should be excluded in a re-analysis. In order to achieve a better separation and a more easily interpretable pattern of factor loadings, the principal components were subject to a VARIMAX rotation. The rotated solutions for the American and British tests are compared in Table 5.

It can be seen that although there are differences between the results, there are encouraging similarities, especially in the overall pattern. There is the same support for three components of religiosity. Five factors were produced in both analyses: one cognitive (orthodoxy) factor, one affective (commitment), one mixed commitment/behaviour (classed as behaviour by Cornwall) and two

Table 5: Varimax factor pattern of religiosity items

Factors:	American Survey					British Survey				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
<u>Traditional Orthodoxy</u>										
Divinity of Christ . . . . .	.68					.88				
God lives . . . . .	.54					.86				
Life after death . . . . .		.61				.83				
Satan exists . . . . .		.68				.88				
Bible word of God . . . . .		.52				.83				
<u>Particularistic Orthodoxy</u>										
President is prophet . . . . .		.75				.83				
Book of Mormon . . . . .		.74				.86				
LDS Church true church . . . . .		.71				.74				
Joseph Smith's vision . . . . .		.76				.88				
<u>Spiritual Commitment</u>										
Relationship with Lord impnt . .	.76					.80				
Holy Ghost important influence .	.63					.77				
Love God . . . . .	.78					.70				
Willing to do God's will . . . .	.63					.69				
Life no meaning without faith . .	.64					.45				
<u>Church Commitment</u>										
Some doctrines hard to accept . .					.53				.63	
Don't care about the Church . . .					.76				.59	
Don't accept Church standards . .					.76				.64	
Too many restrictions . . . . .					.53				.76	
Programs/activities important . .			.56					.53		
<u>Religious Behaviour</u>										
Encourage others to believe . . .	.58					.53				
Seek God's guidance . . . . .	.71					.78				
Admit sins to God . . . . .	.73					.76				
Frequency of personal prayer . .	.57					.64	.46			
Carry religion over . . . . .		.53				.71				
Live a Christian life . . . . .		.61				.50				
Share with the poor . . . . .		.68								.66
Forgive others . . . . .		.48								.79
<u>Religious Participation</u>										
Attendance at Sacrament Meeting .		.51					.81			
Attendance at Priesthood/RS . . .		.53					.70			
Full tithe payer . . . . .		.51					.66			
Frequency of scripture reading* .		...				.46	.68			
Non-Sunday activities* . . . . .		...					.63			
Frequency of fasting* . . . . .		...					.52			
<u>Home Religious Observance</u>										
Family prayer** . . . . .			.75				...			
Family religious discussion** . .			.83				...			
Read Bible/other scriptures** . .			.74				...			
Family rt/wrong discussions** . .			.78				...			

* British survey only ** American survey only

behaviour factors. American factor II is similar to British factor I; American I is related to British II, and American V and British IV are also similar. Unlike the American analysis, however, all the belief items for the British data load onto the first factor, which accounts for 45.7 percent of the variance, with an eigenvalue of 15.7 (see Table 6), a very strong and internally consistent factor.

Table 6: Factor Eigenvalues and Variance

Factors:	American Survey					British Survey				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
Eigenvalue	14.50	2.76	2.23	1.34	1.08	15.07	3.73	1.74	1.37	1.24
% of variance	42.6	8.1	6.6	3.9	3.2	45.7	11.3	5.3	4.1	3.8
Cum. %	42.6	50.7	57.3	61.2	64.4	45.7	57.0	62.3	66.4	70.2

Interestingly, at this stage the British factors seem to fit the conceptual model somewhat better than the American factors, with rather less spread of factor variables across the proposed dimensions. Note also, from Table 6 that the five British factors account for 70.2 percent of the variance, compared with only 64.4 percent for the American factors. This may be due to the more homogenous sample used for the British survey, a group much closer in age and circumstance than the much larger American sample. A comparison of the standard deviation and mean scores, shown in Table 3 supports this conclusion. It can be seen from this that the standard deviation for the British data is consistently less than for the American sample, indicating the smaller variance of the British scores. The scoring scheme for the British survey was the same as for the American survey, to permit such direct comparisons. The same table also shows that the mean scores for each item tend to be higher for the British data, suggesting a more committed group overall. Nevertheless, the differences are not large, and even though the American survey is of a much wider cross-section of members and has a higher response rate for the questionnaire (64 percent), it too reveals high levels of belief and commitment. It is interesting to note that the general pattern of scores is similar for the two sets of data, which at this stage at least, gives added confidence in the validity of the test. However, it is clear from these

results that the British sample shows higher levels of religiosity, and are a more compact and uniform group, though the differences are not as marked as one might have expected, given the different nature of the samples.

A small contributory reason for the differences might be the rewording of some of the items. The American team suggested that "I have no doubt that God lives" be reworded "I believe in God". The reasoning for this was that the original wording involved perhaps the saliency or strength of belief in addition to the fact of belief, and for this reason the factor loaded on the commitment factor. With the new wording the item does, in fact load with the belief factor as predicted. However, the factor loading of another item remained unaffected by a change of wording. "Church programmes and activities are an important part of my life" was thought to load with behaviour items rather than commitment items because of the stress on programme involvement. Cornwall's recommendation was followed, and this item was reworded as "The Church is an important part of my life", yet it still loads with the behaviour and not the commitment items.

The British factors do not fit the conceptual model in other areas. Factor II is evenly divided between spiritual commitment and religious behaviour. This should not be too surprising. We might expect to see a sequential relationship between spiritual commitment and religious behaviour. The degree or strength of an individual's belief would surely be related to the extent of his religious activities. However, to what extent can they be considered separate dimensions of religiosity? The same question applies to the two dimensions of belief – traditional orthodoxy and particularistic orthodoxy, which are combined in a single factor, Factor I.

One curious result of the analysis is Factor V, which consists of only two variables, "I share what I have with the poor", and "I forgive others". This has no counterpart in the American analysis, and is quite distinct and independent. In a correlation matrix produced prior to factor analysis, these two variables produced very low correlation coefficients with almost all other variables; their correlation with each other is also very low (.23). Under normal circumstances

they would have been deleted from the list of variables as unsuitable for inclusion in the factor analysis. However, they were retained for comparison with the American survey.

One possible explanation is that these activities represent behaviour which is not particularly religious in character, compared with other variables. Support for this is found in the 1968 study by Stark and Glock, discussed in chapter two. In their analysis they discovered that amongst Protestants, ethicalism (the term they used to denote loving thy neighbour and doing good for others) was "virtually unrelated to any other aspect of religiousness."⁷ Amongst Catholics, there were, in fact, some weak correlations, but even here they concluded that ethicalism "is not a typical component of Catholic religious commitment either"⁸. It seems that one does not need a religious faith to believe in the virtue of forgiving others and sharing with the poor. Although forgiveness and charity have been traditionally associated with the Christian Gospel, the motivations for these actions need not be religious. Indeed, in a world made small by communication technology, charitable work has become a massive global industry in which religion may be entirely excluded. Even when religiously motivated, these two activities are distinctly to do with the relationship of people to each other. The other items which might be thought to involve interaction with people and therefore be included in such a factor are either somewhat vague ("I live a Christian life"), or more distinctly associated with an obligation to God ("I encourage others to believe in Christ"). Plausible reasons for this isolated factor can therefore be suggested, but they do not explain the difference between the two surveys. Perhaps the generally younger, unmarried generation represented by the British survey see these activities differently; after all, young single people often appear to be obsessively self-centred; or perhaps cultural differences are involved.

⁷ Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 181.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

As Cornwall points out, the results of factor analysis are very dependent on what other variables are in the model. The American team therefore performed further analyses, one with only the belief and commitment variables, and one with only the behaviour variables. This was again duplicated for the British data, and the results are shown in Table 7 and Table 8.

Table 7: Varimax factor pattern of commitment and belief items

Factors:	American Survey			British Survey		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
<u>Traditional Orthodoxy</u>						
Divinity of Christ . . . . .	.68			.86		
God lives . . . . .	.55			.84		
Life after death . . . . .			.67	.82		
Satan exists . . . . .			.71	.86		
Bible word of God . . . . .			.60	.82		
<u>Particularistic Orthodoxy</u>						
President is prophet . . . . .		.54	.67	.82		
Book of Mormon . . . . .		.54	.65	.86		
LDS Church true church . . . . .		.63	.57	.74		
Joseph Smith's vision . . . . .		.51	.69	.87		
<u>Spiritual Commitment</u>						
Relationship with Lord impnt . .	.81			.81		
Holy Ghost important influence .	.74			.79		
Love God . . . . .	.79			.77		
Willing to do God's will . . . . .	.73			.75		
Life no meaning without faith . .	.72			.51		
<u>Church Commitment</u>						
Some doctrines hard to accept . .		.68				.61
Don't care about the Church . . .		.65				.69
Do not accept Church standards .		.78				.79
Too many restrictions . . . . .		.64				.79
Programs/activities important . .		.56				.61
<u>Eigenvalue</u>						
	8.55	2.05	1.20	10.78	2.32	1.19
<u>Percent of variance</u>						
	45.0	10.8	6.3	56.7	12.2	6.3
<u>Cumulative percent of variance</u> .						
	45.0	55.8	62.1	56.7	68.9	75.2

Factors for the commitment and belief items show very little change. The variable "Programmes and activities are important" (which was reworded for the British survey as "The Church is an important part of my life") now loads with the "Church Commitment" factor. The major difference from the American

analysis is the single belief factor – Factor I. This is virtually unchanged from the original factor pattern, and includes both orthodoxy dimensions. A third analysis was performed by the American team, this time using only the nine belief items, and two clear factors were produced, supporting the two proposed orthodoxy dimensions. The same procedure was used with the British data, but as in the first and second analyses only a single factor was produced. The strength and consistency of this factor suggest that for the British data, there is little distinction between the proposed two dimensions of belief.

Table 8: Varimax factor pattern of behaviour items

Factors:	American Survey			British Survey		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
<u>Religious Behaviour</u>						
Encourage others to believe . . . .	.72			.58		
Seek God's guidance . . . . .	.76			.84		
Admit sins to God . . . . .	.80			.84		
Frequency of personal prayer . . .	.62			.73	.46	
Carry religion over . . . . .	.59	.52		.72		
Live a Christian life . . . . .	.54	.46		.45		
Share with the poor . . . . .	.64					.61
Forgive others . . . . .	.65					.83
<u>Religious Participation</u>						
Attendance at Sacrament Meeting . .		.88			.79	
Attendance at Priesthood/RS . . . .		.88			.70	
Full tithe payer . . . . .		.79			.58	
Frequency of scripture reading* . .		. . .		.55	.65	
Non-Sunday activities* . . . . .		. . .			.60	
Frequency of fasting* . . . . .		. . .			.58	
<u>Home Religious Observance</u>						
Family prayer** . . . . .			.68		. . .	
Family religious discussion** . . .			.81		. . .	
Read Bible/other scriptures** . . .			.74		. . .	
Family rt/wrong discussions** . . .			.84		. . .	
Eigenvalue	7.46	1.65	1.12	6.43	1.45	1.10
Percent of variance	49.8	11.0	7.5	45.9	10.4	7.9
Cumulative percent of variance . .	49.8	60.8	68.3	45.9	56.3	64.2

* British survey only ** American survey only

Table 8 provides the factor pattern for the behaviour items, and also shows little difference from the first analysis. Two variables, sharing with the

poor and forgiving others remain together as an independent factor, as they did in the first analysis. One problematic feature of the behaviour analysis is the scripture reading variable, which loads quite strongly on two factors. It seems that this activity is seen both as a personal obligation or response to God, as well as an institutional requirement of the Church. Similar comments can be made for the personal prayer item, which also loads on the same two factors. Further analysis revealed that the two variables have a high correlation with each other (.72). This seems reasonable: after all, both activities are a form of private devotion and for many people may take place together as a combined religious act. When the scriptures item is deleted, the prayer item loads on only one factor; however when the prayer item is deleted, the scripture item still loads on two factors. It was therefore decided to delete the scripture reading item.

The results of the British factor analysis provide one belief, two commitment and three behaviour factors. This supports the concept that there are three distinct components of religiosity, as proposed by both the conceptual model and the American results: cognitive, affective and behaviour. However, the composition of some of these factors does not fit easily with the predicted dimensions. One difficulty is the relationship between the affective dimension "spiritual commitment" and the behaviour dimension "religious behaviour", where, in the first analysis, most of the items create a single factor. Apparently some religious behaviours correlate more with spiritual commitment than with other behaviours. This was similar for both the American and British analyses. In the Cornwall study, the religious behaviour variables were deleted altogether. If this is done for the British data, we would still have the two affective modes predicted by the theory. We would also have two modes for behaviour: one very clearly institutional, and the other the two-item factor involving forgiveness and sharing with the poor. This seems to suggest a division of relationships with individuals on the one hand, and with the group on the other.

It can be seen that despite general support for three components, support for the division of each of the three into two modes, personal and institutional, is less strong. The two belief dimensions show no independence

whatever, and must surely be regarded as a single dimension. Even in the American analysis, they were the least independent of the dimensions. In the remaining two components, separate modes do emerge, though this is complicated by the combination, mentioned above, of the spiritual commitment and religious behaviour dimensions in one factor. The two dimensions seem to be measuring only a single aspect of religiosity.

Religiosity Scales

Based on the factor analysis, Cornwall and her associates created eight scales from thirty-two of the original thirty-four items. When the religious behaviour scale was deleted, this still left a Christian behaviour scale as a measure of personal religious behaviour. However, a Christian behaviour factor did not emerge in the British analysis. It seems clear that despite superficial similarities, the differences between the American and British factor patterns are sufficiently great that the same dimensions and scales are inappropriate. In any case, as was mentioned, several items were added or deleted for the British analysis. It therefore seems necessary at this point to depart from the American data and consequent scale structure. Scales were devised which seem consistent with the British factor analysis. For these scales the belief items were initially unchanged and were presented in two separate modes, traditional belief and LDS belief. Although the factor analysis strongly suggests that only one dimension exists for belief items, further confirmation was sought before abandoning the conceptual model. The other scales were traditional commitment, LDS commitment, traditional behaviour, LDS behaviour, and charitable behaviour. This last dimension was the two-item factor involving forgiveness of others and giving to the poor. The frequency of scripture reading variable was deleted from the LDS behaviour scale, for the reasons already described. As in the American report, these scales were subjected to a reliability analysis, using the SPSS "Reliability" procedure. This provided Cronbach's coefficient of homogeneity (α) for each scale, and within each scale a correlation coefficient for each item with the rest of its scale. The American analysis

assumed an alpha coefficient of .75 or above to justify the integrity of a scale, and this was adopted for the British scales. The scales and the results can be seen in Table 9.

Two scales failed to meet the required .75 alpha coefficient: LDS behaviour, and charitable behaviour. In the case of LDS behaviour, further analysis revealed that the inclusion of the item concerning tithing was responsible for the low alpha value. When this item is deleted from the scale, the alpha coefficient rises to .75; the reason for this may be the nature of student funding. In the Mormon Church, a full tithing is regarded as ten percent of an individual's income, and under normal circumstances it may be assumed to be a good indicator of involvement and loyalty. However, there is controversy in some situations as to what constitutes "income". A student's grant is an example, and marginal notes on several questionnaire forms suggest that it is indeed an ambiguous area. One student wrote "Do we pay tithing on student grants!! I do . . . but I hear conflicting arguments"; another said "pay tithing on income from work none from grant". The question is further complicated by the emergence of student loans as a normal and expected part of educational funding. Does a bank loan constitute an income? If some students regard their grant or a loan as income, and others do not, the results will be inconsistent and would explain the low alpha value; consequently, the tithing item was removed from the religiosity scales.

The charitable behaviour scale poses a more difficult problem. The small alpha coefficient reflects the low correlation figures of .23, commented on previously. Since it is a two-item factor, the item-scale correlation is of course the correlation of the items with each other. This is much lower than the factor loadings for these two items. Since the factor loadings are in effect correlations between the variables and the factor vector, there is no reason why they should be the same as the variable correlations with each other, and this case shows the prudence of testing for reliability after extracting the factors and constructing the scales. Under normal circumstances, as previously mentioned, these two variables would have been omitted in an initial consideration of the variable

Table 9: Initial religiosity scales for British data

	Item-scale correlation	Cronbach's alpha for each scale
<u>Traditional Belief</u>		.96
Divinity of Christ . . . . .	.91	
God lives . . . . .	.92	
Life after death . . . . .	.88	
Satan exists . . . . .	.88	
Bible word of God . . . . .	.84	
<u>LDS Belief</u>		.94
President is prophet . . . . .	.86	
Book of Mormon word of God . . . . .	.92	
LDS Church true church . . . . .	.77	
Joseph Smith's vision . . . . .	.93	
<u>Traditional Commitment</u>		.88
Relationship with Lord impnt . . . . .	.80	
Holy Ghost important influence . . . . .	.81	
Love God with all heart . . . . .	.76	
Life no meaning without faith . . . . .	.54	
Willing to do God's will . . . . .	.76	
<u>LDS Commitment</u>		.84
Some doctrines hard to accept . . . . .	.53	
Don't care about the Church . . . . .	.65	
Don't accept Church standards . . . . .	.77	
Too many restrictions . . . . .	.75	
Programmes/activities impnt . . . . .	.66	
<u>Traditional Behaviour</u>		.88
Encourage others to believe . . . . .	.52	
Seek God's guidance . . . . .	.78	
Admit sins to God . . . . .	.82	
Frequency of personal prayer . . . . .	.72	
Carry religion over . . . . .	.76	
Live a Christian life . . . . .	.60	
<u>LDS Behaviour</u>		.64
Attendance at Sacrament Meeting . . . . .	.68	
Attendance at Priesthood/RS . . . . .	.48	
Full tithe payer . . . . .	.57	
Non-Sunday activities . . . . .	.53	
Frequency of fasting . . . . .	.58	
<u>Charitable Behaviour</u>		.37
Share with the poor . . . . .	.23	
Forgive others . . . . .	.23	

correlation matrix, but in this case for the purpose of comparison with the American data they were retained. However, because of the low scores in the reliability test, the two-item scale should now be deleted.

Scale scores were created from totals of the scale item values. A correlation matrix of these initial scales (see Table 10) showed as expected a very high correlation (.86) between the two belief scales, which suggests they should be combined into one measure.

Table 10: Correlation matrix of initial religiosity scales

	TRADBEL	LDSBEL	TRADCOM	LDSCOM	TRADBEH	LDSBEH
TRADBEL	1.00					
LDSBEL	.86	1.00				
TRADCOM	.61	.61	1.00			
LDSCOM	.51	.58	.72	1.00		
TRADBEH	.48	.50	.85	.72	1.00	
LDSBEH	.39	.46	.58	.62	.64	1.00

The correlation between the traditional commitment and traditional behaviour scales was also high (.85) and necessitated an adjustment. It will be remembered that these two scales formed a single factor in the initial analysis, and only created two factors when the behaviour items were analyzed separately; the correlation is therefore not surprising. Various analyses were undertaken to identify whether the correlation was due to one or two items which could be eliminated, but it was found to be broadly based for the whole scale. Items from the two factors were therefore combined into one scale.

In a similar analysis, Cornwall and her colleagues remind us that Stark and Glock had suggested that "two measures of religiosity are independent of one another to the extent that they share less than half of their variance"⁹. This implies that the correlation coefficient between scales should not exceed .70. Using this figure as a reference it can be seen that overall, the correlation

⁹ Cornwall, "The Dimensions of Religiosity", 240.

values are rather high, and two (LDSCOM/TRADCOMM AND LDSCOM/TRADBEH) are just over the .70 threshold. However, since the margin is small, it was decided to retain these three scales in their existing form. From a consideration of these results we can create a final arrangement of scales, which is shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Final religiosity scales for British data

	Item-scale correlation	Cronbach's alpha for each scale
<u>Religious Belief</u>		.96
Divinity of Christ . . . . .	.90	
God lives . . . . .	.89	
Life after death . . . . .	.86	
Satan exists . . . . .	.87	
Bible word of God . . . . .	.81	
President is prophet . . . . .	.86	
Book of Mormon word of God . . . . .	.93	
LDS Church true church . . . . .	.74	
Joseph Smith's vision . . . . .	.93	
<u>Response to God</u>		.93
Relationship with Lord impnt . . . . .	.87	
Holy Ghost important influence . . . . .	.86	
Love God with all heart . . . . .	.74	
Life no meaning without faith . . . . .	.51	
Willing to do God's will . . . . .	.76	
Encourage others to believe . . . . .	.55	
Seek God's Guidance . . . . .	.82	
Admit sins to God . . . . .	.82	
Frequency of personal prayer . . . . .	.74	
Carry religion over . . . . .	.76	
Live a Christian life . . . . .	.62	
<u>LDS Commitment</u>		.84
Some doctrines hard to accept . . . . .	.53	
Don't care about the Church . . . . .	.65	
Don't accept Church standards . . . . .	.77	
Too many restriction . . . . .	.75	
Programmes/activities important . . . . .	.66	
<u>LDS Behaviour</u>		.75
Attendance at Sacrament Meeting . . . . .	.72	
Attendance at Priesthood/RS . . . . .	.54	
Non-Sunday activities . . . . .	.53	
Frequency of fasting . . . . .	.55	

These scales are constructed from twenty-nine of the original thirty-three religiosity items. They are virtually the same as the factors identified in

the first factor analysis, with the exception of the two-item Christian behaviour factor and the scripture study and tithing items which were deleted. This is quite a different outcome from that of the American study. To produce dimensions or scales which better fit the conceptual model it would be necessary to manipulate a match where none really exists.

There are several reasons why the British data have produced such different results. First, the belief items form a very stable factor, which unlike the American belief items will not split into two modes despite different approaches to the analysis. Second, the religious behaviour items do not factorize in a suitable pattern. Two factors were produced as in the American analysis, but one of them is the unusual two-item factor which has no real American equivalent, and the remainder of the variables from this dimension form a single factor with the spiritual commitment variables. This factor, combining behaviour and commitment components, does not divide into two independent dimensions with further analysis, as does the equivalent American factor. Two dimensions are produced when the commitment and behaviour items are factorized separately, but a reliability test shows that they are not sufficiently independent. The underlying reason for these differences seems to be the generally higher levels of correlation for the British data, both between factors, and also between variables within factors. As before stated, this is likely to be because of a more homogeneous sample. Having said this, it should be noted that correlations for the American data are also quite high. Consequently although the American results permit an arrangement of factors and scales which fit the conceptual model very well, the statistical evidence, although acceptable, is not particularly strong.

Conclusions: Factor Analysis

The British results do provide strong support for the multidimensional nature of religiosity, but the number and nature of the dimensions do not follow the American pattern. They provide support for the concept of three components: cognitive or belief, affective or commitment, and behaviour, but in

addition a fourth component has been produced, combining both commitment and behaviour items. There is also limited support for the two proposed modes of religiosity, personal and institutional.

What we have are four scales or factors: (1) a cognitive or belief scale (called "Religious Belief"), combining both personal and institutional modes; (2) a personal mode scale (called "Response to God"), combining commitment and behaviour dimensions; (3) an institutional commitment scale (called "LDS Commitment"); (4) an institutional behaviour scale (called "LDS Behaviour"). Only the last two fit neatly with the conceptual model.

The following conclusions are drawn from these results. For this group of highly committed Mormons, belief is a single dimension which includes traditional Christian beliefs as well as those specific to the Mormon Church. Those aspects of religion which are to do with our relationship and response to God also form a single dimension, regardless of whether we class them as affective or behavioural. Areas of commitment to the Church, as distinct from commitment to God also form a single dimension, as do behaviours of an institutional character. These results certainly appear to support a distinction between personal and institutional religious responses, though not in the manner described by the original model. The first two scales seem to be measuring the internal, intrinsic component, and the second two scales are measuring an external response. One interesting feature in the latter category is the item on fasting. The Mormon ideal is that it should be a deeply personal religious experience; as such it should appear in the response to God dimension. However, it has been institutionalised in the Church insofar as a specific day, the first Sunday of each month is designated as "Fast Sunday", when all faithful members are expected to fast for twenty-four hours. The money that would have been spent on food is donated for charitable aid. Individuals may fast at other times as well, though most members will confine their fasting to the designated day. It seems from the above data that this has produced a response to fasting, at least among the student sample, which is more of an institutional exercise than a personal spiritual experience.

All of the preceding analysis suggests that the complexity of religiosity is such that we are still some way from being able to produce reliable scales for its measurement, even within a single denomination. Certainly, a need for further comparative research is indicated. Although there were sufficient similarities between the results to indicate that the two studies were related, the differences were sufficient to suggest that modifications to the model and the test are required to achieve an instrument capable of use throughout the Mormon Church. The lack of consistency here, in results produced by the same instrument in different settings of the same church give further emphasis to an earlier discussion. The inadequacy of Glock's proposition concerning the universality of certain dimensions of religiosity was questioned in chapter two, and also the tendency for researchers to assume that the same research instrument could be used to compare religiosity in different churches. It has been difficult to achieve comparable factors from data from two sections of the same Church, using an instrument designed specifically for that Church. It follows that much greater problems are likely to be encountered when attempting to compare religiosity between different churches.

There are many reasons why the two studies may lead to different conclusions; the inadequacy of the model, implied above is only one. It could be, as already noted, that the different results are largely due the differences in the samples, but this is by no means a forgone conclusion. Although the samples were different, they were drawn from a church which is unusually unified in doctrine and behavioural expectations, and as was pointed out, the difference in levels of response between the two samples was not great. Methodological inadequacies might also have caused problems, especially the sampling and response which provided a strongly skewed data set.

The relationship between commitment (or attitude) and behaviour has been the subject of much research. Fishbein and Ajzen, for example, have suggested that the measurement of attitude has been notoriously inconsistent because often the variables used in its measurement have not been adequately differentiated. They identify "beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviour; four

distinct variables that have often been used interchangeably in the past."¹⁰ Even when the separate nature of these variables is recognized in the conceptual model, they may be confused in the data gathering process.

At the operational level, many investigators fail to distinguish between beliefs, attitudes and intentions. Thus, although the conceptual variable in a theory may be attitude, the operation utilized may be assessing beliefs, intentions, or even behavior.¹¹

This does not appear to be a problem in the current model, and is therefore not an explanation for the inconsistency between the American and British factors. Attitude according Fishbein and Ajzen is an affective component indicating evaluation. This corresponds with the commitment component in our model. Items in the model measuring belief and behaviour also correspond with the same terms as defined by Fishbein and Ajzen. "Intentions" does not have an equivalent in our model, but neither does it seem to be confounded with any of the other three groups, except for possibly one item, "willing to do God's will". This is included with the commitment or attitude variables, but is conceivably a measure of behavioural intention as defined by Fishbein and Ajzen.

We have defined religiosity for this study as the total expression of religiousness of an individual, which includes behaviour, attitude (or commitment), and belief. Some researchers adopt a narrower definition, and see religiosity as a measure of attitude as, in fact, do Fishbein and Ajzen.¹² If we accepted this definition, then clearly some of the dimensions identified in the factor analysis would be inappropriate, and their use as scales in the measurement of religiosity would likely lead to inconsistent results. However, this should not produce inconsistency in the factor analysis itself. In fact, it has been recommended for attitude scaling that a heterogeneous set of items be used for factor analysis, and that "those with high loadings on the evaluative

¹⁰ Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen, *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behaviour: An Introduction to Theory and Research* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975), vi.

¹¹ Ibid., 51.

¹² Ibid., 95.

factor would be retained."¹³ Although this was in connection with a semantic differential scale, the same principle applies for a Likert-type scale as used in this study. What may be of concern, however, is if the "heterogeneous set" is lacking in some way. It could be that the range of items fails to represent the conceptual model adequately. Future research should perhaps look closely at the range of items selected, and determine if a wider range (or a more restricted range) might improve accuracy and consistency.

Despite these concerns over the differences in the scales produced for the American and British studies, the respective scales are presumed to be valid for their own study, even though they may not have a more general application. The British scales produced here will therefore be utilized when analysing the religiosity of college students in the next chapter.

Longitudinal Case Study

A longitudinal study was undertaken with a small group of students, in order to provide supportive data for the questionnaire, and to examine at a more personal and detailed level changes which may take place during a student's university experience. The study required regular contact and interviews with each student over a three year period, and consequently the sample for the inquiry was determined by the availability of competent assistants who were able to make such a commitment. Six of the CES coordinators were willing to help, and together with the author the team comprised seven researchers.

These coordinators work in different parts of the country, which provided a wide regional spread, as follows: Scotland, North-East England, North-West England, East Midlands, Birmingham, East Anglia, London. They selected students from within their area, and this immediately presented a problem. Most of them hold ecclesiastical office in the Church, and it was important that they did not select students for whom they had an ecclesiastical responsibility. Students would be unlikely to respond in a normal manner under

¹³ *ibid.*, 78.

such a situation, and might feel more constrained in their responses to someone who was their bishop or stake president. This generally meant that students in the close vicinity of the researcher could not be used, and this further reduced those who were available for selection.

Each researcher was invited to select students according to criteria which were supplied to them. The criteria were drawn up to provide a balance of several types of student. All students were to be between eighteen and twenty-six years of age, single and in the first year of their course. Other criteria included: (a) activity in the Church, measured by past Seminary involvement, Church attendance, and the assessment of their bishop; (b) whether living at home or not; (c) whether enrolled in Institute or not. By this it was intended to have a balance of weak and strong members, some at home and some living away, some enrolled in Institute and some not. In addition, a balance of male and female students was included.

In the event, the rather precise instructions given for the selection of students according to the above criteria became merely general guidelines. Questions of availability and access, together with the need for single students in the first year of their course meant that in practice the number of potential students was considerably limited. For some of the researchers it was a case of using whoever was available. Nevertheless, the instructions were followed as far as possible, and although the resulting group is not as mixed as was originally planned, it did in fact provide a reasonable spread of responses in the religiosity tests, as will be seen from some of the data presented in the next chapter.

Each researcher was invited to work with four cases, but because of the reasons just presented this tidy and balanced arrangement was not possible. Some worked with three or five, one with six and one with only one. A total of twenty-five students agreed to be studied, and started the project. During the three years there were some losses. One student failed exams and left university. Another left his course and went on a mission for the Church. A third student became seriously ill; a fourth married, moved house and contact

was lost. One or two, through failure on the part of the researcher failed to complete one of the scheduled interviews. Thus the number of useable completed interviews varies; twenty out of the original twenty-five students completed the final interview.

The case studies began with interviews in February 1991. Further interviews were conducted in October 1991, May 1992, October 1992 and June 1993. In addition, the interviewers were asked to follow the general progress of the individuals through normal reports and information they received as part of their work. The first, third and fifth interviews included the same test of religiosity as that used for the questionnaire, which has already been described in detail. This was done in order to compare responses in each year of study, and provide a comparison with data from the questionnaire for different year groups.

For each interview researchers were provided with a question schedule which included a number of closed-response (multiple-choice, yes/no etc.) and open questions. There were rather more open questions than in the questionnaire, since the interview situation and the small sample made this kind of response more appropriate. The schedule was accompanied by a sheet of instructions on how to conduct the interview. In addition, training was given to the questioners as a group. However, each of those who assisted with the study are professional educators with many years of experience, and in addition have had much practice in the conducting of interviews.

For the second and subsequent interviews, a fairly uniform pattern was followed for the question schedules, though there were minor changes and additions from one interview to the next in response to reaction from both interviewees and interviewers. However, the first interview was different from the others, since it included much of the material from the questionnaire which was not necessary to repeat in further interviews. The repetition of material from the questionnaire was necessary since, because the survey was anonymous, the response of the case study subjects could not be identified in the returns. This initial interview required some three hours to complete, which both

interviewees and interviewers found to be unreasonably lengthy. Subsequent schedules were therefore smaller, as well as involving different content.

Questions for the interviews were designed to explore the following areas: a) personal and religious background, including conversion to the Mormon Church; b) response to higher education and its alleged challenges; c) Church support; d) Institute and LDSSA; e) changes in the religious attitudes and involvement of the student. A copy of the first and last interview schedules are provided in the appendix. Interviews two, three and four were very similar to the last one, with appropriate changes of wording to allow for different times of the year. Although some questions were deleted or added, the changes were between interviews were minor, and the same basic format is followed; they are therefore not provided in the appendix. The reason for the similarity between interviews was to observe any changes or shifts in the nature of the responses which were given. In fact, very little change was observed, though some of the students' comments proved to be quite interesting. As already stated, the case-studies provide mainly supportive material. Information and insights from them are generally included as illustrative or comparative comments.

Institute Teachers Questionnaire

It is made clear a number of times in this study that the Institutes of Religion programme is regarded in the Mormon Church as an important agency for the spiritual support of college students. It was originally established with the explicit objective of counteracting the secular, atheistic influences of higher education, and this remains a priority for the programme to the present day. The Church invests a significant proportion of resources for the maintenance of its Institutes of Religion. It seemed necessary, therefore, to devote a significant effort in researching and evaluating the programme. Institute in the British Isles is based almost entirely on volunteer help. There are twelve full-time employees who supervised, at the time of the survey, 150 volunteer teachers. The performance, morale and commitment of the volunteers is clearly a crucial factor in any volunteer-based organisation, in determining success and

effectiveness. The nature of the Institute teachers and their response concerning their work will reflect management competence and Church support. Their attitude to the programme is also likely to be a significant factor determining student support and involvement.

Since the teachers are scattered throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland, a postal questionnaire was used, as with the students. For administrative ease and also to reduce costs, the full-time CES coordinators assisted in the distribution of the questionnaire. A pilot for the survey was conducted early in March 1993, with fifteen teachers. Fourteen replies were received within ten days. After careful analysis of the response, it was determined that no changes were necessary; the questionnaire used for the pilot is identical with that used for the main questionnaire, which was distributed during the last week of the same month. It was therefore decided that the responses for the pilot should be included for analysis with those from the main questionnaire, since it was the same instrument, used at almost the same time.

With the inclusion of the fifteen teachers from the pilot, the sample was in fact the whole population of 150 teachers. The questionnaires were distributed by the CES coordinators as part of their regular mailing to their teachers. It was important to ensure confidentiality, since the teachers might not wish their direct supervisor to be aware of his or her response to some of the questions. The returns were therefore mailed directly back, without any coordinator intervention. To facilitate reminders, a coding system was used which allowed non-respondents to be identified without compromising anonymity. Each teacher received the questionnaire, an explanatory letter and a stamped addressed envelope. The questionnaire may be seen in the appendix. The initial response was a disappointing 51 percent. However, after a written reminder and several verbal reminders from the Coordinators, this rose over a nine week period to a final response of 80 percent. Only thirty teachers failed to complete a questionnaire.

An attempt was made to contact non-respondents through the coordinators. Most teachers reported that they had simply forgotten, or that

pressure of work had prevented them. Most non-respondents, according to coordinators, were the kind of teachers who regularly fail to answer correspondence or send in reports, and their non-response to the questionnaire was not unexpected. This is a familiar problem which coordinators face in dealing with volunteers, and according to them such lack of attention to administrative procedures is not necessarily associated with poor performance in other areas or lack of commitment to the programme. The respondents are therefore a group that is rather more administratively efficient than teachers as a whole, but this is unlikely to result in any significant bias in answers to the survey questions.

The questionnaire consisted of sixty-two questions divided into five sections. The broad aim was to discover how well organised and effective Institute is and the kind of teachers who are appointed to serve in it. The five sections covered basic demographics, appointment and training procedures, level and adequacy of supervision, and attitudes to teaching and students. Responses from the teachers can be compared with official expectations and requirements, and from this an estimate of the effectiveness and condition of the organisation can be made, together with some feeling for its relative importance within the Church as a whole. This analysis can be studied in a later chapter.

Coordinator Questionnaire

The Institutes of Religion are supervised and directed by twelve full-time regional coordinators in this country. They appoint, train and supervise the teachers, do some teaching themselves, organise the recruitment of students, arrange the provision of teacher and student materials, and perform a variety of administrative tasks. They also interact with ecclesiastical leaders and act as advisors to them for all educational matters, including Seminary and Institute. They are the driving force that maintains standards and continuity in the programme, and it is primarily through their efforts that Institute is promoted and organised within the overall Church setting.

Each of the coordinators was invited to complete a forty-eight item

questionnaire, and all twelve responded. The main objective was to determine how well Institute is directed by the coordinators, and the position of priority it holds for them in comparison with other responsibilities, especially Seminary. Some of the areas covered in the teacher questionnaire were included, such as appointment and training procedures, level and adequacy of supervision, and attitudes to teaching and students; indeed, some questions were identical. It was then possible to compare responses from teachers with those from the coordinators, and to some extent observe how close coordinators' estimates were with what teachers reported was actually happening. Other areas were included, to determine how well coordinators understood Institute policy and how well it was applied in practice. As with the teacher questionnaire, an analysis of these items is provided in a later chapter. The questionnaire itself is included in the appendix.

Bishops' Questionnaire

It has been explained elsewhere in this study that the bishops and branch presidents in the Mormon Church are the central figures in the ecclesiastical leadership, in terms of interaction with ordinary Church members. Each bishop leads a local congregation of between about two hundred and six hundred people, and he is responsible more than any other single officer for the day-to-day running of the Church and its programmes. His influence will determine in large measure the atmosphere and character of the Church in his ward, and the emphasis given to different elements of Church organisation. Institute is not directly under the jurisdiction of the bishop, but his support and cooperation is important, particularly in the matter of teacher selection.

Not only is his support for Institute significant for this study, but in addition the bishop is responsible for the wider agencies of pastoral care through which all members are supported, including college students. He also has direct personal duties in relation to the welfare of members of his congregation. He is responsible for appointing members to positions of teaching or leadership in his ward, and generally ensuring that they are involved and

active members of the Mormon community. For these reasons, the attitude of the bishop towards college students, and his understanding of their needs is important.

A survey of the bishops posed some challenges. First of all, the Church is rather sensitive about the workload of the bishops, which is very considerable, and is reluctant to impose any additional administrative concerns. Bishops receive a weekly mailing from the area office (the national headquarters of the Church in Britain, based at Solihull), and are required to respond to various routine items on a weekly, monthly and quarterly basis, in addition to a variety of specific items which may occur at any time. The Church is particularly concerned about this volume of correspondence required from, and sent to the bishops. It is controlled and kept to what is considered to be an essential minimum from official Church departments and leaders. Furthermore, the Church does not permit its organisation to be used for the promotion of commercial products and services. For these reasons, the names and addresses of bishops, outside their own wards and stakes, are kept strictly confidential. It is necessary to obtain approval from the Area Presidency to obtain access to bishops in a given geographical area such as the British Isles, and for the reasons given they will generally be reluctant to grant such permission.

In order to improve the chances of receiving permission for a survey of bishops, it was decided to restrict the size of the questionnaire to a single page, and limit the questions to factual and multi-choice questions which could be answered in five minutes or so, without requiring any special research. This would also, of course, improve the likelihood of a response from the bishops. However, it also considerably reduced the range of topics which could be addressed. The questionnaire, which can be seen in the appendix, eventually comprised twenty-two questions. The questions sought information about the bishop's knowledge of and attitude towards college students, the circumstances and needs of college students in his ward, and the extent to which some needs were being met, and the status of Institute.

Perhaps because of the small size of the questionnaire, and perhaps also

because of their concern for this particular age-group in the Church, the Area Presidency granted permission to administer the survey. They also permitted the use of the internal weekly mailing system for the distribution and return of the forms. This reduced the perceived level of confidentiality, but was necessary for financial reasons. The sample was 297 bishops and branch presidents, which is just over 90 percent of the total. The missing 10 percent were bishops in the London area; they were excluded, since by chance another researcher was engaged in a study of that particular group at the same time.

The questionnaire was distributed in February 1993. The initial response was a very disappointing 34 percent. After a reminder letter in March the response eventually rose to 66.7 percent. Further reminder letters, or the following-up of non-respondents was not possible, because of the sensitivities of the Church described above. It is therefore not possible to estimate how representative the respondents are of the whole. It should be mentioned however, that difficulty in obtaining reports and information from the bishops is a well-known problem in the Church. The problem of such communication has been mentioned several times in relation to other groups, and is perhaps an inevitable consequence of the lay ministry and organisation of the Church. Bishops are called from a wide variety of backgrounds, and for many the duties of bishop will be an individual's first experience with the need for extensive and regular reporting and paperwork. Furthermore, such administrative duties compete for time with other, perhaps more pressing responsibilities. It should not be surprising, therefore, that correspondence and reporting is a problem for many bishops. Several of the completed questionnaires were clearly completed by men with minimal skills in this area; indeed, although it was a fairly simple form, some were completed so badly as to be unusable. Some had been passed on to a clerk to complete, despite the fact that even a cursory glance would indicate that a number of questions required the bishop's personal response. It is difficult to know, therefore, what kind of bias, if any, the response represents. This would have been difficult to determine even if access to the non-respondents had been possible. Analysis of the units who did not return forms

reveals no particular pattern in terms of size of unit or geographical location. The third who did not respond are not necessarily less concerned about college students or Institute; they are more likely to be simply those who at the time of the survey were under the most pressure, or those who care least for reports and paperwork. The analysis of this survey, as with the other surveys described in this chapter is provided in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 5

MORMON STUDENTS AND RELIGIOSITY

Identification, Sample and Response

The sample for the questionnaire comprised all identified Mormon students in higher education. The source was the LDSSA (Latter-day Saint Student Association) database, maintained by CES (Church Educational System). There were a number of problems with this source. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that it was not very accurate. The total number of students in December 1990, according to the database, was 512. Administration of the questionnaire revealed that 82 of this number were no longer students, 6 had moved address and were untraceable, and a further 36 students were identified who were not previously included in the database. This resulted in a final sample size of 459. A completed questionnaire was received from 261 students, giving a response of 56.9 percent, which is unexceptional for a postal questionnaire but disappointing given the nature of this particular survey. It was hoped that since the survey was directed at a group who might be considered to have a personal commitment to the subject in hand, and since it was completely anonymous, it was expected that a high rate of return would result. Clearly this was not the case.

Further inaccuracies in the initial database were discovered from the responses, in that quite a high proportion (10.9 percent) were not in higher education at all but were studying for GCSEs, A levels and so forth. In the analysis which follows, these students are not included, since the study is specifically concerned with those in higher education. Only 64.7 percent of respondents were conventional undergraduates studying for a degree or degree equivalent, and a further 7.7 percent were postgraduates studying for a higher degree or a professional qualification. Despite these problems, the source was

the best available, and better than any alternative method of identifying LDS students.

The problems associated with maintaining a database of students is an important feature affecting Church support for them. The Church seeks to take the initiative in the matter of student support, but clearly students must be identified before they can be supported. The compilation and updating of such a record is a massive administrative task, even for the relatively small numbers involved. Three main sources of information are drawn upon: bishops and branch presidents, Institute personnel and records, and students already identified. The process begins in August when Institute registration forms are received for the forthcoming academic year. These forms identify college students who have enrolled in Institute. Soon after this, a request is sent to all bishops and branch presidents (currently some 400) for information concerning new students and changes in the status of existing students. In addition, all students already on file are contacted individually by post. A standard information form is sent to all identified students, and it is the completed forms which provide the information for the database. The process of information gathering is a year-round task, though the record for a given academic year is substantially complete by about January or February.

One potential source of bias is that the sample almost certainly underrepresents inactive members of the Church – those who do not participate in Church activities and seldom if ever attend worship services. The fact that the student has been identified at all means that he or she is active, on the fringes of activity, recently inactive, or connected with active members. To have identified a representative sample of inactive as well as active students would have required financial and organisational resources well beyond those available for this study. The entire resources of CES, with full-time secretarial help have been unable to achieve this over a period of many years.

The limitations that the nature of the sample may impose on any conclusions needs to be born in mind. However it should also be remembered that the Mormon Church is meticulous with its membership rolls. Unless a

member makes a formal written request to discontinue membership, he or she will remain an official member of the Church. This results in a file of inactive members who take no interest in the Church; some may even attend other churches. Many of this group have only a notional idea of the beliefs and doctrines of the Church, and could not realistically be described as sharing in the faith and commitment of the Mormon community. Indeed, because of address changes over the years, a proportion of them can no longer be contacted. It is questionable whether wider representation from this group (even if it were possible) would significantly add to the conclusions of this study. The sample under consideration is a reasonably accurate reflection of individuals who have at least some definite link with the Church and who, in some degree at least, accept its doctrines.

Student Background

It was previously mentioned that in addition to the questionnaire surveys, information for this study was also accumulated from many informal conversations and interviews. In fact, many hundreds of such contacts during the period of the study have resulted in a body of subjective impressions which, although lacking statistical rigour is nevertheless of value in assessing the Mormon condition. Furthermore, during twenty years employment in CES and over nine years as a Mormon stake president the author has been involved in teaching and counselling several thousands of young adults in the Mormon Church, and has visited units of the Church throughout the British Isles and also in America. Again, information from this experience does not equate with a formal empirical study, but equally it is far more than casual unrepresentative impressions. As we consider the characteristics of students, these impressions will be utilized by way of illustration and possible interpretation.

Table 10 shows some basic characteristics of LDS students. In addition to all respondents in higher education, data have been given for the subgroup who are single, and away from home. This latter group may be considered the most independent, and from a Church point of view the most vulnerable. They

Table 10: Characteristics of Mormon students

	All Students in higher education			Single students away from home		
	%	Mean	N	%	Mean	N
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	42.2		230	34.6		133
Female	57.8	....		65.4	....
<u>Age</u>						
Under 21	39.6		225	50.4		129
21 - 25	39.1			42.6		
26 - 30	9.8	23.4		5.4	21.2	
31 - 35	4.9			1.6		
36 - 40	4.0			0.0		
Over 40	2.7			0.0		
<u>Marital status</u>						
Single	80.4		230
Married	17.0			....	
Divorced	2.2	....		....
Separated	0.4			....	
<u>Years of Church membership</u>						
1 - 5	14.6		226	14.6		130
6 - 10	12.4			11.5		
11 - 15	13.7	15.6		13.8	15.3	
16 - 20	32.7			36.9		
over 20	26.5			23.1		
<u>Church membership of parents</u>						
Both	57.4		230	60.9		133
Mother only . . .	17.8			22.6		
Father only . . .	0.9	....		0.8	....
Neither	23.9			15.8		

may therefore be most subject to the influence of education and are of particular interest for observing Church support of students, and the response of students to higher education.

The age of the students was surprising. A total of 89.5 percent of students are thirty or younger, with 79.7 percent twenty-five or younger. The expectation was for a much higher proportion of mature, married students, based on subjective observation. Anecdotal evidence from interviews and discussions

indicated that a substantial number of mature Church members were returning to higher education. Given the emphasis which the Church places on education, together with the general encouragement to retrain or upgrade in the present economic climate, this is not an unreasonable assumption. Observation in visiting different stakes and wards of the Church, and enquiring about students also gave the impression of a larger number of older, married students. It could be, of course, that such individuals neglected to respond to the survey, thinking it had more application to young adults. Some of the questions might bring someone to this conclusion. Nevertheless, we are, in fact dealing with a largely young adult sample, with a small minority of older students.

Data for length of Church membership suggest that there is a trend towards an increasing proportion of second generation members. The majority of students come from a Mormon home, where at least one, but more likely both parents are members. Further analysis shows that 45.5 percent of students have been raised in the Church since birth. This is quite different from the previous generation of young adults, for whom complete member families were not common. For all age groups according to a 1987 study, 20.3 percent of British Mormons were raised in the faith, suggesting that a much higher percentage of the older generation are converts.¹ This of course has implications for the religious support which students may expect from home. However, it should be noted that almost a quarter of students do *not* have parents who are members. When we analyze religiosity scores, we will compare responses of those who have, and those who have not been raised by Mormon parents.

The proportion of males to females for the total sample is similar to other statistics concerning religious activity, and will be discussed shortly. It is interesting to note that a larger proportion of female students choose to study away from home. It is difficult to explain this statistic. It could be that Mormon girls are more adventurous, or perhaps better qualified, and therefore able to

¹ Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht and J. Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective", *BYU Studies* 27.2 (1987): 131.

choose a wider range of institution. Female students are younger, on average: 56.1 percent are under twenty-one, compared with 23.8 percent of men. This is partially explained by the fact that a much higher proportion of the men go on a two-year mission for the Church, prior to entering higher education. In fact, only 54.7 percent of those who have served a mission (total 64) move away to study. It is possible that older students, some of whom have already seen something of the world, are less inclined to seek to move away. Perhaps the girls find the prospect of moving away to study more appealing than the men, some of whom have already enjoyed the independence of a mission; indeed, perhaps the girls see something of a vicarious mission experience in studying away from home. However, these suggestions are purely conjecture.

A further possibility is that female students may move away in the hope of finding a marriage partner. In many informal conversations with Church leaders and also the young women themselves, the problem of finding a suitable husband has been raised with the author as a significant problem and source of anxiety for some young women. It has been explained that the Church is a total way of life for a committed member. Furthermore, marriage and the family have an unusual significance in Mormon doctrine, and are related to the concept of salvation and life in the next world. It is therefore regarded as very important for young people to marry within the faith; and not only within the faith, but further, to a partner who is faithful in the Church. Much Church teaching focuses on these issues, which include strict concepts of chastity and sexual morality. The Church-owned Brigham Young University, with an on-campus enrolment of some 27,000 is one of the largest privately owned universities in the world. It is also regarded with some humour in the Church as the largest marriage bureau in the world. However, there is more than a grain of truth in this. If, as has been suggested, young women are easier to involve and generally more committed in faith and belief, then they would have the greater problem in seeking out a partner of equivalent standards. This is supported by anecdotal evidence in the Church; many Church leaders and students feel that such is indeed the case, and is exacerbated in a country such as Britain where

the membership is thinly scattered. One female student wrote this on her survey form:

Even though I had been on a mission etc. etc. I found the first year of my undergraduate study very challenging - not academically but suddenly there is an enormous social whirl going on around you. It was wonderful to be in a mixed-sex social setting especially - at Church there were and are no single young men and it was lovely to just have quality male company.

This was written in response to the question "what specific aspect of higher education has the most negative influence?" [on religious beliefs]. This comment is representative of the feelings of many single LDS women as revealed in conversation with the author, not only from young single adults but also many teenagers. In a country where "quality male company" is in short supply at church, it would seem logical for young women to have a greater desire to travel in search of a mate; studying away from home is one means of doing so.

Nonetheless, some of these findings relating to students should be regarded with caution. For example, the total number of students who move away to study seems surprisingly small, at 57.7 percent. However, this is in part a result of the mixed nature of the courses and students included in the sample. More detailed analysis shows that 74.3 percent of all single students move away from home to study, and 82.5 percent of all those pursuing a Bachelor's or Master's degree are doing so away from home.

Family Background

Table 11 shows data which suggest the extent of religious input from parents in the home. The considerable emphasis on families in the LDS Church has already been mentioned in some detail. Church teachings encourage Mormon families to have daily prayer, daily scripture reading and attend Church each Sunday. Sacrament Meeting is the weekly worship service for the whole family. In addition, there is an institution called Family Home Evening. Families are encouraged to devote one night per week to family activities and instruction, and for this purpose Monday night is kept free of any official meetings or activities by the Church. Sunday is also considered to be a family day when, in

Table 11: Family religious background of Mormon students

	All Students in higher education		Single students away from home	
	%	N	%	N
<u>Frequency of family prayer</u>				
Daily	34.5		34.1	
A few times a week / Weekly	18.6		21.2	
A few times a month / Monthly	5.3	226	5.3	132
A few times a year	11.1		13.6	
Never	30.5		25.8	
<u>Frequency of family religious discussion</u>				
Daily	3.1		3.0	
A few times a week / Weekly	43.2		42.4	
A few times a month / Monthly	18.5	227	22.0	131
A few times a year	15.0		12.9	
Never	20.3		19.7	
<u>Frequency of family scripture reading</u>				
Daily	8.0		9.2	
A few times a week / Weekly	15.5		13.8	
A few times a month / Monthly	13.2	226	11.5	131
A few times a year	22.1		28.2	
Never	41.2		37.4	
<u>Frequency of family discussions about right and wrong</u>				
Daily	7.6		6.9	
A few times a week / Weekly	34.4		36.2	
A few times a month / Monthly	21.9	224	20.8	130
A few times a year	21.4		22.3	
Never	14.7		13.8	
<u>Family Sacrament Meeting attendance</u>				
Weekly	73.0		80.2	
A few times a month	1.3		1.5	
A few times a year	3.1	226	1.5	131
Never	22.6		16.8	

addition to attending Church meetings, families are encouraged to be together and plan family religious discussions and activities consistent with Sabbath day teachings.

The data suggest that a substantial proportion of students come from a strong religious background. About half the families have prayer together at least weekly, and a third pray daily. Over two-thirds participate in religious discussions in the home at least monthly, and an even larger majority attend Church each Sunday. Family scripture reading is not as frequent as other religious activities however, and almost two-thirds of the whole group come from homes where this seldom if ever practised. Even so, these figures suggest a level of religious input at home which is surely quite unusual amongst undergraduates today. Church leaders might be concerned that only 34 percent of students' families have daily prayer, or that only 24 percent read the scriptures together at least weekly. However, these results include homes of non-Mormon parents, and compared with modern religious practice in general, the figures are surely quite high.

Table 12: Comparison Between Mormon and non-Mormon parents

Family Activities	Students' Parent Membership					
	Both		One		None	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Daily prayer	46.6	131	27.9	43	9.6	52
Weekly religious discussion	61.8	131	39.5	43	13.2	53
Weekly scripture reading	33.1	130	16.3	43	5.7	53
Weekly discussion of right and wrong .	50.4	129	41.9	43	21.2	52
Weekly Sacrament Meeting attendance . .	92.3	130	86.0	43	15.1	53

Further evidence for this can be found in Table 12, where a comparison is shown for students having Mormon parents and non-Mormon parents. Where neither parent is a member of the Church, there is a marked drop in the frequency of the religious activities cited. This is true even for discussions concerning right and wrong, which might be considered moral or behavioural issues not necessarily requiring a religious connection. Where both parents are members, nearly half have daily family prayer, and 62 percent have a weekly religious discussion. The data do not permit a valid comparison of the single parent membership of fathers compared with mothers, since only two

respondents come from homes where only the father is a Mormon.

We might expect that the religious setting in the home, such as that discussed above, is likely to have a strong formative influence on religiosity. The extent to which this is true for respondents in this study will be discussed shortly, under the heading "Parental Influences".

Religious Involvement of Students

Three measures in the questionnaire demonstrate the previous level of Church activity of respondents, and three measures show current Church activity. Table 13 shows the data for past activity. A comparison is made here between male and female, to pursue the comment made earlier that women and girls are considered by many to be easier to involve in religious activities than men and boys.

Table 13: Past church activity of students

	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
<u>Years of seminary</u>				
None	24.7	93	24.4	131
One year	7.5		3.8	
Two years	8.6		9.2	
Three years	5.4		3.8	
Four or more years . . .	53.8		58.0	
<u>Years of Institute</u>				
None	29.5	95	20.8	130
One year	32.6		34.6	
Two years	15.8		20.0	
Three years	10.5		14.6	
Four or more years . . .	11.7		10.0	
Served a mission	55.7	97	10.5	133

The statistics for those who have been involved in Seminary (75 percent have completed at least one year, 56.4 percent are four year graduates),

together with other data suggest that as a group, the majority of respondents are well grounded members of the Church. The involvement in Institute could in fact represent either past or current activity. Since Institute is a programme for young adults, eighteen and over, many students have been enrolled only since they entered higher education. It is interesting, therefore, that whilst there is little difference between males and females for Seminary (a programme for teenagers, fourteen to eighteen), there is a significantly higher level of involvement for women in Institute; in fact, proportionately almost a third more women enrol than men. It may be that when a larger degree of independence is experienced because of age or moving away from home, the women tend to be more conformist than the men. It certainly gives some support the suggestion in chapter two that females are more religious than males.

Even so, there is also evidence of strong commitment amongst the men, many of whom show considerable dedication. For example, over half of them have served a two-year mission for the Church. A mission is an expectation of the Church for all young men over the age of eighteen. There is not the same obligation or emphasis on a mission for young women, but those who wish to serve are accepted for missionary service after the age of twenty-one. A young lady would not normally be strongly encouraged or persuaded to serve a mission. Any initiative in this direction would be hers; however once her desire is made known the Church will accept such applications enthusiastically. In the case of young men, however, considerable encouragement is applied from a very early age. The importance of missions for boys is taught regularly in Church classrooms and from Church pulpits. Boys are urged to make a mission their goal, and to start a savings plan to pay for it. A mission normally lasts for two years for young men and eighteen months for young women; it is self-financed by the missionary, usually with help from family and friends. In cases of hardship and poverty (increasingly the case as the Church expands in Third World countries), the Church provides some support, but missionaries are still expected to contribute to whatever extent they are able. Although a mission is an expectation in the Church, the considerable sacrifice of time and money is too

much for many young men, who choose not to go. The figure of almost 56 percent for the students indicates a large proportion of strongly committed individuals. It also partially explains some of the differences between men and women in the survey. Men will typically go on their mission before their college education, while women will usually go afterwards. This would tend to produce a group of students in which men were generally older and more experienced than the women, which in fact is the case. Of the men, 21.5 percent are under twenty-one, compared with 52.3 percent of women, whereas 66.7 percent of men are over twenty-one, compared with 36.3 percent of women.

Table 14: Current church activity of students

	All HE students		Single students away from home	
	%	N	%	N
<u>Sacrament Meeting attendance</u>				
Weekly	81.7	230	78.9	133
A few times a month / Monthly . . .	8.8		12.8	
A few times a year	4.3		6.0	
Never	2.2		2.3	
<u>Relief Society or Priesthood attendance</u>				
Weekly	73.1	227	68.9	132
A few times a month / Monthly . . .	13.6		15.2	
A few times a year	6.2		8.3	
Never	7.1		7.6	
<u>Attendance at non-Sunday activities</u>				
A few times a week / Weekly	45.9	229	39.8	133
A few times a month / Monthly . . .	32.3		33.9	
A few times a year	17.0		20.3	
Never	4.8		6.0	

Table 14 gives data for the current activity of students. These figures show a high level of involvement from the group, with about 80 percent attending the Sunday worship service, and 70 percent attending the Relief Society or Priesthood meeting. The 10 percent difference between these figures is revealing. Mormon Sunday meetings consist of a three-hour block of

integrated meetings. These include the Sacrament Meeting (the most important worship service of the week), Sunday School, Priesthood and Relief Society with equivalent meetings for youth and children. Those who attend Sacrament meeting would therefore normally be on hand in the building for the other meetings. Priesthood is for men and Relief Society is for women, and although it is expected that committed members will attend these meetings, there is not quite the same strength of obligation as prevails for Sacrament Meeting. It is not unusual for one or two members to chat and socialize in the corridors of the church during these meetings. About a tenth of the students apparently prefer to do this, although some may be involved in teaching duties and therefore legitimately absent. This may reflect a need for social intercourse which is either not met, or perhaps is not possible through other means and at other times.

The statistics for non-Sunday activities support the likelihood of this. As in most churches, the Mormon Church has a wide range of midweek activities, some devotional or instructional in character such as Institute, while others are recreational. Although there is an expectation for many of these events that members in good standing should give their support, a wider latitude is felt than for the Sunday services. As can be seen from Table 14, there is a striking difference in support for weekly activities, compared with Sunday meetings. For many students therefore, the Sunday services become the main, and for some perhaps the only opportunity for contact with their peers and other members of the Church.

It is difficult to tell the extent to which these responses are representative of the survey population. It is reasonable to suggest that the most committed were the most willing to cooperate with the survey, and that the non-respondents (43.1 percent) include a much larger proportion of less committed members of the Church. Although this is likely, the resulting bias need not be as high as might be first supposed. The whole area of information gathering in the Mormon Church is a regular subject of both frustration and wry humour for many members. It is notoriously difficult to obtain a response for

some types of reports and information. It has already been mentioned that the efforts of the full-time staff in CES have been unable over many years to produce an accurate and comprehensive record of college students. It would not be uncharacteristic therefore for large numbers of active as well as inactive students to fail to respond to the survey. As explained in the chapter on research design, the method chosen for this survey precluded the possibility of following up non-respondents. It is therefore not possible to determine if any substantial bias exists in the sample, but clearly caution is indicated when interpreting results. It would be safe to conclude that the entire sample would not show such positive activity, but nevertheless the figures are so high for the respondents that input from the non-respondents would probably still leave overall levels quite strong. Data from the longitudinal case study, to be introduced shortly, support this proposition.

One further item to note from Table 14 is that for weekly attendance and participation, students living away from home are consistently a few percentage points below the whole group. The difference is not great, and in some areas there is hardly any difference at all. Nevertheless, there is a suggestion here that independence from home results in some reduction in church activity. This is surely what we might expect: the surprise here is that the difference is so small between those who are away from home and those who are not. It seems that even when given the opportunity to reduce their involvement, most of the students in this sample continue to participate. We will now attempt to discover if these and other differences between sub-groups are statistically significant through an examination of religiosity scores.

Religiosity Scores

One of the principle objectives of this study is to determine if there is a significant difference in religiosity between Mormon students in Britain after different lengths of exposure to higher education. As previously explained, a consensus of research in America is that higher education exerts a secularizing influence which will tend to reduce levels of religiosity, but that Mormon

students are not significantly affected by this influence. However, a number of qualifying factors suggest that the situation is complex, and whilst many researchers agree broadly with the latter conclusion, there is a minority who do not. It is reasonable to suppose that social circumstances may affect students' response to higher education. In a country like Britain, where membership of the Mormon Church is small, the social support groups which reinforce LDS beliefs and practices in parts of America may not be strong enough to prevent an erosion of faith in students. This view is supported by anecdotal evidence. Many Church leaders, and especially CES workers and teachers who are closely associated with students, claim that there is, indeed, a problem, and that students face a severe challenge to their faith when they enter college or university. The suggestion that the reality may be otherwise has been met by astonished disbelief when it was raised in various discussions and interviews.

The reason for this reaction presumably lies in the subjective observations of those involved, what they are told, and what they tell each other. It reflects a widespread concern for the successful transfer of the faith to the rising generation. In the Mormon Church this is a matter of considerable importance, and some anxiety. It is not just a question of the young person accepting religious faith and belief in general; Mormon doctrine requires belief specifically in the Mormon Church. If a young Mormon left the LDS Church in favour of an alternative religion, this would be regarded with deep anguish, whereas a similar transfer of loyalty and faith in other more liberal denominations might merely be the subject of mild regret. Many religious parents would be happy to have their children simply believe in something, and not mind too much what it was; in the Mormon Church, it matters very much. Consequently, feelings concerning the religiosity of the youth and young adults are deeply felt. Problems which young people have in accepting the faith, and the extent of defection from it may therefore take on exaggerated proportions, and fuel a myth such as that of higher education destroying faith. The students themselves are evenly divided on the issue. In response to the question "Does higher education have a negative influence on religious beliefs?", 49.2 percent

said "yes" and 50.2 percent said "no". In retrospect, it can be seen that the question is ambiguous; it could refer to beliefs of the individual respondent, to LDS students in general, or to religious believers in general. Since the general content of the whole questionnaire focuses on Mormons and Mormon beliefs, it is likely that most respondents will have been thinking in an LDS context, though it is impossible to differentiate responses with the existing data. Several of those who said "yes" indicated by marginal notes that although they agreed with the general proposition, they believed that they themselves were not affected. As was shown in an earlier chapter, the weight of available evidence is that it actually *does* erode religiosity in most groups of students, Mormons being exceptional in this regard, and not typical.

There is, therefore, some justification for concern, and it is not surprising that leaders in the Mormon Church feel that there is a problem. Nevertheless, research to date, especially from parts of America where Mormon Church membership is sparse, suggests a research hypothesis that education has no significant effect on the religiosity of Mormon students in Britain. Mormons who are college students appear to have no greater tendency to apostasy than those who are not. The reasons for this are not clear, and are to be explored in this study. It could be that the negative influence of university is counteracted by the support agencies provided by the Church, or perhaps there is something in the nature of faith and belief in the Mormon Church which is significant. These and related questions will be examined further in the remainder of this study.

A thirty-three question sequence included in the student questionnaire was used to measure religiosity. It is an instrument designed specifically to measure religiosity in the Mormon Church, created and tested by researchers at Brigham Young University. It has been slightly modified, based on recommendations in the original report², and the fact that the sample includes

² Marie Cornwall et al., "The Dimensions of Religiosity: A Conceptual Model With an Empirical Test", *Review of Religious Research* 27.3 (1986): 226-224.

many single adults living alone (the original question schedule assumed a family setting). A more detailed description and explanation has been given in the chapter on research design, in which the factor analysis of the religiosity items was described. This resulted in the construction of four religiosity scales, using twenty-nine of the original thirty-three items. The scales were: Religious Belief, Response to God, LDS Commitment, and LDS Behaviour. These scales will be used as a basis for much of the following analysis. Frequencies for the four scales are given in Table 15, Table 16, Table 17 and Table 18.

Table 15: Frequency table – Religious Belief scale

Score	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
11	1	.4	.4
17	1	.4	.9
27	3	1.3	2.2
28	1	.4	2.6
32	1	.4	3.1
34	1	.4	3.5
35	1	.4	4.0
36	5	2.2	6.2
37	1	.4	6.6
38	3	1.3	7.9
39	1	.4	8.4
40	2	.9	9.3
41	64	1.8	11.0
42	6	2.6	13.7
43	6	2.6	16.3
44	18	7.9	24.2
45	172	75.8	100.0
missing	3	...	...
Total	230	100.0	...

minimum possible score 9 maximum possible score 45
Mean 43.59 Median 45.00 Mode 45.00 Std dev 4.21

It can be seen that the frequency pattern of the scores for each scale shows considerable strength of conviction. There is a strong negative skew for each scale, and the closeness of the mean, median and mode to the maximum

Table 16: Frequency table – Response to God scale

Score	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum. Percent
13	1	.4	.4
15	1	.4	.9
18	1	.4	1.3
20	1	.4	1.8
21	1	.4	2.2
22	1	.4	2.7
25	1	.4	3.1
27	1	.4	3.6
28	1	.4	4.0
29	3	1.3	5.3
30	1	.4	5.8
31	1	.4	6.2
32	3	1.3	7.6
33	1	.4	8.0
34	1	.4	8.4
35	1	.4	8.9
36	3	1.3	10.2
37	1	.4	10.7
38	2	.9	11.6
39	3	1.3	12.9
40	4	1.8	14.7
41	2	.9	15.6
42	2	.9	16.4
43	8	3.6	20.0
44	3	1.3	21.3
45	11	4.9	26.2
46	8	3.6	29.8
47	10	4.4	34.2
48	4	1.8	36.0
49	5	2.2	38.2
50	13	5.8	44.0
51	24	10.7	54.7
52	20	8.9	63.6
53	10	4.4	68.0
54	11	4.9	72.9
55	17	7.6	80.4
56	19	8.4	88.9
57	25	11.1	100.0
missing	5	...	...
Total	230	100.0	...

minimum possible score 11 maximum possible score 57
 Mean 48.48 Median 51.00 Mode 57.00 Std dev 8.69

Table 17: Frequency table – LDS Commitment scale

Score	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
-19	1	.4	.4
-18	2	.9	1.3
-15	2	.9	2.2
-14	5	2.2	4.4
-13	2	.9	5.3
-12	2	.9	6.2
-11	2	.9	7.1
-10	2	.9	8.0
-9	5	2.2	10.2
-8	3	1.3	11.5
-7	5	2.2	13.7
-6	10	4.4	18.1
-5	7	3.1	21.2
-4	16	7.1	28.3
-3	21	9.3	37.6
-2	13	5.8	43.4
-1	18	8.0	51.3
0	42	18.6	69.9
1	68	30.1	100.0
missing	4	...	...
Total	230	100.0	...

minimum possible score -19

Mean -2.41

maximum possible score 1

Median -1.00

Mode 1.00

Std dev 4.23

possible score for each table indicates a high degree of religious commitment for each scale. The belief scale is the most extreme in this respect; three-quarters of cases achieve the maximum possible score of forty-five. Indeed, only two cases out of 227 achieve less than half the maximum score. This supports comments made in the previous chapter that the belief factor is unusually strong and consistent. The frequency pattern is sufficiently different from the other scales to suggest that the belief factor has a particular significance in the measurement and study of religiosity. This was also commented on previously, and seems reasonable: belief will normally precede other aspects of religious expression, and one would expect it to be rated more strongly than others. It was previously noted that the strength of the belief factor, and the amount of variance of religiosity it explained in their research, caused Clayton and Gladden

Table 18: Frequency table – LDS Behaviour scale

Score	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
4	2	.9	.9
5	3	1.3	2.2
6	2	.9	3.1
7	6	2.7	5.8
8	5	2.2	8.0
9	3	1.3	9.3
10	2	.9	10.2
11	4	1.8	11.9
12	7	3.1	15.0
13	5	2.2	17.3
14	17	7.5	24.8
15	20	8.8	33.6
16	28	12.4	46.0
17	36	15.9	61.9
18	39	17.3	79.2
19	39	17.3	96.5
20	8	3.5	100.0
missing	4	...	...
Total	230	100.0	...

minimum possible score 4 maximum possible score 20
Mean 15.74 Median 17.00 Mode 18.00 Std dev 3.58

to go as far as suggesting that religiosity is a unidimensional phenomenon³.

Questions of belief invite comment concerning intellectual or spiritual agreement which can be considered in the abstract. Other scales are for the most part to do with levels of response, experience, involvement and activity. One can believe strongly in an abstract concept, without necessarily having that belief result in any consequent activity. This was touched on in chapter one; it was mentioned there that one might believe passionately that smoking is harmful, yet not give up smoking. Similarly one might have a strong desire to lose weight, yet fail to reduce eating or increase exercise. The lack of involvement or activity does not invalidate the sincerity or strength of belief. Behaviour may

³ Richard R. Clayton and James W. Gladden, "The Five Dimensions of Religiosity: Toward Demythologizing a Sacred Artifact", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 13.2 (1974): 135-143.

be more a measure of self-discipline, determination or self-confidence than of belief. Nevertheless, there is surely a sequential relationship: it would seem reasonable to assume that though belief need not inevitably lead to action, yet if it is lacking then many forms of involvement and experience are unlikely to take place. It is of course possible that religious experience sometimes precedes belief and leads to it, but in the measurement of religiosity as considered here, the comparative strength of the belief scale seems reasonable and illustrates the significance of this element of religiosity.

The concept of belief, as with many religious abstractions is unusually complex, and the word is used to describe a wide variety of human expression and behaviour. Rodney Needham has explored the difficulties of understanding the term in some detail, and comments as follows.

From the conflation of *'mn* and *pístis* an increasingly extensive and complex conglomeration of meanings has come lengthily down to us; and after all the accretions and giddy twists of sense we now find ourselves, even within a specifically Christian context, with a notion of belief so dispersed, intricate, and ambiguous as to create yet more perplexity and uncertainty.⁴

It is interesting to note that in Mormon theology, as in some other traditions, the concept of belief has at least two quite distinct meanings. It is acknowledged that in most instances scripture (at least New Testament scripture) treats belief as synonymous with faith, and that the two terms are often interchangeable. In this sense, a religious view of belief may be rather different from the everyday secular usage which was assumed when commenting on Table 15 above. Mormonism acknowledges the distinction, and suggests that where belief is merely agreement or acquiescence with doctrine or Church teachings it is of limited merit, as illustrated in the following statement.

In a few scriptural instances, *belief* is used to signify mental assent to a proposition whether the matter assented to is true or false. this usage gives belief no similarity whatever to faith. This kind of belief may or may not be predicated on truth, and salvation does not result from it. Thus the devils "believe and tremble" (Jas. 2:19), for they know who Christ is and await with awful foreboding their destined fate.⁵

⁴ Rodney Needham, *Belief, Language, and Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 50.

⁵ Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 80.

The biblical idea that faith without works is dead is an important one for Mormons. For them, religious faith includes the expression and practice of religious teachings, as well as agreement with them. This is true, of course for many Christian denominations, but it has a particular emphasis and prominence in the LDS Church. Such a view of belief and faith, together with the concepts of grace and salvation have an important bearing on the religiosity of Mormon students and their resistance or otherwise to secularizing influences. We will, accordingly, return to this theme and explore it in more detail in chapter seven.

It is possible that the belief scale includes a larger element of how religious respondents *think* they are or would ideally *like* to be, and the response, commitment and behaviour scales tell us more about how religious they *actually* are. Tables 16, 17 and 18 show a wider, more normal distribution than that generated by the belief scale in Table 15. For example, the median for Table 15 is in fact the maximum score, whereas for the other three tables this is not the case. Nevertheless, the median for these three is still quite close to the maximum, and is higher than the mean, with the mode higher still. There is clearly a strong negative skew for each of the scales, showing high levels of response for all measures of religiosity.

The non-normal shape of the distribution poses a problem for the use of parametric statistical techniques which assume a normal distribution. Various transformations of the data (square roots, various powers and logs) were attempted to produce a more normal distribution, but little improvement resulted. The outliers in the distributions were considered. Their elimination would result in a slightly more normal shape. However, the individual cases producing the outliers appear to be legitimate responses which give a better balance to a distribution so heavily dominated by high scoring responses. In any case, the correlations and regressions showed little change when the outliers were eliminated; therefore they were retained. In addition, manual re-scaling of the scores for the four belief scales was undertaken, to more closely approximate a normal distribution. However, the general pattern of results of the various analyses which follow were not greatly affected by this process. One

contributory reason for this may be the fact, already mentioned in the previous chapter, that for parametric tests of association *similar* distributions between the variables, rather than *normal* distributions is what is required.⁶ An examination of a number of the independent variables revealed a similar negative skew such as that shown for the religiosity scales. At any rate, it was decided after several different approaches of the kind described above to retain the data in their original form.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, most of the variables are ordinal. So far in several analyses, we have used scale scores from the sums of these variables and treated them as interval variables. Although the treatment of ordinal scales as interval in this way is common practice in statistical analysis,⁷ we should remind ourselves of some limitations and cautions. We are able to calculate comparisons between groups, but some of the statistical information has limited validity. We can assume that a score of sixty represents a higher level of religiosity than a score of fifty, but since the variables are mostly ordinal, we do not know *how* much higher. This limitation should be remembered as we consider the implications of the analyses which follow. Differences between groups, especially those which are small may show a mathematical significance, but may have no real social significance. The parametric methods themselves are quite robust and are reliable even when some parametric assumptions are not fully met. Nevertheless, non-parametric tests were conducted to check the results of the better-known parametric procedures which are reported here. A similar pattern of results held for both types of analysis, giving confidence in the parametric analyses, despite departures from normality in the distributions mentioned above.

An initial examination of box plots of the scales by course year showed substantial overlap, and suggested that there are not significant differences in

⁶ Michael B. Youngman, *Analysing Social and Educational Research Data* (McGraw-Hill: London, 1979), 74.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

religiosity for years at college. A summary of the means and medians for each scale is provided in Table 19. The figures illustrate the negative distribution skew, already commented on, though the means and medians are quite close, suggesting only a small influence from outliers. the figures also suggest far more within-groups variability than between-groups variability. The most important feature, however, is the reducing numbers of respondents (N) for each year. Superficially this might be taken to indicate a lower response rate or a lapsing of membership, either of which could suggest a decline in religiosity and therefore merits further consideration.

The smaller number in year four is a reflection of the smaller number of

Table 19: Summary statistics for religiosity scales by year of course

	First Year (N=88)	Second Year (N=66)	Third Year (N=55)	Fourth Year (N=19)
<u>Belief Scale</u>				
Mean	43.64	43.86	43.73	43.33
Median	45.00	45.00	45.00	45.00
Range	11 to 45	27 to 45	27 to 45	34 to 45
<u>Response Scale</u>				
Mean	47.43	49.31	49.84	47.67
Median	51.00	51.00	52.00	51.00
Range	13 to 57	15 to 57	29 to 57	18 to 57
<u>Commitment Scale</u>				
Mean	-2.26	-2.13	-2.12	-2.94
Median	0.00	0.00	0.00	-1.00
Range	-19 to 1	-16 to 1	-14 to 1	-16 to 1
<u>Behaviour Scale</u>				
Mean	15.99	16.39	15.14	14.94
Median	17.00	18.00	16.00	16.00
Range	5 to 20	4 to 20	4 to 20	6 to 19

degree courses beyond three years, also possibly a reflection of the four-year cycle of the Institute programme, to be discussed later. The drop in the first three years is of greater significance. However, there are data which would lead us to *expect* such a decline in student numbers. Four areas suggest this: (a) students enrolled in one and two year courses; (b) national enrolment trends;

(c) national dropout rates; (d) total numbers of LDS students.

A proportion of respondents (14 percent) are on courses of only one or two years in length. When we control for length of course, the result is that shown in Table 20. This still shows a falling off, but not as sharp as that in Table 19. There is a drop from year one to year two, but years two and three remain stable. Unfortunately, the original CES database used for the identification of students in the sample did not include the year of study. It is not possible from the data available to determine the proportion of students in the first, second and third year. We cannot therefore compare figures for the respondents shown in Table 19 and Table 20, with those for the total sample.

Table 20: Students with course length of three or more years

	N	%
First Year	66	33.7
Second Year	56	28.6
Third Year	55	28.1
Fourth Year	19	9.7
Total	196	100.0

A study by Heaton, Albrecht and Johnson revealed that demographic trends for Mormons and non-Mormons in the British Isles were quite similar. In particular, the percentage of British Mormons entering higher education follows national trends very closely, within a one or two percentage points.⁸ This would lead us to *expect* to see more students in year one than in year two, based on national enrolment trends. The survey was conducted in the 1990–91 academic year, when there was a 5% increase in the total number of full-time undergraduates from 1989–90.⁹ This increase is similar to the margin between years one and two in Table 20, which is 5.1 percent of the total. The upward

⁸ Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht and J. Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective", *BYU Studies* 27.2 (1987): 131.

⁹ Universities' Funding Council, *University Statistics 1990-91 Vol. 1 Students and Staff* (Cheltenham: Universities' Statistical Record, 1992), 36.

trend in national enrolments began in 1984-85;¹⁰ there was a 5.6 percent increase from 1988-89 to 1989-90.¹¹ We should therefore anticipate a drop from year two to year three, similar to the drop from year one to year two. The fact that there is not suggests that we have a *better* response from third year students than from first or second years. Rather than a drop in commitment there may be a consolidation and strengthening of it. Such a development has been suggested by other research and elsewhere in this study we have commented on the "seige-like response" demonstrated by some religious minorities in a university setting.

National dropout rates provide further relevant data and suggest that the drop in respondents from year one to year two, as well as from year two to three is actually not as great as might normally be expected. National statistics provide details for dropout rates for students as a whole, unfortunately without reference to year of study. For the 1989-90 academic year 14 percent of students dropped out of their course, and for 1990-91, 16 percent dropped out.¹² We do not know from these figures how many were in their first year, but it is likely that many of them were. If this is taken into account in addition to the observations concerning initial enrolments, and the number of students enrolled for only one or two years, the decline in numbers shown in Table 19 can be explained and even shown to be rather less than might have been anticipated.

Finally, it was mentioned in chapter three that LDS growth in Britain is 3 percent per annum. Statistics for specific age groups are not available, but it is reasonable to suppose that some growth would be reflected for those of college-age. This is supported by CES statistics, which report increases of 7, 13 and 2 percent in total numbers of LDS students for the three academic years from 1987-88 to 1990-91. Thus we would expect a decline in respondents with

¹⁰ Ibid., 9.

¹¹ Ibid., 7.

¹² Briefing of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principles of Universities of the United Kingdom, *Parliamentary Proceedings No. 14, Session 1994-95 21-27 March 1995*, 11.

years at university, since the sample also declines with years. For all these reasons, the drop in student numbers for respondents is not taken to indicate a drop in commitment or religiosity.

We now turn to an examination of the variance of religiosity scores by year, to determine whether a significant change takes place. The SPSS one-way ANOVA procedure was adopted, and the results are presented in Table 21.

Table 21: ANOVA table for religiosity scales by year of course

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Probability
Belief Scale					
Between Year Groups	3	17.53	5.84	.32	.808
Within Groups (residual) . .	221	3979.36	18.01	....	....
Total	224	3996.89	....	....	....
Response Scale					
Between Year Groups	3	243.03	81.01	1.07	.362
Within Groups (residual) . .	219	16560.71	75.62	....	....
Total	222	16803.74	....	....	....
Commitment Scale					
Between Year Groups	3	3.46	1.15	.06	.979
Within Groups (residual) . .	220	4012.57	18.01	....	....
Total	223	4016.03	....	....	....
Behaviour Scale					
Between Year Groups	3	78.21	26.07	2.05	6.107
Within Groups (residual) . .	220	2792.78	12.69	....	....
Total	223	2870.98	....	....	....

We can see that the F ratios have probability levels too high to suggest there may be any difference between the groups, for any of the scales. This fails to support the notion that there is any difference in religiosity based on different levels of exposure to higher education. For additional confidence, this result was checked with a non-parametric procedure, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA. The pattern of significance levels was very similar; for the four scales in sequence they were: .944, .367, .979 and .061. Overall, therefore, this initial analysis supports the proposition that Mormon students are not negatively influenced by higher education.

Religiosity Scores – Longitudinal Study

The previous chapter described the longitudinal case study which was undertaken, in part to provide supporting data for the questionnaire. The same religiosity test as that used in the questionnaire was administered in the first, second and third years for each student in the study. As previously explained, an attempt was made to achieve a wider representation by deliberate selection of students who, by subjective criteria could be classified as strong Church members, moderately strong and weak. This was not altogether successful, because of practical problems such as accessibility and availability, though the small group for the case study does provide less skewed ranges than the main survey. However the belief scale is an exception and shows the same strong skew as with previous analyses.

For such small samples as this case study, even small departures from normality are important and so a non-parametric testing procedure was chosen. The religiosity scores for each student in the case study form three sets of sequentially related statistics, one set for each year. The scale scores for each year have been compared using the Friedman test for correlated samples, from the SPSS "NPAR" procedures. This test assigns a rank for each variable for each case, and compares mean rank scores. The variables in this instance are, of course, the annual scale scores. The results are displayed in Table 22.

It can be seen from these figures that the significance levels are too high for three of the scales, to suggest that there is significant change in religiosity between the years. However, the response scale is different; here we have a significance level of .0012, which strongly suggests a relationship between religiosity and years at college for the response to God scale. The Friedman test does not indicate the direction of the relationship, so we are unable to tell from this if it represents an increase or a reduction in religiosity on the scale. A list of scores for each case was examined, and they suggested it represents an increase. For further confirmation, the Wilcoxon signed-ranks test for matched pairs was applied to the data. This is a non-parametric test for two related samples, in which the rank order of the two variables for each case are

Table 22: Case study – religiosity scales by college year,
Friedman two-way ANOVA

Year in college .	Mean Rank				
	Belief scale	Response scale	Commitment scale	Behaviour scale	Combined scale
First year	2.03	1.25	2.15	2.00	1.54
Second year	2.03	2.34	1.74	2.13	2.38
Third year	1.94	2.41	2.12	1.88	2.08
Number of cases	17	16	17	16	13
Friedman Chi-Square . . . . .	.09	13.53	1.79	4.77	4.77
(2 degrees of freedom for all Chi-Squares)					
Level of significance . . . . .	.9568	.0012	.4078	.7788	.0921

calculated and compared. From this we can see what proportion of cases show an increase, what proportion show a decrease, and what proportion show no change. In this instance, in Table 23 a comparison of the three sets of pairs from the three years is provided, for the response scale. It can be seen from this that a significant relationship exists for only one of the pairs: year one with year two. For these two years, fourteen of the cases are positively ranked, showing an increase in the scale score from year one to year two, one is tied, and one shows a decreased score. Clearly, therefore, the relationship between religiosity and years at college is a positive one, and shows an increase in religiosity.

As a further check, a paired-sample T-test was also undertaken with the data from the case study and the results confirm entirely the Friedman ANOVA and the Wilcoxon procedures. Only the response scale for years one and two produced a significant change (t value of -2.77; two-tail probability .014), from an increase in scores. This indicates the robustness of T-tests for this data.

We should be cautious about reading too much into this result; the sample in this instance is very small. Furthermore, it is an isolated statistic amongst many which do not indicate any significant change. Nevertheless, the level of significance is such, at .0031, that we can be fairly confident that a positive change did take place, for this sample, on this scale. However, since this

Table 23: Case study – Response to God scale
Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test

Response to God Scale			
	1st. year with 2nd. year	1st. year with 3rd. year	2nd. year with 3rd. year
Cases with negative rank (second score less than first score)	1	4	6
Mean rank	8.00	10.50	8.67
Cases with positive rank (second score greater than first score)	14	13	7
Mean rank	8.0	8.54	5.57
Cases with tied ranks (second score equal to first score)	1	2	4
Total cases (N)	16	19	17
Z statistic	-2.95	-1.63	-0.45
Level of significance . . . . .	.0031	.1024	.6496

analysis shows an *increase* in the response to God scale, the initial hypothesis that higher education does not negatively affect the religiosity of Mormon students remains unchallenged.

Analysis of Relationships Between Variables

In order to find further support or otherwise for this conclusion, and also to explore other areas where there may be relationships, the religiosity scales were subjected to a correlation analysis with a number of independent variables. Four groups of variables were selected for study: personal and college variables, Church background and experience, family background, and current Church support. The variables in these four areas were tested for their association with each of the four religiosity scales.

The correlations and associated significance levels were calculated using the SPSS CORRELATIONS procedure. This provides the Pearson product-moment correlation, for which a two-tailed significance figure was calculated. Concern over parametric assumptions was previously explained; the Pearson correlations

were therefore checked using the non-parametric Spearman correlation coefficient, which is based on a comparison of ranks for two variables. Both correlation statistics assume a linear relationship, so a scatterplot was produced for each relationship being examined, to test for linearity. Although some indicated a somewhat non-linear pattern, none were markedly or distinctively so and it was determined safe to proceed with the analysis. The Pearson and Spearman correlations were not identical, indeed they were not expected to be, since they are calculated differently and are therefore sensitive to different kinds of relationship. However a similar pattern was observed, which gives additional confidence in the Pearson statistics. The Pearson figures in general tend to be rather lower, in both magnitude and significance. Thus Spearman correlations which are close to the .05 threshold of significance typically record non-significant Pearson scores. The Pearson figures used here would therefore appear to be a more rigorous test of association.

For all tables a significance value of less than .05 was considered sufficient to indicate a likely association. Many associations had a value smaller than .005, indicating high levels of confidence in the associations indicated. For clarity, correlations with a significance value smaller than .05 appear in bold type. Missing data vary between the four groups of variables, reducing the number of useable cases somewhat. Missing data were considered carefully but since no discernable pattern was found it was determined safe to proceed.

In the previous chapter some conditions were mentioned as being likely have a greater effect than others on levels of religiosity. They included the independence of living away from home, and the influence of parents. Single students living away from home were thought to be possibly the most vulnerable and in greatest danger of an erosion of their faith. Consequently, in each of the tables which follow, three sub-groups of students are analyzed, in addition to the whole group of respondents. These are students aged twenty-one and under, single students living away from home, and students for whom both parents are members of the Mormon Church. The results of the first analysis for personal and college variables are presented in Table 24.

Table 24: Correlation of religiosity scales with personal/college background variables

	Belief Scale	Response Scale	Commitment Scale	Behaviour Scale
All students (N = 210)				
Year of college course	-.002	.058	-.016	-.108
Course subject . . . . .	.016	.041	.081	.015
Sex	-.021	-.052	-.106	-.061
Age . . . . .	.053	.241**	.200**	.033
Marital status . . . . .	.123	.240**	.210**	.046
Students aged 21 and under (N = 112)				
Year of college course . . . .	.060	.150	.084	-.015
Course subject	-.055	.032	.075	.036
Sex	-.042	.017	-.063	.031
Age . . . . .	.043	.083	.098	-.019
Marital status	-.016	.105	-.011	-.000
Single students living away from home (N = 120)				
Year of college course	-.029	.023	-.069	-.122
Course subject	-.049	-.069	.016	-.041
Sex . . . . .	.062	.072	.036	.124
Age	-.109	.081	.039	-.103
Marital status . . . . .	....	....	....	....
Students having two Mormon parents (N = 124)				
Year of college course	-.007	.079	-.003	-.127
Course subject . . . . .	.104	.139	.120	.081
Sex	-.030	-.132	-.212*	-.101
Age . . . . .	.096	.139	.153	.007
Marital status . . . . .	.112	.192*	.160	.005

Two-tailed significance: * P < .05, ** P < .005

Personal and College Background

We might first note the lack of evidence suggesting a relationship between religiosity and years at college. There is no significant correlation between years at college and any of the religiosity scales. It seems increasingly likely that for this particular group of respondents, as in many similar studies

of Mormon students in America, higher education does not significantly affect levels of religious faith and belief.

The table is in fact notable for the lack of significant associations generally. This particular group of variables appear to have little impact on student religiosity as measured by the four scales. The associations which are revealed in Table 24 are to do with age and marital status, and one for sex. The response and commitment scales for all students show a small positive association with age and marriage, with high levels of significance. Age and marriage are closely related, the older students being more likely to be married than the younger ones; 94.9 percent of married students are over the age of twenty-one, and 69.3 percent are over the age of twenty-five. It is possible therefore, that the same, or similar relationship is being described by the association of these two variables with religiosity.

Slightly higher values are given for the response scale. This scale, it will be remembered, includes those items which are to do with an individual's personal relationship with God, such as the frequency of prayer, willingness to do God's will, seeking God's guidance and the importance of faith in one's life. These are the kind of religious responses and feelings which we might expect to deepen and strengthen as an individual matures in faith and settles into family life with a marriage partner. The association with the commitment scale is also not entirely unexpected. This scale included items to do with acceptance of Church standards, restrictions imposed by the Church and the importance of Church programmes and activities. One can readily appreciate that such things might be more troublesome for a single eighteen or nineteen year old than for a married twenty-nine or thirty year old. The younger students will be more inclined to kick at fences and resent restriction. The older married students would not have as much reason to feel this way; standards of morality and courtship, expectations of social behaviour and requests for time in Church activities and meetings all become less troublesome when one is married and one's social life becomes somewhat more settled.

For those who are twenty-one or younger, and for those who are single

and away from home, there are no significant levels of association between the religiosity scales and any of the variables. For those whose parents are both Mormons there are two significant associations. One is between marriage and the response scale. At .192, it is not a very strong relationship, though it serves to reinforce the correlations for all the respondents. The mean ages for the three groups are 19.8 for the under twenty-twos, 21.2 for the single students and 23.7 for the parent-member group. Marriage of course is not a factor for the single students, and for the youngest group perhaps too few of them (only 5.1 percent) are married for it to register a statistical impact.

The one other association revealed in Table 24 is between the commitment scale and sex, indicating higher levels of commitment for women than for men. This is in line with data in Table 13 which shows higher religious involvement and activity amongst females. It is perhaps surprising that the association is not more clearly demonstrated here.

We should remember with these tables, and those to be presented shortly that many of the correlation coefficients, although statistically significant are small. Therefore, we must be careful not to overemphasise the weight and strength of conclusions based on individual associations, which with these small levels of association are somewhat tentative.

Church Background

Table 25 provides data for church background – previous Church activity which may have a bearing on religiosity. Each of the four independent variables shows a significant relationship with one or more of the religiosity scales, for one or more of the groups under analysis. However, for some it is difficult to know the direction of the dependence in these relationships. for example, do individuals go on missions because of the strength of their religious faith, or do missions strengthen their faith? It is probably a mixture of the two, though the relative contribution of each is likely to vary a great deal from one individual to another. Anecdotal evidence from conversations and interviews suggests that many missionaries initially respond to a mission call because "it is the right

Table 25: Correlation of religiosity scales
with Church background variables

	Belief Scale	Response Scale	Commitment Scale	Behaviour Scale
All students (N = 205)				
Years of Church membership .	.149*	.070	.113	.121
Missionary service . . . . .	.096	.225**	.246**	.111
Years of Seminary . . . . .	.104	-.065	.054	.141*
Years of Institute . . . . .	.034	.071	.101	.077
Students aged 21 and under (N = 107)				
Years of Church membership .	.140	.025	.048	.104
Missionary service . . . . .	.188	.165	.184	.132
Years of Seminary . . . . .	.196*	.137	.192*	.195*
Years of Institute . . . . .	.052	.067	.123	.074
Single students living away from home (N = 121)				
Years of Church membership .	.219*	.077	.138	.098
Missionary service . . . . .	.043	.232*	.212*	.121
Years of Seminary . . . . .	.228*	.135	.241*	.241*
Years of Institute . . . . .	.060	.276**	.176	.269**
Students having two Mormon parents (N = 120)				
Years of Church membership .	.152	.136	.109	.195*
Missionary service . . . . .	.083	.242*	.272**	.125
Years of Seminary . . . . .	.010	.081	.115	.172
Years of Institute . . . . .	.147	.242*	.281**	.400**

Two-tailed significance: * $P < .05$, ** $P < .005$

thing to do", rather than because of a burning zeal to preach the gospel. They have been taught most of their lives that a mission is what happens to Mormon boys at nineteen years of age. In many instances it will be something that has been talked about and planned for in their family for many years, and so when the time comes they go, since it is the normal and expected next stage in their lives. It is common for missionaries or newly returned missionaries to make statements like "I didn't really have a testimony of the Gospel until I came on my mission, but now I know . . .". This concept of testimony and its relationship to the nature and quality of religiosity is an important one that will be returned to

in chapter seven.

The perception of many Mormons seems to be that the potential missionary is usually a novice in matters of religious faith and knowledge, and that the "mission maketh the man". A mission is widely regarded in the Mormon Church as an important process of transformation, in which the individual's faith will deepen and mature, and his Church leadership potential will become a reality. Indeed, some members seem to ascribe to the mission experience almost limitless powers of conversion and character development. If this were true, then clearly the experience of a mission would profoundly influence levels of religiosity. No doubt a two-year mission (eighteen months for women) does indeed have a considerable influence on an individual, and perhaps the greater weight of the relationship is in the influence of a mission on religiosity. However, it is surely the case that despite the influence of Church and family, levels of faith and commitment must determine to some extent those who are willing to accept the mission call. Other studies, such as that of Hunsberger¹³, previously discussed, suggest that religious orientations might be fairly well set before a student arrives at college, which for most is about age eighteen. If this is true, then by the age of nineteen when men are eligible for a mission, or twenty-one for women, one would expect religious convictions to be quite well formed. The Pearson coefficient shows a positive but fairly weak association between the variables, which would support these comments; if a mission does influence religiosity levels, then according to these statistics, it may not always be a massive influence.

It is interesting to note that for missionary service, the association is with the response to God and LDS commitment scales, not the religious belief or LDS behaviour scales. This would be consistent with the kind of relationship discussed above. One can understand that matters of creedal assent, as measured in the belief scale, and outward observance, as measured on the

¹³ Bruce Hunsberger, "The Religiosity of College Students: Stability and Change Over Years at University", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17.2 (1978): 159-164.

behaviour scale would be affected less by a mission than the response and commitment scales, which describe a deeper, more personal religious involvement.

Analysis for the three sub-groups show no associations for missionary service for the under twenty-twos. These figures are likely to merely represent the distribution of returned missionaries in the groups. The age of missionary service is such that far fewer missionaries are found in the under twenty-two group: only ten, which is 8.3 percent of this group; there are 25.6 percent and 29.9 percent of the single student group and the parent-member group respectively who have been missionaries.

The control groups show significant relationships for Seminary and Institute. Institute is of particular interest, since it is the principal Church organisation with a specific responsibility for the support of college students. As explained elsewhere, Institute was originally founded, in the 1920s, with a specific charge to counterbalance the "godless education" thought to exist in colleges and universities. In other words, its purpose is to strengthen religiosity and mitigate the secularizing influence of higher education. Table 25 shows an association between three religiosity scales and years of Institute involvement, but as with missionary service the direction of the dependency is ambivalent. The highest coefficient is recorded for students with member parents, in the behaviour scale, at .400. This is the largest coefficient revealed so far. It is consistent with the idea that those who do Institute are those who are likely to attend to other duties and meetings, which is what the behaviour scale measures. Involvement in Institute does not have the same force of Church expectation as some other activities, such as missionary service for men, or Seminary for teenagers. This is clearly revealed in the analysis of student responses to Institute, to be introduced later. It may therefore be thought less likely that the uncommitted will choose to enrol in Institute. Nevertheless, although it is indeed seen by many as an optional rather than a required obligation, it is promoted vigorously and draws a wide range of students with varying degrees of religiosity. This is supported by the completion rates for

Institute courses, which are much lower than equivalent rates for Seminary, as revealed in CES records. For the 1992/93 year, the Seminary completion figure was 71 percent, and the Institute figure was 58 percent. "Completion" is a technical term for students who fulfil the work and attendance requirements necessary for a certificate of completion. Many non-completing students remain involved, but have a poorer attendance or work record and do not receive a certificate.

There are other factors to consider in explaining the difference between the figures for Seminary and Institute, and some of these will be discussed later. However, the figure for Institute completion does support the notion that Institute classes have a mixed group of students, in terms of levels of religiosity. If they were composed largely of the committed, dutiful students, we would expect to see a much higher completion percentage. It therefore seems, from this data, that the relationship works in both directions. For some, involvement in Institute is the result of a strong religiosity. For others, Institute builds and strengthens levels of religiosity. The effects need not be mutually exclusive, and many may enrol in Institute because of their religious faith, and involvement in Institute may then sustain and strengthen that faith.

There is no association with years of Institute in Table 25 for the under twenty-two group. This is probably a reflection of the mean ages of the groups, referred to earlier. Table 26 shows that the older groups, who of course have had more opportunity, have more years of involvement, even though they become less likely to enrol. The decreasing inclination to enrol is a significant issue for administrators of the programme, and will be referred to later, though a brief discussion is appropriate here.

The structure of the Institute curriculum leads to repetition after three or four years. The programme is designed to fit with the typical four-year degree pattern of an American university. Credits are awarded, based on the length of the courses which students complete. Usually, the required sixteen credits have been accumulated after four one-year courses have been completed. The student is then presented with a diploma of graduation, at an appropriate

ceremony. However, graduation makes further involvement problematic.

Table 26: Institute involvement of three student groups

	Students 21 and under (N = 120)		Single students away from home (N = 133)		Students with member parents (N = 132)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
One year of Institute . .	52	44.4	51	38.3	61	33.5
More than one year of Institute	37	32.5	49	36.8	77	42.3
Enrolled in Institute this year	86	74.1	88	66.7	107	59.4
One year of Seminary . .	8	6.8	3	2.3	5	3.9
More than one year of Seminary	98	83.0	106	80.9	117	90.8

First of all, graduating from Institute may not coincide with graduation from university. The student may have enrolled in Institute prior to entering university, and may have a year or more of the course left. Or the student may go on to do postgraduate work. In either circumstance, the Church would wish the individual to continue with Institute. Indeed, even if the university course is complete, the Church would still wish any single young adults to enrol. However, there are two problems. First, when the student has graduated one of the incentives for involvement in Institute has been removed. Second, because graduation is largely based on a four-year cycle, the courses are likely to be repeated for the fifth and subsequent years. There is actually a wide range of courses for an instructor to choose from, and in the large Institutes of Religion in parts of America, a student may choose from a list of twenty or more that may be on offer. However, for the smaller numbers and more restricted programme in the British Isles, it is the major scripture courses (Old Testament, New Testament, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants) which are most often taught. Some limited options other than these four courses are offered from time to time, but the likelihood of repeated courses after four years of Institute is

quite high. It seems likely that the increasing disinclination to enrol in Institute, as revealed in Table 26 is at least partly due to these logistical problems.

It is interesting that although a relationship between religiosity and Institute is absent for the younger groups, there *is* a relationship with Seminary. Table 26 shows that there is little difference between the groups in the extent of Seminary involvement; in fact the oldest group (member parents), where there is no association between Seminary and the religiosity scales, shows the highest score for years of Seminary. This possibly offers further support for the idea previously discussed, that students quickly become independent in their religious development from the formative influences of the past. The more recent (perhaps current) Institute involvement is more significant than their teenage involvement in Seminary.

Another possible explanation is that a majority of students enrol in Seminary because of pressure from parents or the expectations of the Church community, and that their participation is merely nominal, without any real involvement or influence resulting from it. However, previous studies suggest that this is not the case, and the completion statistics already referred to also suggest more active involvement. The following quotation from a 1986 study of Seminary students describes reasons students give for being enrolled which suggest there is a degree of self motivation.

Two categories were the most common by a pronounced margin. These were first, personal choice - a personal desire to learn, which was included by half the respondents; the second was influence or even force from parents, which 33 percent mentioned. Of course, many students listed more than one reason, so it is interesting to note that 40 percent of respondents listed their own choice as their only reason, whereas only 11 percent described parental influence as their only reason. This suggests that a large degree of self-motivation is involved for many students.¹⁴

Furthermore, additional data in this study suggested that *after* experiencing a few months or years of Seminary, students showed *more* self-motivation and loyalty than before they had any involvement. This, together

¹⁴ Craig L. Marshall, "The Provision and Justification of a Volunteer-Based Religious Education Programme" (M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1986): 145.

with the reasonably high completion figure from this current study of 71 percent suggest that the association between religiosity and Seminary ought to be quite high. It is interesting that there is no association between Seminary and the response scale. This, it will be remembered, is the scale which measures the most personal kinds of religious expression, and involves the affective component of religiosity. It is possible that as an individual matures such elements of his faith are influenced less by the more mechanical approach of the Seminary programme and more by the more reflective and cerebral Institute.

Perhaps surprisingly, years of Church membership of the student do not feature strongly in the preceding tables. However, church members who are recent converts are sometimes more zealous and committed in their faith than those who have been members for many years. The enthusiasm of the convert for a new-found religious faith is often more exuberant than that of the established members, and this may serve to balance the commitment born of long-standing association. Nevertheless, we note there *is* a weak positive correlation in Table 25 between length of membership and the belief scale.

Parental Influences

One might intuitively expect that home and family background would have a strong influence on individual religiosity. However, the discussion of this topic in chapter two revealed the rather mixed results of research in this field. Many studies show a weak association, or no association at all, between parental religious values and those of their children. Nevertheless, we noted that some studies do, in fact reveal a strong association. We also noted that variables which might strengthen the association include the strength of the religious background, the extent of religious socializing in the home and strong denominational attachments. Given the LDS emphasis on the family, described earlier, and the consequent religious instruction and general prominence of religion in Mormon homes, one might expect an unusually strong relationship between family variables and religiosity. This is given only qualified support, according to the data provided in Table 27. There is clearly a fairly widespread

Table 27: Correlation of religiosity scales
with family background variables

	Belief Scale	Response Scale	Commitment Scale	Behaviour Scale
All students (N = 211)				
Parents' Church membership .	.096	-.081	.011	.103
Family prayer . . . . .	.202**	.108	.083	.209**
Family religious discussion .	.235**	.141*	.161*	.295**
Family scripture reading . .	.129	.106	.068	.157*
Family right/wrong discuss .	.109	.180*	.114	.213**
Sacrament mtg. attendance . .	.071	-.050	.020	.160*
Students aged 21 and under (N = 110)				
Parents' Church membership .	.161	.086	.111	.146
Family prayer . . . . .	.281**	.222*	.138	.220*
Family religious discussion .	.290**	.316**	.236*	.344**
Family scripture reading . .	.191*	.160	.095	.108
Family right/wrong discuss .	.117	.319**	.155	.274**
Sacrament mtg. attendance . .	.109	.044	.010	.146
Single students living away from home (N = 122)				
Parents' Church membership .	.204*	.118	.190*	.207*
Family prayer . . . . .	.300**	.223*	.181*	.265*
Family religious discussion .	.332**	.231*	.234*	.331**
Family scripture reading . .	.170	.176	.147	.177
Family right/wrong discuss .	.155	.261**	.168	.256**
Sacrament mtg. attendance . .	.162	.087	.104	.208*
Students having two Mormon parents (N = 124)				
Parents' Church membership .	....	....	....	....
Family prayer . . . . .	.183*	.192*	.093	.140
Family religious discussion .	.135	.227*	.185*	.224*
Family scripture reading . .	.069	.207*	.095	.116
Family right/wrong discuss .	.039	.268**	.105	.160
Sacrament mtg. attendance . .	-.001	.077	.117	.232*

Two-tailed significance: * P < .05, ** P < .005

relationship with the family variables. However, the strengths of association for home and family items are similar to those given for other variables. They do not seem to be unusually prominent, indeed the associations with church support items to be presented shortly are rather stronger.

We referred in chapter two to a 1979 paper by Cornwall, Olsen and Weed which demonstrated that for younger LDS groups (they used two data sets, one for twelve to twenty-one year-olds, and one for fourteen to eighteen year-olds), there was in fact a strong association between religiosity and family variables. However, they admit that the relationship revealed is not straightforward, and that different associations, or no association at all, obtain for different dimensions of religiosity and different parent/child relationships. This is in line with observations we have made concerning the complexity of the relationships. However, despite the variable nature of some of the results, their overall conclusion emphasises the importance of the home.

Data from the first study . . . provide fairly strong support for the idea that youth religious behavior and attitude are more strongly related to family factors than to program or peer factors. The family variables showed a stronger association with both church attendance and intentions to serve a mission than did program or peer variables.¹⁵

This is not the relationship revealed in the current study. As will be seen, church programme variables actually show higher correlation values with religiosity than family variables. Indeed, the strongest relationships which Cornwall et al. identified were for the younger students in their sample. There implies that as individuals enter the age group with which we are concerned that the association may fall off as they more independent of their family background.

Just as for Table 25 the coefficients for the three sub-groups show, overall, more widespread and slightly stronger associations. This suggests that for some groups, notably the younger and single groups, family influence, though not as dominant as one might have expected, is still significant. It is possible that the religious development of married students and older students

¹⁵ Marie Cornwall, Joseph Olsen and Stan Weed, "The Influence of Parent on Youth Religiosity", paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Religious Research Association, n.p., 26-28 October 1979, 4-5.

becomes more independent, and though family influence can still be measured it is less marked than with the others.

One variable which shows a surprising lack of prominence is the LDS Church membership of the parents. There are significant associations, but for only one group, the single students, and the coefficients are not particularly high. Religious affiliation of the parents apparently has little influence on the religiosity of respondents. It could be, however, that this is a reflection of the high percentage of homes where at least one parent (18.7 percent) or both parents (57.4 percent) are members. Only 23.9 percent of respondents come from homes where neither parent is a Mormon, and this may be insufficient to provide a statistically significant difference. This possibility is strengthened when we reflect that, as Table 12 shows, there is a distinct and strong relationship between the Church membership of parents and the family activities which *do* show significant associations with religiosity. The lack of correlation with parental membership is not in and of itself unusual. The fact of religious affiliation alone is unlikely to influence the children. After all, many people claim affiliation with one denomination or other yet hardly ever attend church or do any of the things associated with church membership. However, in the Mormon Church, with its strong emphasis on involvement and high levels of commitment, affiliation is much more likely to imply active participation, as Table 12 demonstrates. We would surely expect that a measure of religious activity within the home would be a much better predictor of student religiosity.

It is interesting that the variable producing the most and highest correlation coefficients is that of family religious discussion. This is the behaviour which is likely to require the greatest amount of effort on the part of the parents, thus indicating parents with the greatest faith and commitment. Church attendance is an outward statement requiring little effort except the physical process of travel. Family prayer and even family scripture reading are activities requiring virtually no prior preparation or effort. However, the holding of a regular religious discussion is something likely to require some forethought and preparation. In a Mormon context, this religious discussion will

likely be part of the Family Home Evening, referred to earlier, which is promoted strongly by the Church, though organised by families. If this is the case, then Family Home Evenings may be an important agency in the development of religiosity.

Church Support

Table 28 shows data for variables associated with Church support for students. One of the items, "enrolment in Institute" may appear to be a repeat of the item "years of Institute" from the Church background tables. However, the enrolment variable refers to whether or not the student enrolled in Institute in the current year, whereas years of Institute is measuring past involvement. The nature and organisation of agencies for student support will be considered in detail in the next chapter. It is notable that these Church support items have produced the strongest correlation figures of any of the variables in any of the tables. Church callings and Institute enrolment record the highest and most consistent values, and appear in each of the scales.

It has previously been explained how involvement with the Church through some kind of leadership or teaching position is considered to be important for the integration of a Church member and also serves to reinforce a person's religious faith. It was also pointed out that those students who live away from home are in a kind of no-man's land, where because they fully belong to neither their home ward nor their term ward, it is easy for them to be passed over in the matter of Church callings. These statistics show moderately strong levels of association between Church callings and religiosity, and are stronger than any other correlation figures we have seen. The highest coefficient, .49, is with the behaviour scale for students twenty-one and under. This is reasonable; the behaviour scale is measuring response to Church activities, and a Church calling is undoubtedly activity in the Church. Although not quite so strong, there are distinct, positive correlations with the other scales, particularly the response and commitment scales for this variable.

Institute enrolment also shows significant associations, and also provides

Table 28: Correlation of religiosity scales
with Church support variables

	Belief Scale	Response Scale	Commitment Scale	Behaviour Scale
All students (N = 197)				
Church callings . . . . .	.225**	.405**	.350**	.434**
Enrolled in Institute . . . .	.207**	.191*	.163*	.407**
Home teacher visits . . . . .	.096	.163*	.175*	.188*
Bishop's interview . . . . .	....	....	....	....
Students aged 21 and under (N = 104)				
Church callings . . . . .	.286**	.421**	.394**	.488**
Enrolled in Institute . . . .	.311**	.397**	.365**	.670**
Home teacher visits . . . . .	.111	.147	.143	.233*
Bishop's interview . . . . .	....	....	....	....
Single students living away from home (N = 118)				
Church callings . . . . .	.255*	.435**	.349**	.443**
Enrolled in Institute . . . .	.351**	.313**	.260**	.554**
Home teacher visits . . . . .	.045	.091	.018	.103
Bishop's interview . . . . .	.131	.249*	.167	.330**
Students having two Mormon parents (N = 113)				
Church callings . . . . .	.266**	.406**	.348**	.459**
Enrolled in Institute . . . .	.118	.148	.159	.456**
Home teacher visits . . . . .	.039	.107	.172	.191*
Bishop's interview . . . . .	....	....	....	....

Two-tailed significance: * $P < .05$, ** $P < .005$

Note: "Bishop's interview" is only available for students studying away from home

the highest correlation values. As with the previous two correlation tables, the sub-group figures confirm the same overall pattern of associations as for the whole group, but with the tendency for slightly higher correlation values. The high values for enrolment in Institute are remarkable; the coefficient of .67 with the behaviour scale is the highest value in any of the tables, for any variable. It seems clear there is a strong association between religiosity and Institute for all students, especially younger students and those who are single.

As already mentioned, it is not easy to determine the direction of the

dependency between some variables, such as Institute and Church callings. Are individuals selected for Church positions because they are strong in the faith, or is faith strengthened as a result of the close involvement generated by the position? It seems reasonable that both conditions exist as a reciprocal relationship, but the balance of the relationship is difficult to determine; it will probably vary considerably from individual to individual.

The same dilemma arises concerning the bishop's interview. When a student moves into a new ward, the bishop is expected to interview them and generally ensure that they are welcomed and integrated. The bishop may be more likely to interview those who are strong and active in the Church, who are therefore likely to be readily available. Indeed, those who are particularly active and committed may even have made the initial contact and requested an interview. The fact that the higher of the two correlations for this item is with the behaviour scale is somewhat supportive of this assumption. On the other hand, perhaps the bishop's interview indicates that he is a caring Church leader who represents a ward where students will be encouraged and supported. As with Church callings, the nature of the dependency is likely to lie somewhere between the two alternatives.

The results for the frequency of home teaching visits are noteworthy. Great store is placed in the home teaching programme by the Church, as explained elsewhere. It is considered to be of central importance in the nurture and welfare of individuals and families. However, Table 28 shows only a weak relationship between home teaching and student religiosity, indeed none at all is recorded for the under twenty-twos and students away from home. This could be because such visits are so infrequent as not to provide a statistically accurate result: it will shown in the next chapter that only a quarter of students receive regular home teaching visits. It could well be, in fact, that home teaching visits to students, particularly those living alone are not viable; students in halls of residence for example are not very accessible, and may be more difficult to contact and visit than other members.

Multiple Regression Analysis

The Pearson correlation coefficients in the previous analyses have identified a number of important associations with religiosity. The configuration of relationships changes somewhat for the three sub-groupings of students. In the sub-groups the levels of association are typically enhanced slightly. When all the tables are considered, ten variables stand out as of particular significance. These are Church callings, current Institute enrolment, family religious discussions, family prayer, years of Institute, family discussions about right and wrong, missionary service, years of Seminary, sacrament meeting attendance and marital status. This list is roughly in order of importance, based on the size and spread of the coefficients. Church callings and Institute enrolment are the strongest of the variables, with coefficients close to .5 for several scales; Institute enrolment has the highest individual value of .67 for the behaviour scale for students twenty-one and under. Other variables are less strong, with coefficients ranging around a magnitude of .2 and .3. These results suggest that the impact of individual variables is not decisive, and that it is in combination their effect may be more consequential. In order to confirm the significance of the variables identified above, and also to ascertain their contribution as a group, they were subjected to multiple regression analysis.

The SPSS multiple regression stepwise procedure was chosen for the analyses. Multiple regression is best used with interval level variables, but "one of the virtues of the stepwise procedure is that it will measure the contribution of any form of variable entered."¹⁶ Even so, it must still be acknowledged that "some of the statistical information provided could not be meaningfully used"¹⁷ when non-interval level variables are included. Of more serious concern is the slightly non-linear relationships of some of the variables, commented on previously. However, none of them are markedly non-linear and

¹⁶ Stuart Reid, *Working with Statistics: An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Social Scientists* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 134.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

it was decided that multiple regression would give a reasonable suggestion of relationships, provided the results are treated with some caution.

Initially, a multiple regression model was calculated for eighteen out of the nineteen independent variables which comprise personal and college background, church background, family background and church support. The bishops interview was not included, since it is specific to students living away from home. The variables included in the equations included all ten of those listed above, in one scale or another. One other, not included in the list of ten was identified as significant: age. However, this had very low scores for tolerance, and a correlation analysis of the eleven variables revealed a close association with marriage. It was therefore not included in the final list.

The correlation matrix revealed that all four family background variables: family prayer, right and wrong discussions, sacrament meeting and religious discussions were highly correlated with each other (.69 and higher). They also show low tolerance figures when included in the same equation. In addition, sacrament meeting was highly correlated with Seminary (.62). Since religious discussion has the strongest associations with the religiosity scales, it was decided to eliminate the other three. The final list of seven variables consisted of: Church callings, Institute enrolment, home religious discussion, years of Institute, missionary service, years of Seminary and marital status. These items, with the four religiosity scales as dependent variables were subjected to multiple regression analysis, results from which are provided in Table 29. The high scores for "tolerance" show that the variables included in the equation are reasonably independent: there is little sign of collinearity here. Even the variables not included are acceptable in this regard, although years of Seminary has the lowest tolerance score (this was due to a small correlation with marriage of .28). The significance levels for the F statistics are also encouraging, indicating an acceptable fit for the model.

In general the regression models confirm the conclusions reached earlier. The five variables included in the equations were all part of the list produced from the Pearson statistics. Two from that list, years of Institute and years of

**Table 29: Multiple regression: religiosity scales dependent;
seven independent variables; all cases**

		Summary statistics from each step					From final step	
Step	Variables included	Mult. R	Adj. R ²	Adj.R ² Change	F	Sig.F	Tolerance	Beta
Belief scale dependent (N = 199)								
1	Institute enrolled	.226	.046	....	10.62	.001	.868	.223
2	Home rel. discussion	.301	.081	.035	9.78	.000	.984	.202
3	Marital status	.358	.114	.033	9.53	.000	.891	.172
4	Church callings	.385	.131	.017	8.47	.000	.930	.149
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.972	.060
	Years of seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.699	.033
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.969	.019
Response scale dependent (N = 196)								
1	Church callings	.406	.161	....	38.36	.000	.922	.307
2	Marital status	.466	.209	.048	26.82	.000	.882	.289
3	Institute enrolled	.507	.245	.036	22.13	.000	.869	.198
4	Mission service	.533	.269	.024	18.96	.000	.967	.157
5	Home rel. discussion	.548	.282	.013	16.34	.000	.977	.130
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.706	-.041
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.948	.014
Commitment scale dependent (N = 197)								
1	Church callings	.368	.131	....	30.58	.000	.921	.276
2	Mission service	.424	.171	.040	21.26	.000	.977	.199
3	Marital status	.454	.193	.022	16.66	.000	.887	.226
4	Institute enrolled	.493	.228	.035	15.45	.000	.874	.208
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.884	.126
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.959	.031
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.977	.122
Behaviour scale dependent (N = 200)								
1	Institute enrolled	.450	.198	....	50.39	.000	.866	.409
2	Church callings	.569	.317	.119	47.10	.000	.930	.315
3	Home rel. discussion	.612	.366	.049	39.22	.000	.982	.236
4	Marital status	.632	.388	.022	32.51	.000	.891	.167
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.974	.029
	Years of seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.711	.028
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.967	.016

*Statistics are what would have been given if the variable had been entered at the next step

Seminary are not represented in the regression model. The importance of Church callings is also substantiated by this multiple regression. The change in the adjusted R squared score gives us an idea of how much of the variance in religiosity accounted for by the models; the Church callings variable predicts between approximately 12 percent and 16 percent of the variance in three of the scales. Its contribution is less strong for the belief scale. Institute enrolment also features strongly, and accounts for nearly 20 percent of variance for the behaviour scale and between 3 and 5 percent in the response and commitment scales. However, it only accounts for just over 4 percent of the variance for the belief scale, even though it is the first variable to enter the equation for that scale. The adjusted R squared score for the final step in each analysis gives us an idea of the total variance accounted for by the model. This is highest for the behaviour scale, at about 39 percent, followed by 28 percent and 23 percent for the response and behaviour scales respectively. However, the model explains very little of the variation in the belief scale, at only 13 percent.

Regression analysis was performed for the sub-categories of students used in the Spearman analysis. There were fewer variables included in the regression equations, but the general pattern of results confirms the most important variables from previous analyses. For example, Table 30 displays the results of the regression analysis for students twenty-one and under. It can be seen here that Institute is more important for this age group than for the whole sample; the enrolled in Institute variable predicts more variance in the scales as a whole than any other variable, with the highest figure of 47 percent for the behaviour scale. Other variables such as marriage and missions are less important, as would be expected for this younger age group who are largely unmarried and have not served missions.

Table 31 provides the results for single students living away from home. We are particularly interested in this group, partly because it represents a more typical undergraduate and also because from the Mormon Church point of view it is the group which is likely to be most vulnerable. The table shows that although Institute is still the most important variable for this group, the church

**Table 30: Multiple regression: religiosity scales dependent;
seven independent variables; students aged twenty-one and under**

		Summary statistics from each step					From final step	
Step	Variables included	Mult. R	Adj. R ²	Adj.R ² Change	F	Sig.F	Tolerance	Beta
Belief scale dependent (N = 110)								
1	Institute enrolled	.343	.109	....	14.39	.000	.988	.321
2	Home rel. discussion	.398	.142	.033	10.05	.000	.988	.203
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.993	.036
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.947	.002
	Years of seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.938	.132
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.969	.044
	Church calling	....	....	....	....	....	.883	.159
Response scale dependent (N = 108)								
1	Church callings	.418	.167	....	22.48	.000	.889	.299
2	Institute enrolled	.508	.244	.077	18.23	.000	.904	.287
3	Home rel. discussion	.538	.268	.024	14.09	.000	.960	.180
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.992	.086
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.941	.048
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.932	.103
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.959	.033
Commitment scale dependent (N = 109)								
1	Institute enrolled	.405	.156	....	20.98	.000	.899	.296
2	Church callings	.499	.234	.078	17.53	.000	.886	.280
3	Years of Seminary	.529	.259	.024	13.60	.000	.966	.180
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.963	.013
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.958	.089
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.978	.052
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.930	.071
Behaviour scale dependent (N = 111)								
1	Institute enrolled	.691	.473	....	99.65	.000	.898	.592
2	Church callings	.742	.542	.069	66.10	.000	.884	.262
3	Home rel. discussion	.756	.560	.018	47.71	.000	.968	.150
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.992	.042
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.940	.039
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.935	.056
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.959	.001

*Statistics are what would have been given if the variable had been entered at the next step

**Table 31: Multiple regression: religiosity scales dependent;
seven independent variables; single students away from home**

		Summary statistics from each step					From final step	
Step	Variables included	Mult. R	Adj. R ²	Adj.R ² Change	F	Sig.F	Tolerance	Beta
Belief scale dependent (N = 124)								
1	Institute enrolled	.359	.122	....	18.02	.000	.992	.337
2	Home rel. discussion	.435	.176	.034	14.14	.000	.992	.248
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.988	.032
	Years of seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.751	.058
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.820	.001
	Church callings	....	....	....	....	....	.913	.140
	Bishop's interview	....	....	....	....	....	.961	.053
Response scale dependent (N = 122)								
1	Church callings	.431	.179	....	27.34	.000	.940	.376
2	Institute enrolled	.482	.220	.041	18.02	.000	.940	.223
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.954	.147
	Years of seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.964	.113
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.818	.131
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.973	.136
	Bishop's interview	....	....	....	....	....	.951	.160
Commitment scale dependent (N = 123)								
1	Church callings	.377	.135	....	20.01	.000	.925	.301
2	Years of Seminary	.435	.175	.040	13.98	.000	.972	.198
3	Institute enrolled	.473	.204	.029	11.45	.000	.922	.195
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.963	.148
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.812	.068
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.779	.057
	Bishop's interview	....	....	....	....	....	.947	.070
Behaviour scale dependent (N = 125)								
1	Institute enrolled	.588	.341	....	65.07	.000	.916	.469
2	Church callings	.661	.428	.087	47.37	.000	.899	.257
3	Bishop's interview	.699	.476	.048	38.53	.000	.948	.216
4	Home rel. discussion	.718	.499	.023	31.91	.000	.958	.167
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.963	.014
	Years of seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.762	.082
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.758	.063

*Statistics are what would have been given *if* the variable had been entered at the next step

calling variable is once again prominent and is entered first for two scales. Marriage of course was omitted from this analysis of single students, and the bishop's interview was included since this is the group to which this variable specifically applies. Although not prominent, the bishop's interview does appear for the behaviour scale, accounting for about 5 percent of the variance.

Religious discussion in the home features in this and indeed most of the regression analyses. This confirms the impression given by the Pearson correlations that the influence of the home, although not the strongest of predictors is nevertheless of some consequence. Two variables are not included for any of the scales for this and the preceding analysis: missionary service and years of Institute. This may be accounted for by the relatively low frequency of each of them for these younger age groups. When the same analysis was performed for students whose parents are both Mormons, a somewhat older group, mission service was included for two scales (see Table 32). In addition to age, it may reflect parental influence in this group who come from complete Mormon families. Interestingly, for this analysis years of Institute is more prominent than current Institute enrolment. This also is likely to be reflection of age. the older group have had more opportunity than the others for Institute participation. We have also discussed the tapering-off of enrolment with age.

Conclusions: Chapter Five

From the preceding analyses we find little evidence that religiosity is associated with length of exposure to higher education, which of course supports the central hypothesis of this study. We do, however, observe associations with a number of other variables several of which correspond with an intuitive expectation. Multiple regression analysis confirms the impression from the Pearson correlations that most individual variables have a comparatively small strength of association with religiosity; the variables as a group have a more important relationship. Attention has been drawn several times to the comparative weakness of many of the associations with specific variables suggested by the statistics; indeed this is a distinctive feature of the

**Table 32: Multiple regression: religiosity scales dependent;
seven independent variables; students having two member parents**

		Summary statistics from each step					From final step	
Step	Variables included	Mult. R	Adj. R ²	Adj.R ² Change	F	Sig.F	Toler- ance	Beta
Belief scale dependent (N = 114)								
1	Church callings	.254	.056	....	7.73	.006	1.00	.254
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.986	.075
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.993	.074
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.981	.071
	Years of Institute	....	....	....	....	....	.968	.114
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.976	.082
	Institute enrolled	....	....	....	....	....	.984	.149
Response scale dependent (N = 112)								
1	Church callings	.387	.142	....	19.35	.000	.969	.341
2	Mission service	.449	.187	.045	13.76	.000	.990	.219
3	Years of Institute	.480	.209	.022	10.78	.000	.971	.173
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.931	.149
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.968	.019
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.941	.161
	Institute enrolled	....	....	....	....	....	.817	.032
Commitment scale dependent (N = 114)								
1	Church callings	.367	.127	....	17.48	.000	.960	.311
2	Mission service	.446	.184	.057	13.76	.000	.995	.244
3	Years of Institute	.493	.222	.038	11.76	.000	.961	.214
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.933	.095
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.967	.020
	Home rel. discussion	....	....	....	....	....	.952	.114
	Institute enrolled	....	....	....	....	....	.798	.125
Behaviour scale dependent (N = 115)								
1	Institute enrolled	.467	.211	....	31.51	.000	.805	.354
2	Church callings	.595	.343	.132	30.77	.000	.936	.317
3	Home rel. discussion	.624	.373	.030	23.65	.000	.970	.193
4	Years of Institute	.647	.397	.024	19.80	.000	.796	.189
<u>Variables not included*</u>								
	Marital status	....	....	....	....	....	.859	.125
	Mission service	....	....	....	....	....	.957	.121
	Years of Seminary	....	....	....	....	....	.957	.063

*Statistics are what would have been given if the variable had been entered at the next step

analysis. Although the statistical significance for many of them is extremely strong, giving high levels of confidence in the existence of a relationship, the strength of many of the relationships is not particularly high. Two exceptions are church callings and Institute enrolment, which show quite strong correlations with some religiosity scales. For students aged twenty-one and under, Institute accounts for some 47 percent of the variance on the behaviour scale. Nevertheless, this is not typical. The regression analyses suggests that the variables *as a group* predict about one-third of the variation in religiosity, if the scores for the four tables are averaged out. Notable in this is the very small impact they appear to have in the belief scale. Indeed, the contrast between the four scales is interesting and is further confirmation of the complex multi-dimensional nature of religiosity. For the associations which have been demonstrated one problematic area is the direction of the dependency, which is not clear for some variables. A reciprocal relationship seems likely, in which religiosity is both supported by and also supports other variables.

There is an indication that students achieve independence in the matter of their religious convictions and behaviour quite early. There is some backing here for Hunsberger's¹⁸ proposal mentioned in chapter two, that religious orientations are set at an earlier age, probably during high school, and that university merely gives the freedom and opportunity to act out a framework of belief that is already well established. Indeed, one of the older students commented on this in the "general comments" section of the questionnaire:

In my (long) experience of higher education most students tend to make their decisions about morality, & basically set a presedence [*sic*] for their future three years or so, during their first two to four weeks of college away from home. The rate of moral decline can be frightening. [emphasis original]

It unlikely that teenagers have thought out their position clearly; their response to a growing awareness of religious values is probably more a mixture of feelings and inclinations which lie somewhat dormant under the influence of the parental home. This would result in apparently rapid change and

¹⁸ Hunsberger, 'The Religiosity of College Students', 159-164.

independence from previous influence, and then gradual modification as the individual grows older, which might involve the dilution of measures of association with previous sources of influence, or a masking of them with other variables which have a greater influence on the maturing young adult.

There is support for this from recent research in a related field. In a 1993 study of the relationship between religiosity and delinquency amongst Mormon adolescents, Chadwick and Top reached the following conclusion.

The LDS youth in this study appear to have internalized a set of religious values and practices that are related to less frequent participation in delinquent activity in both high and low moral communities. The relationship of religion with delinquency for this population is not entirely a cultural or social phenomenon. The link between religion and delinquency was just as robust in the low-LDS religious climate of the eastern states as it was in the powerful religious environments of southern California, Idaho, and Utah.

Contrary to previous research, peer and family factors did not overpower the various dimensions of religiosity in this multivariate analysis. Religion made a significant contribution to predicting delinquency even in competition with peer and family influences.¹⁹

Although this refers to a different age group, it describes an early independence from peer and family influence. It also suggests that factors other than cultural and social factors are important.

The explanation of religiosity provided by the correlation and regression analyses in this study is clearly partial. It could well be that a wider or different range of variables is needed, and these may be developed in future research. However, it will be argued later that other factors are involved in developing and maintaining the religiosity of the students which are not easily measurable by empirical study. The internalization of religious belief mentioned above by Chadwick and Top has important relevance for this study; the implications will be explored more fully in chapter seven. Before doing so, however, we will examine in greater detail some of those items which have shown a significant level of association with religiosity. Of particular interest are the variables which recorded the highest scores: the Institutes of Religion, and general agencies of Church support, especially the issue of Church callings.

¹⁹ Brent A. Chadwick and Brent L. Top, "Religiosity and Delinquency among LDS Adolescents", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32.1 (1993): 67.

CHAPTER 6

LDS AGENCIES FOR THE SUPPORT OF STUDENTS

There is a distinction between Church agencies which exist specifically to serve students and those which serve the general membership, including students. Both types of support are important, and will be discussed, but we will start with the former. In the British Isles, two organisations are associated with college students: LDSSA, and the Institutes of Religion. LDSSA (Latter-day Saint Student Association) works exclusively with students. The more widespread and much better established Institute of Religion programme, although originally intended for students, has broadened its scope and now includes large numbers of non-students. In addition, a programme called Seminary exists for the religious instruction of secondary school students. Seminary was the forerunner of Institute, and its effectiveness amongst teenagers in the Church helps to shape the religious attitudes of those who go on to further education. Seminary will not be considered in detail in this report, but occasional reference to it is appropriate, since its operation and success has a bearing on the success of Institute, and also on the religiosity of young people prior to their college years. Seminary and Institute are part of the Church Educational System (CES), a professional organisation within the Church, which acts in an advisory capacity for the LDSSA. The existence of this professional organisation in a Church with such a strong commitment to a lay ministry and leadership is noteworthy. The fact that the Church would invest extensive resources for the support of students is an indication of the high priority attached to student support by the Church. With the backing of CES and the consistent leadership of full time professionals, Institute is far more extensive and better organised than LDSSA, which until recently was a priesthood programme directed by the volunteer ecclesiastical leaders.

Latter-day Saint Student Association

As stated, the LDSSA is organised exclusively for the support of college students. Until recently it differed from Institute in that it was a priesthood programme, directed by the ecclesiastical leaders, not CES, although there are very close ties with CES. During the course of this study, in October 1994, the structure of the programmes were radically changed, and LDSSA is now affiliated with Institute and is under CES direction. This reorganisation has been too recent to make any judgement concerning improvement or change; indeed there is still uncertainty over how the changes should be applied in the British Isles.

The LDSSA is a comparatively recent innovation, dating from 1966.

In 1966 Elder Paul H. Dunn of the First Quorum of the Seventy was asked by the Church General Board of Education to formulate an organization that would unify all Latter-day Saint college students and correlate their Church and social activities while they were on campus. the organization would function as an arm of the priesthood. Its purpose was to help the family, home teacher, quorum leader, bishop, and stake president in making the influence of the Church and the teachings of the gospel active forces in the lives of Latter-day Saints during their college years.¹

It seems that the LDSSA was intended to be primarily an enabling organisation – to coordinate existing provisions for the welfare of LDS students, rather than being an original provider of services. Furthermore, the students themselves were to have a prominent leadership role. One of the early directors of the organisation, Marion D. Hanks, emphasised both these points:

The student association forms committees to serve various of these groups and then it brings their representatives together in counsel in what is called the Latter-day Saints students council on campus. Four student leaders are selected, interviewed, called, and set apart. They preside in the student council to which come these other representatives. The student council addresses itself to three basic questions: (1) What are the needs of the students on this campus or in this area? (2) How can those needs best be satisfied? (3) Which Church agency or institution or influence can best undertake to solve the problem - which can best lead out?²

From the beginning the programme was linked closely with the Institutes of Religion. Institute staff and resources were important in the development of

¹ William E. Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1988), 136.

² *Ibid.*, 138.

the LDSSA, and this close association has continued to the present day.

The development of the LDSSA in this country has been more problematic than in America, partly because of the much smaller numbers of students. A precursor of the LDSSA was the "Deseret Club", organised by students at Oxford in 1967. This was followed in 1968 with the beginnings of the LDSSA and the first national LDSSA conference, only two years after its introduction in America, and with the companion programme Institute not yet established. The second national convention was held in Sunderland in 1969, with an attendance of sixty students and as guest speaker Marion D. Hanks, a prominent general authority of the Church and director of the LDSSA church-wide.

The complex structure of councils, committees and advisors devised for an American campus was clearly unsuitable for the British Isles, yet a workable alternative seemed remarkably hard to achieve. Over the past couple of decades several organisational structures have been attempted, but none has been completely satisfactory. One of the more successful approaches was when the British Isles was treated as a single "campus", and the programme was directed by a small national leadership, assisted at a regional level by the coordinators. In recent years the LDSSA has been decentralized and emphasis was given to ecclesiastical responsibility. Under this system, the stake president was responsible for organising a local student leadership for the LDSSA, and the regional CES coordinator served as an advisor. The problem with this was that many stakes had so few students that many hard-pressed stake presidents simply did not see the value of allocating a sufficient priority to the programme. In the coordinator survey, one question asked the extent to which LDSSA was functioning. Out of the forty-three stakes represented, only one was reported as having a fully functioning LDSSA. A further nine were functioning "reasonably well", but in over three-quarters of the stakes LDSSA was barely functioning, if at all.

With such a state of disorganisation, it is not surprising that only 64 percent of students claim to be registered with the LDSSA. Registration, in fact, is automatic for every LDS student who is identified. However, the programme

has clearly had so little impact on large numbers of its members that they are unaware of their membership. A general feeling of disillusionment with the programme was revealed in the survey. Table 37 shows student responses to several questions concerning LDSSA.

Table 37: Student attitudes to LDSSA

	Strongly agree (%)	Agree on the whole (%)	Not Sure (%)	Disagree on the whole (%)	Strongly disagree (%)	N
LDSSA combats negative spiritual influence of college	11.2	21.2	46.7	13.8	7.1	240
LDSSA makes a difference in my life	4.4	14.5	31.5	30.2	19.4	248
LDSSA serves no useful purpose	4.1	12.7	40.0	28.2	15.1	245

The results are somewhat ambivalent. Although 32 percent agree that the LDSSA helps to combat the negative spiritual influence of college, only 19 percent feel that it has any impact in their own life. Despite this low support for a positive role for LDSSA, only 17 percent agreed that the organisation serves no useful purpose. A majority in each category selected "not sure" which, if the strong loyalties characteristic of the LDS Church are taken into account, could indicate a reluctance by some to be critical of Church organisation. It could also, of course, simply indicate an ignorance of the programme, and therefore an inability to decide. It is perhaps significant that the largest agreement, of nearly 50 percent was that LDSSA makes no difference in the life of the student. In the coordinators' questionnaire, four of the twelve coordinators agreed that, as it is presently functioning, the LDSSA does not justify the time and effort spent on it; only four disagreed with this position.

One of the undertakings of the LDSSA in this country, from the early 1970s, has been the production of a newsletter. This has been known, since December 1975, as the "Clarion". The Clarion has varied in quality and

frequency over the years, analogous to the strength and vitality of LDSSA and the availability of an enthusiastic editor; at various times it has been published monthly, quarterly, or bi-annually. Occasionally a year or eighteen months has elapsed between issues. Despite this chequered history it is still in production, and serves as the primary agent of communication in the organisation. Indeed, for many students the Clarion *is* the LDSSA, and the only real contact they have with the programme. For many national presidents, production of the Clarion was by far their largest administrative duty. For many years the Clarion was a substantial journal, an A-5 booklet of some twenty-eight or thirty pages, and articles were often of a high quality. In recent years it has become more of a bulletin, four pages of A-4, and its quality seems consistent with the generally poor level of support for the parent programme at present.

In interviews and discussions with students, opinions concerning the Clarion were critical of its reduced circumstances. Many students support the concept of regular contact through a newsletter, but are highly critical of the form and content of the present Clarion. The coordinators shared this view, and were invited to give a written opinion in their questionnaire. The following comments are representative: "not worth the effort – a joke to give it such a title"; "the Clarion is an embarrassment"; "a very poor document indeed". Yet the universal feeling of both coordinators and students is that the Clarion has great potential and is probably the single most important asset of the LDSSA. It is certainly the most significant instrument available for creating an identity for an organisation with relatively few members scattered widely across the whole country. At the moment, however, it is not even reaching many students; according to responses in the student survey, only 54 percent of students are receiving the Clarion. Improving the student newsletter would seem to be an urgent and important task for administrators and advisors to address.

One of the tasks performed by CES, from which the LDSSA benefits, is the maintenance of a computer directory of LDS students in the British Isles. This represents a very large investment of time which the volunteer leaders of the LDSSA could not cope with on a spare time basis. The identification of students

is undoubtedly the single most difficult and time consuming task associated with either Institute or LDSSA, even for the relatively modest numbers of students in Britain, and updating the record is virtually a year-round activity. Students are an extremely fluid group, changing courses, dropping out, and often changing address at least annually. The identification procedure has gradually improved over the years, though efficiency is impaired by the promptness and accuracy of data received. This comes primarily from the bishops, the CES coordinators and by self-reporting. In the administration of the student survey, the inaccuracies of this database were discovered to be quite high. Of the 512 students listed on the printout which was supplied, 82, which is 17 percent, were eventually deleted as being no longer students, 6 were returned address unknown, and 36 new students were added. The combination of additions and subtractions represents a 24 percent error, and it is difficult to understand why at least a proportion of this had not already been corrected. The resultant list of students is probably the most accurate ever produced, and yet it is quite certain that it would not include all LDS students in the country, or even all those who are active in the Church.

From the preceding observations it can be seen that the current condition of the LDSSA in Britain is not strong. Even the things which are done best, such as the CES database could be greatly improved. It would appear that the organisation is not serving the needs of students particularly well; in fact based on the evidence cited, except for small pockets here and there, it is hardly serving them at all. Question eighty-five of the student survey invited comments of a general nature, providing an opportunity for students to remark on any topics they felt strongly about. The most frequently mentioned subject by far was the LDSSA with seventy-four comments, only ten of which were positive. Complaints mentioned poor communication, lack of organisation, a poor quality Clarion etc. This is a sad indictment, especially since this is the only Church organisation dedicated specifically for the support of college students. It follows that the influence of this particular organisation probably has little to do with the religious resilience of LDS students in the secularizing

environment of higher education. It apparently has little impact on individual students, and there is no sense of group identity. It also suggests a possibility that the needs of students as a specific group may not be very high in the priorities of the ecclesiastical leadership at stake and ward level. The truth or otherwise of this observation will be examined in more detail later in this chapter when we look at the general provision of pastoral care for students.

We will now examine the longer established Institute of Religion programme which is considered to be much better organised and supported, and is therefore likely to have a greater impact in the support of college students. The potential importance of Institute was discussed in the previous chapter, because of its relatively high levels of association with religiosity.

Origins of Institute

The way in which Institute has developed in this country has led to a somewhat equivocal situation in the programme today, and deserves examination. The origins of current policy go back to the basic principles of education established during the early years of the Church, and the subsequent development of a Church Educational System in the Salt Lake Valley and surrounding areas. The doctrinal attitude of the Church to education was examined in chapter three, and is summarized in the following quotation.

These principles are the underlying philosophy of the Church's educational program: (1) Education is required by God and is necessary for advancement in his kingdom; (2) education is to embrace all fields of learning without restriction; (3) a complete education includes a knowledge of the scriptures and of the principles and ordinances of the gospel; (4) the educational program of the Church is a primary concern of the prophet of God, who actively directs the education of his people; (5) education is necessary and should be available to everyone.³

Initially, all schools and colleges in the territory settled by the Mormons were either owned or controlled by the Church, and the principles outlined above could be incorporated without difficulty in the organization and administration of the educational programme. LDS scripture and doctrine were

³ Ibid., 10-11.

taught routinely as part of the curriculum of most institutions of learning. As the nineteenth century progressed the territory, later state of Utah came under regular governmental control; the nonmember population grew and such schools and colleges became a problem. The LDS people were paying taxes for state schools and tithing for church schools; furthermore education was becoming more expensive. An additional problem in the final decades of the nineteenth century was the enacting of legislation by the federal government making polygamy illegal. This was aimed specifically at the Mormon Church, and included punitive measures which effectively paralysed the Church as a business corporation, and resulted in harassment and persecution from many official and unofficial sources. This considerably restricted the ability of the Church to operate a successful school system. Eventually the Church abandoned polygamy, and was restored to its former legal position. However, like many counterparts in Europe during the same period, it decided to reduce its input into secular education. This phasing out of the Church's private schools and colleges created a major challenge.

The decision to close or turn over to the states most of the Church-sponsored junior colleges brought the realization that Latter-day Saint students, especially the increasing numbers attending colleges and universities away from home, would now be without weekday religious training. It was feared that some students would become so immersed in secular studies that their faith might be dimmed or even destroyed. The success of the seminaries on the secondary level suggested seminaries on the college level as a solution to this problem.⁴

The seminaries referred to here were organised to teach religion to secondary school pupils. The first seminaries were housed in premises built adjacent to the state high schools, and students were released from school for one period a day, to receive LDS religious teaching in the Seminary building. This was not always straightforward, especially when hostile nonmember groups obtained a majority on local school boards, whose approval and cooperation was essential for the scheme to work. Furthermore, federal and state officials were not always sympathetic, since despite a huge Mormon majority in most Utah

⁴ Ibid., 47.

communities, the bitter political and social climate created by the polygamy question resulted from time to time in the appointment of antagonistic nonmembers to influential positions. Nevertheless, the first Seminary was opened in 1912, and the programme grew steadily in Utah and the surrounding states.

Development of Institutes of Religion

It was in the same year (1912) that concern for the religious instruction of college students began to be voiced, and a feasibility study was undertaken. The outcome was a decision not to proceed for legal reasons (it was thought that universities could not accept credits for Church theology classes), and also because of a disinclination to impose study burdens on students who were already fully stretched. However, concern for the spiritual welfare of college students persisted. The year 1909 had marked the centennial of Darwin's birth, and the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of his *The Origin of Species*. This event created renewed interest in his theories, which were promoted with renewed confidence and enthusiasm. There was an explosion of scientific knowledge generally at this time which was seen by the clerics of many denominations as a considerable threat to religious faith.

To understand the founding of the Institute system it is necessary to recall that the early twenties were marked by the rising reputation of science and a decline in the influence and power of the churches. Scientists were taking over the study and interpretation of the Bible by means of the 'Higher Criticism.' Social scientists were endeavouring to provide a new 'scientific ethic,' while behaviouristic psychology was replacing sacred and philosophical literature in the study of man.

The reaction of religious leaders was sometimes irresponsible, as when Fundamentalists made wholesale denunciations of 'Godless' scientists. Laws were passed prohibiting the teaching of evolution and other new scientific theories.

The most effective religious response was the spread of 'Religious Foundations' at the University level. Designed to persuade intellectuals of the validity of the Church's message, these provided opportunities for religious instruction and study at a level fully commensurate with that in the secular departments of the universities.⁵

The first Institute of Religion was organised at the University of Idaho,

⁵ Leonard J. Arrington, 'The Founding of the LDS Institutes of Religion', *Dialogue* (Summer 1967):139-140, quoted in Berrett, *Religious Education*, 48.

in 1926. From the beginning Institutes were given the primary objective of counteracting the secularizing influence which was thought to exist in higher education. They were to provide religious instruction at a level commensurate with the secular instruction provided in the university. They were to show students that it is perfectly reasonable and logical to be a Latter-day Saint, and that it is possible to achieve a reconciliation between the truths of science, philosophy and religion. This objective reflects the rational approach in LDS theology and teaching, which has been commented on elsewhere in this study. The initial venture was well subscribed, and the Institute programme grew rapidly over the next several decades, though always limited to colleges and universities where a substantial LDS enrolment justified the considerable cost of constructing and maintaining a building, and paying the salary of qualified, professional instructors.

International Expansion

As the Church grew, both in America and abroad, consideration was given to the provision of Seminary in areas of sparse, more scattered membership. Early Morning Seminary had been used for many years in Utah and surrounding states, where numbers or other factors (such as antagonistic school boards) made Released Time Seminary difficult. In this programme, instead of attending classes on a school release basis, students meet in the early morning, prior to attending school. The lesson is often taught in churches or homes to small groups, seldom larger than fifteen students, by volunteer teachers. However, even Early Morning Seminary was unable to reach the more thinly scattered membership of the Church. Distance between students, lack of transport and lack of suitable teachers make it impractical. In this country today, only 25 percent of Seminary students are in the early morning programme. In 1967 a new approach was developed, called Home Study Seminary. In this, only one weekly class is taught, and the students are given homework to complete between lessons.

Home Study Seminary was introduced to the British Isles in 1968, and was

accepted enthusiastically. By 1971, over 1,000 students were enrolled, and the first British full-time supervisor had been appointed. As with the creation of the original Seminary in 1912, once provision had been made for secondary students, concern was expressed for the needs of the older age group. The success of Home Study Seminary suggested that it might be possible to extend the provision of the Institutes in a similar manner. So far, Institute had been seen as an exclusively campus-related programme with apparently little thought of expansion in other ways. The developments in Britain seem to have been the first in this direction. During 1969/70 authorization was given to experiment with one home study Institute group in London, but with the caution that Seminary should take priority in time and resources. However, by 1971/72, home study Institute had expanded to most areas of the country. Initially, no suitable material was available, and the first Institute classes used Seminary materials with locally produced supplements; indeed the distinction between Seminary and Institute was unclear, or even non-existent in the minds of many Church members.

So successful was this experiment in England, that in 1972 the curriculum department in Salt Lake City was assigned to develop courses of study for Home Study Institute for the Church. The first home study manuals for Institute became available in 1973/74.

Problems With Success

In adapting the programme to make Institute available to college and university students in areas of low Church membership, it became much easier for any Church member to enrol, whether or not they were a student. Indeed, in most areas the involvement of non-students was necessary in order to form a viable class, since there was, and still is, unlikely to be many students in the average LDS ward in Britain. According to the survey of LDS Bishops, only 45 percent of wards have more than two students, and 21 percent have no students at all. This provides one reason for the apparent lack of interest in the LDSSA, mentioned earlier. With such small numbers, and with many leaders not actually

having any students to look after, it is small wonder that there is little enthusiasm for the LDSSA. Since Institute is open to a wider group, it clearly has an advantage over LDSSA, and in addition has had the advantage and long-term stability of a full-time leadership.

The need for a wider membership, especially in the early stages, was recognised by CES; initially, in order to establish the new programme, Institute classes were organised without regard for student status, or even age: anyone over Seminary age was welcome. The excitement of the pioneering spirit which the new programme created, and the quality of instruction from professional, charismatic teachers from America (an aspect of the Church not seen before in Britain) created ideal conditions, and the programme prospered. It was based on the same pattern as Home Study Seminary: the students studied course manuals at home, and weekly ward-based classes were taught by volunteer teachers who were supervised and trained by the small group of full-time professionals (five by 1977, twelve at the present day). Each month, groups of weekly classes came together for a lesson taught by one of the full-time instructors, although in some areas the full-time man taught on a weekly basis.

The lessons taught by the full-time men attracted large groups; classes of fifty or sixty were common, and classes of over a hundred were not unusual. By 1978 4,483 students were enrolled in Institute, and 2,366 in Seminary. It is estimated that the combined enrolment of nearly 7,000 was almost a quarter of the total active Church membership at the time. There are several possible reasons for this success. The strong doctrinal commitment of the Church to the acquisition of knowledge, and particularly religious knowledge has been referred to in detail earlier. However, the facilities and opportunities for religious study had been largely restricted to Sunday classes, sometimes of doubtful quality, or personal study requiring a degree self discipline and organisation which is beyond many people. Institute provided a systematic religious education programme at an advanced level. It provided course materials which gave help and direction, homework and study objectives, and the incentive of the award of certificates. In addition, and perhaps most

important of all, the quality of instruction was consistently high, and certainly better than most Church members would have been used to in, for example, Sunday School. Institute clearly fulfilled a need. The doctrinal imperatives of the Church strongly encouraged members to study their religion, and many converts to the Church were naturally interested in learning more anyway; if they were not, they would not have consented to baptism. Institute provided a high quality programme which enabled Church members to satisfy their personal need for knowledge and also follow the directives and encouragement of the Church. It did so in an enjoyable, often entertaining manner during the week, where opportunities for social interaction were greater than on Sunday.

Institute became a popular, even fashionable venture for many adults, regardless of age or status. It had become the main focus for social and recreational contacts for many Church members, in addition to being the most popular source of religious instruction. The social function of the programme is probably quite important. It provided an opportunity for involvement which created a sense of self-fulfilment for many people. It also had an important role in generating a sense of identity. When groups of this kind become successful, it reinforces group identity and religious commitment. However, paradoxically, this success was a source of concern for the leadership of the Church, and the Church Board of Education decided that changes must be made in order to restrict the extent and influence of Institute.

No detailed reasons for this were given, beyond the observation that Institute was organised to serve the needs of college students. One reason may be partly doctrinal. Both the Seminary and Institute programmes, it has been shown, were seen from their beginnings as part of a professional educational system, and an extension of the secular schooling of the youth and young adults of the Church. Thus they convene only when school is in session, and follow school terms and holidays: they are seen as mid-week, as opposed to weekend programmes. They are supervised, and in their original form also taught by full-time, professional teachers and administrators. This is quite different from the usual situation in this Church, governed as it is almost entirely by laity. The

lay ministry of the LDS Church is a very important doctrinal position, as was explained in chapter three. For this reason, any programme which involves professional workers must be clearly seen to be separate from the main ecclesiastical organisation. This is not too difficult when architects, janitors or accountants are involved, but the nature of Seminary and Institute, in which the objective is basically to preach and teach the gospel, means that a separation of ecclesiastical and professional roles is more problematic. Seminary and Institute are largely volunteer-based outside Utah, but are still regarded by the Church as professional organisations: a direct replacement for the religious education that students once received in Church schools and colleges.

In this context, the tremendous success of the Institute programme had gone too far: a programme intended originally for college students was embracing a large proportion of the adult membership of the Church. The important doctrinal division between professional teacher and lay minister had become much less well defined. The result was a retrenchment; direction was given that Institutes of Religion were for college students, not Church members generally. CES personnel were instructed to only supervise and teach classes with a certain number of college students. Other classes, of predominantly non-college students could continue, but only under ecclesiastical direction. Many older adults were excluded from Institute altogether.

Of course, a further reason for these changes may have been financial. The implications of the changes which had taken place in Britain would be considerable if they had spread to America. In America, the cost of maintaining the Institute programme with its buildings and full-time paid teachers is much greater than in this country. The cost of providing teaching staff and physical facilities for the huge influx of adults would have been considerable. Even in Britain, the additional costs of providing manuals and materials would not be negligible. So, the programme was sharply contracted.

Institute virtually collapsed as a result of these changes. Enrolment fell from 4,483 in 1978 to 1,008 in 1979, a decrease of 78 percent. There was confusion and uncertainty about the future of the programme, and some of the instructions

from America were ambiguous. For example, the ruling concerning the involvement of non-college persons was that they could be enrolled on a "space available basis", but that classes were not to be organised specifically for them. This makes sense in an American campus based programme, where for a given class, after the college students have been enrolled there may be some empty desks in the classroom. Rather than leave the space unoccupied, it is logical to open the enrolment, after the needs of the students have been taken care of, to anyone who is interested. However, in Britain it was difficult to apply such a policy to local circumstances, where in the absence of fixed classrooms and with small numbers of students, space could always be made available for whoever wanted to enrol. A further dilemma was that CES was still charged with the responsibility of teaching college students through Institute, yet because the students were so thinly scattered, it was (and still is) difficult to organise a viable class without a substantial involvement from non-students.

Institute Today

In the thirteen years since the above changes, policy has gradually been revised and consolidated, and a workable approach has emerged. Enrolment is now open to college students of any age, and also to single adults, whether students or not, in the age range eighteen to thirty. Some married persons in this age group are also enrolled, but in general the programme is aimed at young single adults; those over the age of thirty are not eligible, except for the small number who are college students. Despite the resolution of these policies, it appears that Institute has not yet fully recovered, either in spirit or in numbers, from the restructuring of 1979. In 1991-92 the enrolment was 1,680 – 37 percent of the 1979 figure. Four hundred and sixteen, or 33 percent of this total are students. Furthermore, although the policy concerning college / non college involvement has settled, there is still some residual uncertainty amongst CES staff which prevents the wholehearted approach characteristic of the seventies. Moreover, authoritative guidance concerning home study Institute is lacking; the official CES Policies and Procedures Manual is much less clear

concerning Institute than it is for Seminary. In fact, the bulk of written instructions implicitly assumes that Institute is a campus based programme; very little guidance is given concerning the kind of programme run in the British Isles. Much of the policy concerning Institute in this country is an accumulation of memos, letters and verbal instructions over the past decade. It could be that direction was deliberately vague, to allow local initiative in the development of a suitable programme. However, such a situation has the potential for confusion and uncertainty, and this was revealed by the survey responses of the CES coordinators

Even on something as basic as the definition of an Institute class, three out of the twelve coordinators had views different from the majority; one stated the wrong age group for non-college enrolment, and another questioned the involvement of non-college persons at all! There is wide variation of approach for age-groups: some coordinators were happy to supervise classes of members officially too old to be enrolled, while others would not countenance such arrangements. Some differences are because a coordinator feels that local circumstances justify the exception. In other cases the reason is a disagreement over what the policy is. For example, concerning the inclusion of non-college young single adults, one coordinator had written: "Have we actually had approval for young single adult involvement as a *world wide* policy? - I think not." Another coordinator agreed that all Institute teachers, should be appointed by CES coordinators, but qualified his agreement by saying: "I perceive this as British Isles policy, if not world-wide."

This is the kind of uncertainty referred to earlier. The permissions and policies concerning, for example, the enrolment of non-students have been received in such a manner as to cast doubt on its legitimacy. The coordinator feels he is doing something covert in this country which is not acceptable elsewhere and may be slightly questionable even here. Such an issue may be of little consequence in many other denominations where there is tolerance of wide variations from official policy, but in the Mormon Church with its strong sense of loyalty to a central leadership, uncertainty in issues like this may reduce the

effectiveness of a programme like Institute, especially over a long period.

Even in the absence of strong direction from the central leadership in Salt Lake City, a unified approach should be possible for a relatively small country such as the British Isles. However, it should be recognised that the Mormon Church in Britain does vary considerably from area to area. The difference in numbers of college students in different stakes has already been commented on, but there is also large variation in membership strength. In one stake in London for example, the active ward congregations vary from about 120 for the smallest up to 300 for the largest. In a stake in the Northeast of England, the maximum attendance for a ward on Sunday is about 150, and most units average about 50 to 70. Clearly a different approach may be necessary in such diverse situations, and in recognition of this the coordinators are given quite wide latitude and freedom in the running of the programme in their own area. One wonders, however, in light of the disagreement over what seem like quite basic areas of policy, whether sufficient common agreement exists and whether training and management is adequate.

The teaching structure of Institute has a wide "official" variation. The standard, "traditional" programme involves a course of study lasting eight months, from October to May. Students study a volume of scripture such as the New Testament, or a course such as comparative religion, Church history and so forth. The course of study involves one lesson per week, together with weekly study assignments based on a course manual. The Coordinator survey revealed a wide variation in approach throughout the country. For example, the weekly class may be supplemented with a monthly meeting, in which students from a number of weekly classes are brought together, usually on a stake basis (a stake comprises a group of wards roughly the equivalent of a diocese). However, weekly classes are not necessarily ward based; some are multi-ward classes, and some are stake classes. These larger combined classes are organised to improve teacher quality for more students, and to create a more viable group. Seven Coordinators supervise one or more stake classes; eight reported having one or more multi-ward classes. The distribution of class types amongst the

Coordinators is quite uneven; for example, one Coordinator supervises only three stake classes, and no others, whilst another Coordinator supervises nineteen ward classes, and no others. When the effectiveness of the programme is considered shortly, the relative merits of these differing approaches for college students will be considered.

In connection with the topic of college/non-college enrolment, there is an administrative item which contributes to the uncertainties under discussion. The work required of the Coordinators to maintain and expand Institute is not recognised in their reporting system or their work description, since only college students are used in calculating work-loads. This reflects the primary purpose of Institute but it must also send a somewhat equivocal signal, to say the least, causing some disillusionment as well as uncertainty. As one coordinator commented in the questionnaire, regarding his responsibility to personally appoint Institute teachers: "I have often chosen to ignore this responsibility, on the grounds that it represents overload!" Another coordinator wrote "SLC [Salt Lake City] seem as yet to have no interest in YSA [young single adult] Institute."

Since the administration of the questionnaire, the LDS First Presidency announced (in October 1994) a change of policy. This is part of the changes which have affected the status of LDSSA, mentioned earlier. Institutes of Religion are now officially open to non-student young single adults, worldwide. The change will undoubtedly help to alleviate some of the concerns outlined above. This decision perhaps represents the anxiety of the Church leadership for the young single adults. The YSA (Young Single Adult) programme is one of the weakest in the Church and is poorly organised and coordinated in many wards and stakes. The status of the YSA programme will be examined in more detail shortly. Under the new guidelines the Institute building becomes a focal point for students and non-students – a kind of youth club for young adults. It seems clear that Church leaders wish to harness the stable and well-organised structure of Institute, with its professional staff, to provide additional support for this age group. The changes have been so recent that details of their

implementation are not yet clear and any evaluation would be premature. It remains to be seen whether administrative and reporting procedures will take a more realistic account of the coordinators' workload.

The relationship between Institute and Seminary should be mentioned before concluding this introduction to the programme. It was stated earlier that the establishment of Institute has always trailed behind the establishment of Seminary. This relationship seems to continue in all areas of administration. The CES Coordinators have to supervise both Seminary and Institute programmes, but they have instructions that Seminary should take priority. Seminary is considered to be the more important programme, serving a greater need. As much as the Church is concerned about the faith and commitment of college students and young adults, it is more concerned for the teenagers. It is not surprising that Institute is widely perceived to be subordinate to Seminary since, in many practical ways, it *is* subordinate. This is reflected in the coordinators' survey, in which eleven out of twelve admitted that they did not visit Institute classes or teachers as often as they would like. The reasons given included the following responses: "the Seminary programme simply consumes most of my time"; "pressure of getting around the Seminary classes"; "Seminary and Institute classes are usually on the same nights." In fact, a majority of responses explicitly or implicitly suggested that Institute suffers at the expense of Seminary. In the more detailed statistical analysis to follow the implications of this will be examined.

Characteristics of Institute Teachers

The first fifteen questions of the teacher survey were concerned with the characteristics of teachers in relation to Church, family and education. In the kind of lay-run Church we are dealing with, there is inevitably competition for personnel between the various organisations and departments. It is therefore possible in some degree to ascertain the priority given by the Church to Institute and hence indirectly to college students, according to the maturity, experience and Church standing of the teachers made available for such service.

It should be remembered that the LDS Church is vigorously evangelistic, and that a proportion of an average congregation will be converts of only a few years' experience. We can also compare statistics for Institute and Seminary teachers, to discover any bias. It is expected that there would be bias in favour of Seminary, given earlier comments on this subject. A detailed survey of Seminary teachers was conducted in 1985⁶ and where appropriate data from this investigation will be used for comparison.

The data show that Institute teachers are generally of substantial experience and standing in the Church. For example, the average years of Church membership is twenty three, and 75 percent of teachers have more than fifteen years of membership (see Figure 2). Figure 1 shows that the teachers are generally mature adults, with an average age of forty-one. This shows a slightly older, more experienced group than the Seminary teachers, whose average membership was 17 and average age 37. This is not surprising; one assumes that younger teachers would be selected for the younger age group, though the difference is not great.

Further details can be seen in Table 38. Seventy-three percent of teachers have been married, and 64 percent of them have had their marriage sealed in the Temple. Temple ordinances such as the marriage sealing are open only to established members of proven commitment, and are therefore a strong indication of Church standing. These statistics are slightly lower than the equivalent Seminary figures, though not significantly so, and for both groups the general impression is of a mature adult, who is a well established, faithful Church member.

An encouraging statistic for Institute is the proportion of female to male teachers, which at two to one is much better than the Seminary figure of three to one. This has some interest, since it is generally acknowledged in CES that boys and young men are more difficult to involve than girls and young women.

⁶ Craig L. Marshall, "The Provision and Justification of a Volunteer-Based Religious Education Programme" (M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1986).

Figure 1: Age of Institute Teachers

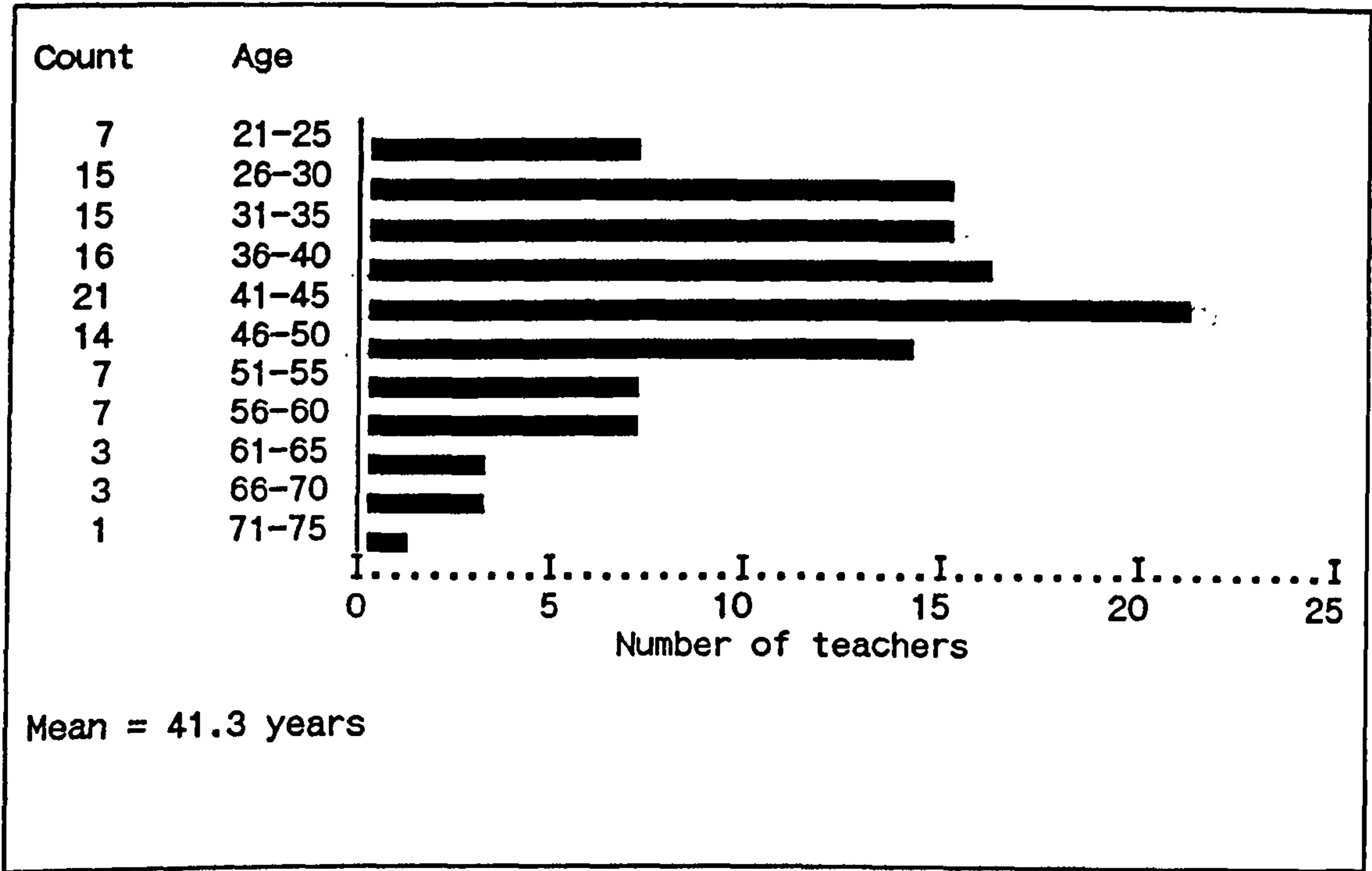


Figure 2: Years of Membership of Institute Teachers

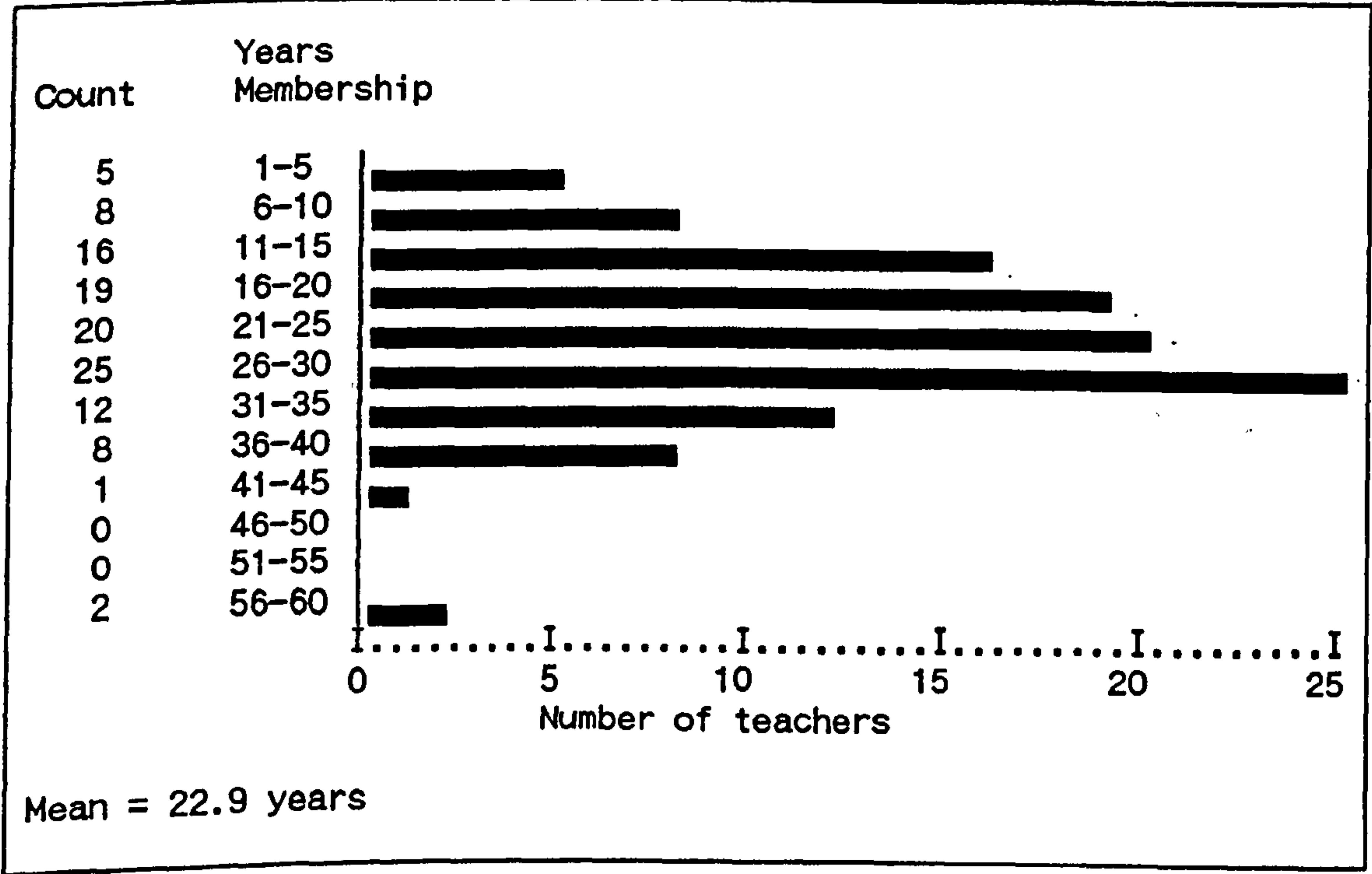


Table 38: Characteristics of Seminary and Institute teachers

	Seminary teachers 1985		Institute Teachers 1992	
	%	N	%	N
Males	24	203	35	117
Females	76	203	65	117
Married	81	203	73	117
Married to a Church member .	74	203	69	117
Temple sealing	69	203	64	113
Full time job	39	203	48	117
Part time job	23	203	19	117
Professional teaching qualification	10	203	18	116
Having an additional Church position	84	203	81	116
Having two or more additional positions . . .	34	203	22	116

Note: (N) for 1992 excludes missing responses; (N) for 1986 does not.

Further analysis shows that 40 percent of the Institute enrolment are male. It is interesting that this is very similar to the proportion of males in Seminary (42 percent). It is also very close to the percentage of boys (41 percent) who attended church in Francis' survey of non-Mormon churches in Lancashire.⁷ This lends further support for the statistics cited earlier which demonstrate the higher levels of religious involvement of females compared with males. The CES staff have been trying to encourage the appointment of male teachers for Seminary, in an attempt to attract the boys, but it would seem that Institute has been more favoured in this respect. The problem of finding male teachers is made difficult because all ecclesiastical officers are male. Women do occupy many positions of responsibility but they are not ordained to the priesthood. This, combined with the fact that there tends to be a greater number of active, capable women than men in a given ward, means that men are generally less available than women for a position such as Seminary or Institute teacher.

⁷ Leslie J. Francis, *Teenagers and the Church* (London: Collins, 1984), 28.

One source of concern is the workload of the teachers. Eighty-one percent of Institute teachers have at least one other voluntary position in the Church, and many (22 percent) have two or more additional positions. These positions are known as "callings". The significance attached to callings was explained in chapter three, especially the fact that it is not considered proper or appropriate to refuse a call. The holding of a call is widely regarded in the Church as a measure of commitment; being fully active in the Mormon Church includes the notion of involvement in one or more callings. If two old friends meet after a lengthy separation, one of the first questions they are likely to ask is "what are you doing now?", which will invariably be understood to mean, not "what is your employment", but "what is your calling in the Church". It is expected that in an LDS congregation, every committed adult will have something to do; there are certainly enough tasks to go round. This has implications for students as well as teachers, and was discussed previously. For the teachers, although the number of these additional callings is slightly less for Institute than for Seminary, it is still a problem, especially when further analysis reveals that of those who have an additional responsibility, for 78 percent of cases it is a presiding position, in which the individual is the head of one of the Church organisations, often with responsibility for a small staff and the additional work that comes with this. Furthermore, almost half the Institute teachers are in full time employment, much higher than for Seminary, and a further 19 percent have a part time job. Other teachers have commitments as voluntary workers outside the Church (see Table 39), which clearly decreases their available spare time. These statistics indicate a lack of appreciation for the workload of an Institute teacher by local Church leaders. One of the long-standing concerns of many coordinators is that ecclesiastical leaders have an imperfect understanding of the demands of Seminary and Institute, and equate it with other teaching positions, such as in Sunday School, where the time commitment is not as great.

It is not uncommon for a teacher to receive additional callings from their bishop, and then after a period of a few weeks, when it becomes clear that the burden is too great, request release from their position in Seminary or Institute.

Table 39: Characteristics of Institute teachers

	%	N
One or more years as an Institute student	42	115
One or more years as a Seminary student	42	117
One or more years as a college student	46	116
College degree or equivalent	34	115
Children of college age	45	109
Children who have been, or now are college students .	37	109
Involved in non-Church voluntary work	27	117

Seminary and Institute are neither priesthood nor auxiliary organisations. Consequently the position of teacher in them is not a calling, it is a CES volunteer appointment. For some teachers therefore, it is of less priority than a calling from the bishop. This type of release for a teacher is relatively common, and is of sufficient concern that instructions were recently issued by the Area Presidency (the ultimate Church authority for the British Isles), to instruct bishops that it should not happen. Furthermore, the instruction also stated that CES teachers should be considered unavailable for callings in the Church for a period of four years after their appointment. However, either through ignorance, or necessity in wards with a small membership, the problem persists.

Other data for Institute teachers are given in Table 39. Only forty-two percent of teachers have had experience as an Institute student, and a similar number have taken Seminary; therefore over half the teachers may be coming to the classroom without any previous direct experience of the programme. This has implications for training and appointment procedures, to be discussed shortly. Almost half the teachers have had experience as a college student, a surprisingly high proportion, and 37 percent have children who have attended college. Such teachers are more likely to be aware of the needs and challenges of the college students they teach, and the relatively large number of such teachers is a good sign. Equally, however, it should be recognised that over half the teachers have probably had little or no experience of college life.

Another figure that was surprisingly high, in view of the volunteer nature of the programme, and subjective observation of teachers, was the number of college graduates with a degree or degree equivalent. One third of teachers have a degree, and from Table 39 we see that 18 percent of them have a professional teaching qualification, much higher than Seminary. This is encouraging, since although academic qualifications do not guarantee teaching quality, for an organisation like Institute, which aspires to college and university standards and emphasises the support of college students, such statistics must be welcome. Again, however, the fact that two-thirds of teachers do not have such qualifications should be noted.

The item of greatest concern however is turnover of staff. In any organisation, a high turnover of workers is a problem, but this is particularly so for one relying on volunteer, spare-time workers where their availability for training may be quite restricted. Table 40 shows that the situation is marginally better for Institute than for Seminary, with a mean of 2.5 years of service, but this is hardly satisfactory. Thirty-six percent of teachers are in their first year, indicating a turnover of over one-third annually. This must weaken the organisation considerably. Note that only 10 percent of teachers are in their fourth year of teaching. This is significant because CES considers four years to be the minimum period for service, to obtain optimum value from training, development and continuity. It was stated earlier that the Area Presidency stipulated that teachers should remain in office for four years. Ideally, therefore, there should be at least 25 percent of teachers in their fourth year, but clearly Institute is far from achieving this ideal at present.

From the foregoing description, it can be seen that the overall profile of an Institute teacher is somewhat mixed. Teachers tend to be well established, experienced members, in a Church where such people are in high demand; however many teachers are given so much else to do in the Church that their contribution to Institute must be diluted to some extent. More alarmingly, the turnover is so high that training programmes must be hard pressed to cope. It was surprising to note that there seems little difference between Seminary and

Table 40: Length of service of Seminary and Institute teachers

Length of service	Seminary teachers 1985 (N=203) %	Institute teachers 1992 (N=117) %
1 year	41	36
2 years	24	28
3 years	14	15
4 years	9	10
5 years	6	3
6 years	3	3
7 years	1	1
8 years	<1	2
9 years . . . . .	....	....
10 years	<1	2

Mean for Seminary = 2.3 years
Mean for Institute = 2.5 years

Institute, in terms of the quality of teachers. If anything, there may be a slight positive bias in favour of Institute. This is encouraging, since it suggests that the Institute programme has a rather higher profile and priority than some other statistics have suggested.

Teacher Selection and Appointment

The appointment of Institute teachers is made by the CES coordinators since, as was explained previously, Institute is a professional and not an ecclesiastical programme. This is different from the usual procedure in the Church, since almost all other appointments in a ward or stake are made by ecclesiastical leaders, and are regarded by members as a divinely inspired calling. This difference has the potential to cause confusion.

According to Church policy, priesthood leaders and CES personnel have a joint responsibility for teacher selection. The CES coordinator and the bishop should confer and reach agreement on a candidate. It is then the coordinator's responsibility to contact the selected individual and after a satisfactory interview make an official appointment. The bishop's involvement is essential,

since the individual must be approved by him as a member in good standing, and the prospective teacher should ideally be free from current or prospective Church commitments (though as we have seen, this is seldom the case). In any case, the bishop should be consulted as a matter of courtesy, if one of his flock was being considered for a Church position outside his jurisdiction.

The unusual nature of this arrangement can cause problems of coordination. Bishops quite commonly go ahead with appointment interviews without consulting the coordinator. Even if he does not go as far as an appointment, the bishop is likely to "sound out" the candidate, and thereafter an interview with the coordinator is viewed as a formality. Sixty-two percent of teachers report that a priesthood leader made the initial approach, and only 21 percent were approached first by their coordinator. This may not necessarily be the fault of the bishop; some coordinators are happy to allow such events to run their course without too much protest, since it relieves them of a time consuming task in an already over-crowded schedule. This tendency is confirmed by statistics in Table 41, which show that the proportion of Institute interviews conducted by coordinators is almost half that for Seminary teachers.

Table 41: Selection and appointment of teachers

	Seminary teachers 1985 (N=203) %	Institute teachers 1992 (N=117) %
Initial approach from self	24	17
Initial approach from priesthood leader . . .	55	62
Initial approach from coordinator	20	21
Received appointment interview	59	67
Letter of appointment received	68	66
Of those who received an appointment interview:		
Conducted by priesthood leader	15	59
Conducted by Coordinator	85	48
Conducted jointly by coordinator & p'hd leader	....	5
Interview considered good	18	58

Even where the process works according to the handbook, the coordinator must rely on the local Church leader; his influence over who is chosen is limited. Only one of the twelve coordinators felt that he has the greatest influence in the selection of a teacher. Interestingly, however, only four coordinators felt that they *should* have the greatest influence. The bishop or stake president is certainly better placed to know the local people; the coordinator is usually too remote to know who would make a good teacher. Since in reality the bishop controls who is appointed, the quality of the programme is dependent on the bishop sharing the coordinator's values concerning the nature and priority of the Institute programme, so that he will make an appropriate teacher available. Unfortunately, according to comments from the coordinators, many bishops seem to show a lack of such shared understanding.

It seems astonishing, as Table 41 shows, that only two-thirds of teachers recall having an appointment interview of any sort, whether by the bishop or coordinator; interestingly, the figure is even lower for Seminary. This implies a seemingly casual attitude to teacher appointment by the coordinators, who are ultimately responsible. As already shown, even for those teachers who have an interview, a large proportion are conducted by the bishop or other priesthood leader, and may not be the kind of professional introduction envisaged by CES. Only four coordinators claim to interview all Institute teachers; five admit that they will interview 50 percent or less. Many teachers, just under a third, do not even get a letter of appointment (a standard, pre-printed form produced by CES). In fact, three of the coordinators in their questionnaire admitted that they seldom if ever send such letters to Institute teachers.

The 1985 survey of Seminary teachers shows a broadly similar pattern in the area of selection and appointment. In some things Seminary receives better handling, in others Institute is more favoured, but overall there is little difference. We have not seen the expected Seminary bias, except in the area of interviews. Attention was drawn to these same weaknesses in 1985, and although the current statistics are for a different programme, the same principles apply; little progress seems to have been made in the intervening seven years.

However, it does not appear that there is significant discrimination against the programme for college students; it is treated equally badly as the programme for teenagers.

Teacher Training

There is considerable stress in the LDS Church on training courses of all kinds. This would be expected in a Church relying on the laity for almost all functions. For all Church teachers there is a Teacher Development Programme. This includes a basic course, which all teachers are expected to complete, prior to teaching. This programme is run by local Church leaders, not CES, though all Institute teachers should have completed the basic course, prior to being appointed. The training programmes provided by CES are generally thought to be more intensive, demanding, and better organised than these general provisions – in keeping with the professional aspirations of the programme.

In this country, Institute teacher pre-service training has no formal structure; it is largely up to individual coordinators to develop their own approach. Response from the teachers suggest that the pre-service and induction training is inadequate. Only 14 percent claim to have received any at all (the same figure was found for Seminary). This contrasts with the coordinators' claims. Seven out of the twelve assert that they provide special training for new teachers. However, since their description of this includes such things as extra correspondence, 'phone calls and a suggested summer study schedule, it may not, understandably, be recognised as special pre-service training by the teachers. It seems that pre-service training is a rather weak aspect of Institute, and when this is considered in combination with the negative report on appointment procedures, it is a serious cause for concern for CES administrators. This is especially so when the lack of previous experience of many Institute teachers, mentioned on page 235, is taken into consideration.

Inservice training seems better organised and more consistent than pre-service training. The basic provision is a monthly, ninety minute training meeting, called the "faculty meeting", usually held for eight months of the year.

Theoretically Seminary and Institute teachers should receive the same provision but in many areas this is not happening. Five coordinators state that they have no faculty meetings at all for Institute teachers, and of those who do, it is mostly in conjunction with a meeting for Seminary teachers to which the Institute teachers are invited. Only three coordinators have a separate meeting for Institute teachers, and in only two cases is this a regular monthly meeting. Where the meeting is held jointly with Seminary (70 percent of all Institute provision, according to the teachers), there is the likelihood of a Seminary-oriented meeting, and in fact the surveys confirm that this is often the case. Fifty-eight percent of teachers complain of a Seminary bias in their training, and five of the coordinators admitted that this was characteristic of their meetings.

According to the teacher survey, 28 percent of Institute teachers do not attend any faculty meetings at all during the year. The average attendance is three meetings; the coordinators' estimate of 43 percent average Institute teacher attendance is quite close to this and it compares badly with 81 percent for Seminary teachers. At least those teachers who do receive inservice training appreciate it, despite the Seminary bias, and 80 percent rated the quality as good or excellent, on a five-point scale. Despite this one positive result, it is clear that the training of Institute teachers is not as it should be.

One problem for Institute inservice training is not shared by Seminary. This is the variability of the courses. Some time ago, in order to give wider choice and to better reflect the American system, CES in this country allowed individual classes to choose their own course of study from the twenty or so that are available. In Seminary, on the other hand, the whole country studies the same course, and it is this Seminary course which forms the basis for most faculty meeting programmes. Unless the Institute teacher happens to have chosen the same course as Seminary, much of the training may not be relevant for his or her needs. It would be impossible for a coordinator to find time to prepare several different training meetings, and impractical to administer such a system even if he could. Since it seems to have such an impact on inservice

training, the administration should seriously consider whether the benefits of allowing a choice of course outweigh the disadvantages.

It does seem that the generally inadequate provision for Institute teachers, and the bias towards Seminary is a problem. Over the years, the pattern of response to the meetings by Institute teachers has developed to a point where there is a widespread feeling that it is not so important for them to attend as it is for Seminary. The coordinators themselves generally do not follow-up non attendance from Institute teachers as strongly as for Seminary teachers. In this respect Institute takes second place to Seminary, and it should not be surprising that Institute teachers are less committed to an inservice training programme. For many of them, training is simply inadequate for their needs.

Teacher Supervision

A lot of emphasis is given to supervision in CES, and the coordinators regard supervision as the most important element in their training programme. Supervision includes the whole umbrella of teacher support, such as correspondence, telephone calls, and progress interviews. However, in Institute the word is more particularly associated with lesson observation, followed by a discussion with the teacher. These class visits are quite popular. Table 42 shows that only 19 percent of teachers express a desire not to be visited, whereas 75 percent actually enjoy a visit from their coordinator.

The difference between Seminary and Institute in the matter of coordinator visits is quite striking. Twice as many Seminary teachers receive a class visit, and more than twice as many have an interview. However, four times as many Seminary teachers request such visits, compared with Institute, and this may partially explain the difference, though since most visits are initiated by the coordinator (88 percent), the difference must be largely the result of a bias towards Seminary. The very small percentage of Institute teachers who request an interview may also be a reflection of a more tenuous relationship with the coordinator. Less contact and support will lead to less

Table 42: Teachers' annual supervision

	Seminary Teachers 1985 (N=203) %	Institute Teachers 1992	
		%	N
Teachers receiving one or more personal interviews . .	44	17	115
Teachers receiving one or more class visits	60	30	115
Teachers preferring no class visits at all	11	19	112
Teachers initiating class visits	25	5	106
Teachers who enjoy class visits . . . . .	....	75	112
Teachers who enjoy a personal interview	69	82	115
Teachers having less than once per month contact from their coordinator	19	50	114
Teachers feeling they have sufficient contact with their coordinator	74	62	112
Teachers feeling responsible to their coordinator in the day-to-day running of the programme	54	59	113
Teachers feeling responsible to their pstd leader in the day-to-day running of the programme	44	44	113

confidence and a disinclination to take the initiative.

We have explained the distinction between ecclesiastical and professional programmes in the Church. The last two responses in Table 42 show that some teachers respond primarily to the ecclesiastical leaders, and some to CES. There is a dual responsibility between ecclesiastical and CES officers; but some confusion may arise over who does what. This can isolate the teacher from support and communication within a local Church unit. There is no well-defined organisational channel for teachers to receive the support accorded to workers in other Church programmes such as Sunday schools and youth groups, which are supervised exclusively by local Church leaders. Furthermore local Church leaders tend to be very hard-pressed individuals, especially the bishops. A programme like Institute, with a professional, full-time administration, seemingly operating smoothly, is likely to be relegated as "successful", to a position of low priority for support and encouragement. This does not necessarily imply neglect. Most bishops are aware of the distinctive nature of the CES programmes, and that they are not priesthood auxiliaries. They may therefore

feel they have no jurisdiction, and that any necessary support for the teachers will be provided through CES. Coordinators describe Institute (and also Seminary) teaching as often a lonely experience for their teachers, who live in a closely-knit community involving mutual help and encouragement, but may find that they stand aside somewhat from the main thoroughfare of cooperative effort.

In this situation the frequency and nature of coordinator visits and contacts with teachers becomes very important. Table 42 shows the percentage of teachers receiving visits and interviews, according to data from the teacher survey. Over two-thirds of Institute teachers are not visited, and 83 percent are not interviewed, during the course of a year. The coordinators felt they were doing better than this, and in their survey they estimated that 57 percent of Institute teachers would be visited at least once in a year. Even this figure is relatively modest but higher than what is actually happening. More alarming than this is that frequency of contact of *any kind* (the question included letters and phone calls) is less than once per month for half the Institute teachers. Note once again that Seminary is far better served, with a percentage more than half as great again as that for Institute.

The coordinators recognise there is a problem. Eleven out of the twelve stated that they did not visit as often as they would like to. Most of the reasons given for not doing so were related to pressure of time from other CES responsibilities, and the priority given to Seminary. The coordinators expressed frustration at the quantity of work they are required to do. Ten coordinators agreed or strongly agreed that their contractual working week of forty-four hours was insufficient to fulfil the requirements of their job. They would like to provide better supervision for the teachers, but logistical problems prevent them doing so. Whatever the justification this still leaves the teachers without adequate supervision, and may in part explain the high proportion of teachers (37 percent) who wish to resign. The equivalent figure for Seminary is 23 percent.

Many of the challenges described above are familiar to those who work in

the wider voluntary sector, as the following quotation illustrates.

As a second illustration, it is worth mentioning the experience of the person who joins a voluntary organisation (on a voluntary or paid basis) and encounters a badly managed situation. the aims of the organisation may be unclear. There may be suspicion, conflict of values or just plain inertia between management committee and staff. Teams may be at war with one another (or within themselves). There may be no clear way of assessing whether the agency is working with any degree of success. the 'style' of management currently in use may conflict with the aims and even the type of organisation. The litany of possible woes is long enough, but the consequences are likely to be the same: irritation, disappointment on the part of the person concerned and thus yet another contribution to the downward spiral.⁸

It is encouraging for Institute that although a number of deficiencies have been identified, the "downward spiral" described above is notably absent. The general tone of teacher responses is positive; although a substantial minority wish to discontinue teaching, 63 percent are happy to continue. When asked if they enjoyed Institute teaching, 87 percent agreed that they did – 51 percent of them agreeing strongly. Of course, in this Church organisation, loyalty and commitment to a common faith are likely to be strong unifying factors which will help to overcome some of the stresses which might cause greater disaffection in a purely secular programme. On the other hand, the same religious commitment may also distort responses to survey questions, and this should be born in mind when considering the results.

In this analysis of the structure and management of the programme we have noted a number of concerns and deficiencies. Our reason for examining Institute in such detail, it will be remembered, was because it is the most important organisation for the support of college students and also because it shows a strong association with religiosity. The results so far suggest that college students are not a first priority for CES administrators, even though they recognise the need for greater effort. This is not to say that Institute is failing in its objective of countering the "godless education" of universities. However, it must be acknowledged that there are many administrative deficiencies and that there is wide scope for improvement. The greatest

⁸ Patrick Wright, "Should the Salt of the Earth be Managed?" *MDU Bulletin* (May 1983), 2.

strength of the programme, which may possibly account for the greater part of its success, is the loyalty and dedication of a large proportion of the volunteer teachers, despite the somewhat indifferent support they receive. Although the standing and quality of teachers who are selected seems good, and comparable with Seminary, in terms of training and supervision Institute teachers clearly come off second best. This must affect, in some degree at least, the performance of the teachers. Possibly it will also affect the perception of the programme in the eyes of Church members, including the students themselves. Nevertheless, despite these negative observations, Institute is, on the whole, a thriving organisation in good heart, and may well be an important influence in maintaining the religiosity of Mormon college students.

We will now briefly consider other Church programmes which may play a part in the support of college students.

Single Adult Programmes

The Single Adult programmes cater for the needs of all single members of the Church, whether or not they are students. There are two branches; one for singles eighteen to thirty (Young Single Adults or YSA), and one for those over thirty (Single Adults or SA). The place for these programmes is not fully appreciated unless one remembers the very strong family oriented nature of the LDS Church. This gives rise to a strong family emphasis in programmes and activities in the Church. This may lead to the needs of single, unattached members being neglected.

Since the majority of students (79.7 percent) are single and between eighteen and thirty years old, the YSA programme is potentially an important source of support. However, the level of organisation and activity seems to vary widely throughout the country and YSA is one of the least strong, certainly one of the least well structured of Church programmes. There is provision for supervision from ecclesiastical leaders, and in the better organised areas this works well. Such input can be crucial in providing sufficient structure for an adequate, balanced programme, and also to ensure that individuals on the fringe

(such as college students) are involved.

In many areas, particularly where manpower and leadership are stretched, the young adults may be left somewhat to fend for themselves. The idea that this age group should be self sufficient may become an excuse for abdicating responsibility. YSA then functions more as a peer group than an actual organisation. The quality of activities then become dependent on the drive and initiative of individuals, and will fluctuate from year to year depending on the mix of the group and the leadership potential within it. Typically, activities will be spontaneous affairs organised through the grapevine of a regular group of friends, about which some young adults may not be privy, and to which they may not feel particularly welcome.

The YSA programme caters primarily for social and recreational needs. There is no doctrinal or spiritual instruction built into it, though there may be YSA divisions or classes as part of other Church agencies which do so. On Sunday, for example, young women may have a Relief Society class separate from the older women, and Sunday School may provide a separate young adult class, though such arrangements are by no means universal. In fact, one of the major weaknesses of YSA, which it has in common with LDSSA, is that there is no regular point of contact or meeting for members. Most Church organisations have a regular weekly or monthly class or meeting which serves as a focus for the group, but YSA does not. Of course a local group could decide to organise such a thing, but this is not common. For these reasons, there seems considerable potential for much better cooperation between Institute and YSA. The organisational structure and regular meetings of Institute might serve as a focus for the young adults, and the social/recreational image of YSA might attract more support for Institute. The recent changes in these programmes which have been explained might now make this possible.

The variation in quality of the programme in different areas, and the maturity of the age group leads to extensive travel. Some stakes achieve a reputation for quality events, or simply may be geographically central, and attract young adults from a wide radius. It is not uncommon, for example, for

individuals to travel a hundred miles or more to a dance. Regional conventions often attract young adults from the entire British Isles and are usually oversubscribed. Church authorities have been concerned at the extent of this kind of long distance travel and have stopped the organisers of such events from advertising beyond the stakes immediately involved. There is undeniably a great need in such a relatively small Church for wider social opportunities than the local community can provide, and the young adults continue to travel widely to satisfy this need. It is quite normal in the Church for even a "young" young adult to have a large circle of friends, acquaintances and contacts dotted all over the country. An informal network of this sort can be of considerable support for a college student, provided of course he or she is able to become part of it. The need for travel to quality activities and the absence of regular local opportunities can be a problem for impecunious students, and throw them back into the secularizing environment of the university. One student wrote "Young Adult activities are often expensive and scarce, so I tend to socialize at college."

Singles wards are common in America. These are wards composed almost entirely of young single adults, perhaps two or three hundred of them. They are often organised in university campuses, but may have no connection with education and may be organised in any stake which has a large population of unattached single members. Such wards cut across traditional organisational boundaries, drawing from each of the wards in a given stake. A geographically compact stake is necessary for such a ward to be a viable proposition. There is only one singles ward in the British Isles, in London. It seems to work well, and is an attraction for young Church members who have moved to the London area for work or study.

In summary, the YSA programme is variable. In terms of structure and organisation it is, overall, very weak. However it can be quite effective nonetheless. On a regional and even national level it provides activities that are extremely popular. From the young adult point of view more activities are needed; Church leaders would be happier if such events were better controlled

and coordinated. If a student is fortunate enough to be in an area where the programme is strong, or if he or she is someone with initiative and willing to travel, then the YSA programme can provide strong support and integration with like-minded young adults. However, there is no systematic network of support and YSA is probably something that provides reinforcement for those who are already strong in the Church, rather than helping those who may be wavering in their faith.

General Agencies of Pastoral Care

A variety of procedures provide for the spiritual and physical wellbeing of Latter-day Saints. A coordinated system of councils, committees, interviews and leadership roles monitor the condition of individuals and families and initiate action when necessary. The kind of help provided will range from the provision of food and clothing to counselling sessions for emotional distress. However, the spiritual welfare of members occupies the greatest time and effort. Considerable importance is attached to the concept of worthiness as defined by conformity to a range of basic Church teachings.

The bishop is the focus and key for this system of spiritual and material welfare. He chairs many of the meetings personally, and he is briefed concerning any meetings he does not attend. He is considered to be the Father of the Ward, and as such has a unique position of responsibility for the pastoral care of his congregation. His authorization is necessary for a wide variety of support activities for members. Some areas are seen as his exclusive responsibility, such as matters of personal worthiness. Under normal circumstances only the bishop would deal with issues such as the payment of tithing, sexual morality or the Word of Wisdom (the Church's health code). He would invariably deal with such issues through an interview with the individual concerned.

Interviews in the Mormon church have a special place and meaning. Partly because of the nature of the lay administration, and partly because of the considerable emphasis on individual conformity, or "worthiness", the Church has

a massive structure of formal and informal interviews. A large proportion of these fall on the bishop or his two counsellors, though many other leaders in the Church also conduct interviews. Each time someone is invited to perform a service or accept a calling to a leadership or teaching position, it is through an interview. Church leaders report their performance through interviews; there are temple recommend interviews; interviews are needed for priesthood ordination; teenagers are interviewed at six monthly intervals; young adults should be interviewed annually. After a period of membership in the Church, Mormons will be accustomed to the fact that nothing much of significance happens to them without an interview. They will find the concept of an interview, in which their religious attitudes and behaviour are queried, and in which they are able to request help or air frustrations and grievances, to be a normal part of Church life.

Theoretically when members move to a new ward, their membership is transferred and the new bishop will receive details. If the new move-ins are active members who attend Church, the bishop will usually interview them personally, to welcome them to the ward, and also to assess their standing in the Church. This is what should happen for students moving away to study. Such an interview would normally be an introduction to the new ward, and the first step in a range of services and procedures designed to support members moving into a new area. Information from the student questionnaire suggests that the system is not operating well, at least for students. Of students moving to a new ward, just over one third (36.7 percent) report having an interview with their bishop in the first few weeks of moving. This is in contrast to the bishops' claim that 58.7 percent were interviewed within four weeks of arrival. A further 11.8 percent were interviewed later during their first year, but almost half (49.3 percent) were not interviewed at all. Even when the level of Church activity is taken into account, the statistics are not much better. Of those who attend Church on a weekly basis (which is the majority of respondents, 79.4 percent), 41.7 percent were not interviewed. This is indicative that students (especially less active students) and their needs are not a high priority for some bishops,

although it is possible that the figures are no better for any other members of the Church.

In a lay Church such as this, the time which ecclesiastical leaders have available to devote to pastoral care is limited. Mutual help between ordinary members is therefore vital, and this has been formalised into programmes to ensure that everyone is looked after. Home Teaching involves those ordained to the priesthood, which is most of the active male membership, and serves the entire membership of the ward. Visiting Teaching is done by women, specifically for other women. In each programme partners are assigned a group of families or individuals; they are expected to make visits to each home on a monthly basis, or more often if circumstances warrant it. They report back problems they are unable to deal with themselves, for consideration by others.

Under this system, each member of the Church is assigned to a home teaching or visiting teaching team, who become a first point of contact should help be required. The Church places considerable emphasis on the importance of this duty, which is frequently cited as the most important responsibility Church members may be given. Theoretically, each family or individual should be visited at least once per month. However, in reality the performance is usually far from perfect. On average, probably 25 or 30 percent of members are visited each month, though over the course of a year, in a well organised ward, 80 or 90 percent will receive at least one visit. This is still quite impressive, however, and there is no doubt that the Mormon Church keeps a closer watch on its members than many other denominations.

When a student moves into a new ward, one of the first things to happen, after an interview with the bishop, is that home teachers should be assigned to him or her. In addition, a visiting teaching team will be assigned to the young women. Thereafter, the student should receive regular visits, ideally on a monthly basis. The students' survey shows that this is not happening very successfully. Only 28.5 percent of all students are receiving regular monthly visits, and of those who have moved to a new ward, only 17.9 percent are being visited regularly; 43.1 percent of all students are not visited at all, and 59.0

percent of students who moved are never visited. The bishops thought they were doing better than this. They estimated that only 14.9 percent of their student move-ins were not receiving regular visits. However, a large number of bishops (46.8 percent of those with students in their ward) did not answer this question, suggesting they did not know who was or was not being visited, and casting doubt on the accuracy of this information. Presumably the experience of the students is more reliable than the estimates of the bishops. The lack of primary support can be a major problem for students. A number of students remarked on this issue on their survey forms. The following comment from a female student is typical.

When I first moved to my term-time ward & into further ed. I found life difficult as I was the first 'away' student the ward had experienced for some time & also I was the only 'active' student at college. I was considerably lonely. Despite my pleas to members & bishop I did not receive nor, have yet received home/visiting teachers, though certain members have attempted to integrate me with their families. The number of LDS students in the ward has since grown. None to my knowledge receive visits. All think the ward hard to move into, only 2 of us have callings, only I am active.

A further statistic from the student survey reveals that 53.0 percent of students who have moved do not have any Church callings. As previously stated, a "calling" is some form of position, such as Sunday School teacher or youth worker, in which an individual contributes his service to the overall ward organisation. It is generally expected in the Church that all members in good standing will have at least one calling, and callings are regarded by Church leaders as an important means of maintaining the involvement and commitment of members. Achieving an appropriate balance for students is difficult, as one student explains: "We sometimes overload our willing students with responsibility (requiring both time and effort) whilst others use it [the fact of being a student] as a convenient excuse to avoid serving." Another student gives priority to college work, and has insufficient time to adequately fulfil his callings: "I put a lot of effort into my studies and I find it is at the detriment to my callings. I am continually telling myself that it is okay but it is hard not to feel guilty." A third student expresses the dilemma well; she finds it "very difficult indeed to juggle time between college and church as I have pressing

responsibilities for both. It seems like I work at the expense of church, and fulfil my callings and commitments at the expense of college work." So, even when the attempt is made to involve and include the students, unless there is sensitivity to the situation of the individual, the effort could be counter-productive.

Table 43 provides a summary of some of the statistics for Church support. Given these figures it is perhaps surprising that so many students (58.1 percent) feel integrated in their term-time ward. Clearly, in terms of the usual procedures for pastoral care, the Church is performing very poorly in the case of students, particularly those who have moved away from home. Statistics for monthly visits and callings show that those who remain in their home ward seem to receive more support than those who move away. There may be several reasons for this. Students who remain in their home ward are likely to live at home, and are therefore more accessible than those who move away and live in university halls. They will benefit from the general support extended to their family. It has been mentioned several times that the great emphasis placed on families and family life in the Church can lead to single members being neglected somewhat. Students who remain at home will be generally well known and integrated in the ward social structure, where their needs and abilities are already well known.

One further disadvantage of those who move away is the transient nature of their situation. They will be students for a limited period, and during this time they will return home for lengthy periods for vacations. In addition, their address is likely to change frequently. All this adds to the difficulty of establishing regular contacts and integrating the student in the ward structure. Unfortunately, their home ward is unlikely to involve them much either, since they are away for much of the year. The student can be lost in a kind of no-man's land between two wards. The statistics given above seem to suggest that this is, indeed what is happening to large numbers of students. Furthermore, some bishops appear unaware of the kind of problems that students cope with. In the bishops questionnaire, several questions related to difficulties students

Table 43: Church support for students

	Students in new ward		All students	
	%	N	%	N
Students receiving an interview in the first few weeks of moving (student survey)	36.7	136	....	....
Students receiving an interview in the first four weeks of moving (bishop survey)	58.7	134	....	....
Students receiving regular monthly home teaching or visiting teaching visits (student survey)	17.9	134	28.5	253
Students receiving regular monthly home teaching or visiting teaching visits (bishop survey)	85.1	182	....	....
Students who have a calling in their ward	47.0	132	63.1	246
Students who feel integrated in their term ward	58.1	136	....	....

might experience, and the extent to which they were assisted. One question concerned transport to Church meetings, and whether students were assisted; in fact, just under half receive assistance. However, one bishop had written in the margin: "there are such things as buses, you know!" He evidently was not aware that for many students, on somewhat inaccessible campuses, there are no buses, or very limited services, and that for female students a long walk late at night to and from bus-stops is not to be recommended. This comment likely represents a general lack of awareness of the challenges facing students, at either the mundane level of transport, or on the issues of integration and involvement which we have discussed.

Doubtless many students are robust enough to cope with the lack of welcome and consideration shown in some wards. However, many are not. One young woman was contacted some four or five weeks after moving to a new ward in a large city. She was asked informally how things were, and if the course was what she had hoped for. She responded as follows:

Oh, the course is fine - I'm really enjoying it. The hall is OK too, and I've made lots of friends. But Church is terrible. After the first Sunday here, when I got back to my room, I just sat down and cried. No-one speaks to you here, except the missionaries once,

and when they found out I was already a member, they didn't speak to me again either. I don't think the bishop even knows I'm here; I've passed him several times in the corridor, but he hasn't spoken to me yet.

It is difficult to say precisely how typical such an experience is, but reports from a substantial number of students describe a first experience with their new ward in similar terms. It was previously mentioned that question eighty-five of the student survey invited comments of a general nature, and that the commonest theme was the LDSSA. The second most popular theme was to do with feelings of isolation from Church and the inadequacy of Church support. Out of forty-four comments on this topic, forty-two were negative. The following quotation is typical of many.

it's not being in further education that makes a young member of the church lose their testimony. It's lack of support for one member family members, young people need a lot of support, I know I do and I long to know that someone would care if I didn't go to church but I know it's true and I love Heavenly father.

Also, send out more copies of "the Clarion". I'm waiting -- ?

The rather plaintive "I long to know that someone would care if I didn't go to Church" is revealing. It expresses, in this instance, the failure of the Church as a caring community; the student clearly feels anonymous and unwanted. One further quotation will complete our examination of this subject. A student who had studied both away and at home compares the two experiences. Note the passing comment about LDSSA.

I studied for my BA at a university far away from home, but am now doing a PGCE in London, so I commute in each day (from home). My undergrad. & postgrad. experiences have been completely different. As an undergrad. I never had home or visiting teachers, though my term-time Bishop was a wonderful man. There no other LDS students at the university and only 2 YAs [young adults] in the ward and I did find it lonely from a Church viewpoint. In fact, in my final year I drove home every weekend to go to church there. The postgrad experience is completely different - I'm in my home ward and love it! I did not even know about LDSSA until 2 weeks ago - it would have been nice to have had more details during undergrad. years, even though I was an older student (27 when I started). I intend doing research work in a couple of years and will definitely stay at home to do it because of the above experiences. [emphasis original]

These rather gloomy comments and conclusions should be seen in context. We should remember that many students do, in fact, enjoy their experience of study away from home. They find it liberating and exhilarating, and many

actually prefer their term ward to their home ward. We reported earlier that 58 percent of students feel integrated in their term ward. In a Church that relies on volunteers for almost all functions, including senior ecclesiastical positions, it might be argued that the level of support shown above is not too bad. Nevertheless, it is clear there is a challenge for the Church to tackle. Perhaps one of the more worrying revelations is the lack of awareness of bishops about the level of support their ward provides. Certainly, whatever the reasons and particularly for students away from home, the inescapable conclusion is that support provided through normal Church channels of pastoral care is not very substantial. It is unlikely therefore to be a major factor in the resilience of students to the secularizing influence of their higher education experience. For those students who are involved in the Church, and attend the meetings and activities, the general support from the ward community will be considerable, and this is likely to be a major element in supporting the spiritual development of the student during college. However, on the basis of this study, it appears that those Church agencies designed to reach out, monitor needs and assist individual members is not doing much for many students. However, the response and provision varies considerably. Some students report that their term ward is outstandingly welcoming and helpful, but as we have heard, other students have a different experience.

LDS Students and Institute

It was demonstrated earlier that in some respects Institute occupies a position of second place in comparison with Seminary. Seminary is regarded as a requirement for all teenagers and those who do not enrol are regarded with distinct disapprobation by leaders and parents. However, the same degree of stigma is not attached to failure to enrol in Institute. It is regarded as desirable but there is not the same strength of expectation that a young adult should enrol in Institute. Furthermore, most coordinators believe that students are more difficult to enrol than other young adults. It is therefore surprising that the proportion of college students who have had one or more years of Institute (75.6

percent) is almost exactly the same at those who have had one or more years of Seminary (75.4 percent). This, together with other statistics can be seen in Table 44.

Table 44: Institute and Seminary enrolment

	All students		Students 23 and over	
	%	N	%	N
One or more years of Seminary . . .	75.4	224	63.9	76
One or more years of Institute . .	75.6	225	76.3	76
Enrolled this year in Institute . .	60.1	223	38.7	75
Four year Seminary graduates . . .	56.6	224	32.9	76
Four year Institute graduates . . .	10.1	225	18.4	76

This result may simply reflect the high commitment of this group of respondents. However, if there was a difference in response between Seminary and Institute, we would expect to see it reflected at least to some degree despite any bias. Furthermore, when the two programmes are tested for association, no significant relationship is detected (see Table 45). If in fact the similarity between Seminary and Institute involvement is because the respondents are the 'good kids' who would be inclined to enrol anyway, we would expect to see a correlation between the two. Since there is no correlation between years of Seminary and years of Institute, support for Institute may be wider than commonly supposed. In other words, a wide range of young people enrol, not just those who were the committed teenagers who enrolled in Seminary.

It was, in fact, discovered in the 1986 study of the Seminary programme, that coordinators and teachers were inclined to underestimate the degree of personal commitment of the Seminary students. Nevertheless, some tenuous evidence for lack of support for Institute is provided in Table 45. The figures for the *current year's* Institute enrolment (as opposed to previous years of enrolment) show a very weak relationship with the numbers of years of Seminary which have been completed. The difference between the associations shown for years of Institute and current enrolment may be a result of the fact that

Seminary is a four-year programme spread over a four-year age span, whereas Institute is a four-year programme spread over at least a twelve-year age span. This problem will be returned to shortly, when we consider the issue of motivation in connection with graduation.

Table 45: Associations for Institute involvement

Independent variables	Dependent variables					
	Years of Institute			Enrolled this year in Institute		
	Spear-			Spear-		
	man			man		
	Corr.	Sig.	N	Corr.	Sig.	N
	Coeff.			Coeff.		
Years of Seminary completed . . . . .	.046	.500	219	.178	.009	217
Level of encouragement to enrol from leaders . .	.095	.161	221	.182	.007	220
Number of students enrolled in the class .	.094	.290	128	.146	.100	128

Data in Table 44 show that numbers of four-year graduates are significantly different for Seminary and Institute. Only a tenth of students have completed four years of Institute, yet well over half achieved this for Seminary. This could be partially explained by the fact that since enrolment in Institute is not possible until the age of eighteen, many of the students will not have had an opportunity to complete four years. Figures are therefore provided for students who are twenty-three and over. This age was selected so that missionaries who have been away for two years would also have had an opportunity to complete four years of Institute. It can be seen that although the figure is a little better for this older age group, at 18.4 percent, it is still only just over half the equivalent figure for Seminary.

These figures would seem to support the argument of less commitment to Institute, and that despite previous comments, the perception of the coordinators and teachers is correct. However, it is possible that they reveal a different kind of commitment. The opportunity to acquire annual certificates,

culminating in the graduation diploma is intended to provide an incentive. There is evidence to suggest that this is a stimulus for many Seminary students, who prize such awards and certificates. However, it is possible that such recognition holds less motivation for Institute students. College students who are involved with high academic awards may see an Institute certificate as relatively trivial.

It was mentioned briefly in the previous chapter that fewer Institute students complete their course than do Seminary students. The national CES reports for the 1992–93 academic year show that 57.9 percent of Institute students completed all the course requirements, compared with 69.9 percent of Seminary students. This again may simply reveal a different motivation. One student in the survey wrote the following comment on the questionnaire.

My Institute is a great class with a member of the stake presidency teaching. However my attendance has fallen recently due to a few social engagements but I don't view this as a threat to my testimony or Church membership.

The implication is that other Church members *do* regard a drop in Institute attendance with apprehension and concern. Another student wrote:

Institute is important to me being a member for only two years. It helps me to know more and I whole-heartedly depend on it even though I don't always manage the reading assignments.

This student seems to be saying that not completing the reading assignments should not be interpreted to mean that she is not committed to Institute. The problem that can arise in a programme like Institute, which is so closely tied with the evaluative and spiritual standards of the Church, is that failure to meet the requirements for an award may result in judgements concerning the faith of the individual. In failing to achieve a certificate, an individual may be seen as of less worth in relation to the Mormon community. It is perhaps this concern that underlies the above comments.

It was found in speaking with many Mormon students that the attitude underlying these statements is quite widespread. They regard Institute as a means to an end, and not an end in itself; their loyalty to Institute as a programme is much weaker than their loyalty to the principle of religious study.

If Institute fits in with their personal circumstances, they will take advantage of the structure to pursue their spiritual education. However, if things are not convenient, they see no major problem in not attending Institute, since they can always study the scriptures by themselves at home. This kind of attitude can be frustrating for teachers and administrators, who are likely to be more programme oriented than the students. There is certainly considerable emphasis in Institute on the importance of completion and graduation.

It is probably true that certificates and graduation diplomas are an incentive for some students. However even where this is the case, the structure of these awards involves an inherent weakness. It was shown in the previous chapter that there is a decline in the strength of association between religiosity and Institute as students grow older. Table 44 shows a similar decline in the number of students who enrol; 60.1 percent of the whole sample enrolled for the current year, but only 38.7 percent of those who are twenty-three or over. Further analysis showed that 72.0 percent of the under twenty-threes enrolled. Graduation is basically a four-year process, and once it is achieved, no equivalent incentive exists to replace it. Furthermore, there is a likelihood of repetition in the courses to be offered. Although a wide range of some twenty or more courses exist, the tendency, because of the limited numbers of classes in a ward or stake, is to repeat the same courses over a four year cycle. If it were possible to offer a wider range of courses, Institute would probably be more attractive to a much wider age range.

Some students complete all the requirements for a certificate, but do not bother to apply for it. For such students the important thing seems to be participation. The following comment from a student is typical: "I enjoy Institute not only for the Church education but the opportunities it provides to meet new people." This social need is not always recognised or catered for. Another student wrote: "Institute is excellent for getting students together, but there needs to be more activities to allow the students to talk even more freely together". The social element of the Institute programme has frequently been mentioned during interviews and conversations with students, teachers and

administrators. However, although the need is recognised, very little is being done at present to meet the need.

It is surprising, in light of these comments, that the size of the Institute class does not seem to affect involvement in Institute. In Table 45 there is no significant association between either total years of Institute or enrolment in the current year, and the number enrolled in the class. It is even more surprising that class size is not associated with enjoyment, importance of Institute or a willingness to continue Institute (see Table 46).

Table 46: Association of factors affecting evaluation of Institute

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables								
	Degree of enjoyment of Institute			Extent to which Institute is important			Willingness to continue Institute		
	Spearman Corr. Coeff.	Sig.	N	Spearman Corr. Coeff.	Sig.	N	Spearman Corr. Coeff.	Sig.	N
Student assessment of teacher quality . . . .	.579	.000	136	.289	.001	135	.222	.010	133
Number who regularly attend the class . . .	.134	.133	128	-.009	.918	127	.037	.681	127
Combined religiosity scale score . . . . .	.236	.006	135	.349	.000	134	.276	.001	134

If, in fact, class size is not a significant factor for student response and enjoyment, there are important implications. At present there is a movement to create larger classes by combining ward classes together, in some cases creating a single stake class. It is assumed that the larger the group, the more attractive Institute will be. A further advantage is that the smaller number of teachers required means that CES can be more selective and provide a higher quality programme. The disadvantage is less easy access and more difficult, expensive travel for some students. It is also more difficult to arrange a time convenient for everyone in a larger group. The following comment from the student questionnaire is typical of many: "Institute is a stake-level programme that is scheduled for a time when I am committed to other Church-related assignments -

otherwise I would be there." In the longitudinal study, out of twenty-five students, nine mentioned they had difficulty either with transport or the timing of the class. The commonest problem of all was simply lack of time, because of pressure of college work, other Church commitments or social obligations. Eleven out of the twenty-five mentioned this as a problem, and for four students it was a sufficiently difficult problem that they had not enrolled in the programme. If time is precious, then clearly extra time for travelling will add to the difficulty.

The trend towards consolidating into fewer, larger classes should be considered very carefully. The disadvantages might outweigh the advantages in some situations, and the social attraction of a larger group might not be as important to the students as is commonly thought. It may well be more enjoyable for teachers to teach a group of thirty or so than a group of three or four. However, students may not enjoy being taught in a large group as much as the teacher enjoys teaching them. In fact for some students, it may be quite intimidating. One student wrote that she feels out of her depth "when others show their superior gospel knowledge." Another student gave as her reason for enrolling in Institute her love of gospel study – by herself. She did not enjoy the class particularly, it simply provided a structure and incentive to help her follow a systematic study programme.

One undeniable advantage of larger classes is the likelihood of better quality teachers for more students. The data in Table 46 strongly support the importance of teacher quality. There is a high correlation between the extent to which students enjoy Institute, and their assessment of how good their teacher is. There are also correlations, less strong but still significant, between teacher quality and the importance student give to Institute as an influence in their lives, and also their willingness to continue Institute. These associations confirm statistically that which may be thought self-evident, that students enjoy being taught by good teachers more than by poor teachers. However, it serves to emphasise the central role of the teacher in this, or any other educational programme. If, therefore, it is necessary to consolidate class groups in order

to achieve a required standard of teaching, then it may be worthwhile despite some of the difficulties created.

When student assessments of teacher quality are examined with class size as the independent variable, a Spearman coefficient of .261 is produced, with a significance level of .003. There is, therefore a weak positive relationship between size of class and teacher quality, at least as assessed by the students, suggesting that the policy of fewer, larger classes does lead to somewhat higher quality teaching.

Table 46 also shows a not-unexpected association between religiosity and the three responses to Institute. It is interesting to observe a stronger correlation between religiosity and the importance of Institute than with enjoyment of Institute. Students were asked to rate the extent to which they considered Institute would make an important contribution in their lives. This is more likely than enjoyment to be a measure of the individual's commitment to the Church. Perhaps where religious faith is involved, students may be willing to put up with an inadequate programme because of a sense of obligation and duty. This notion is supported by the smaller association between willingness to continue in Institute and religiosity. The students were asked whether they would still continue to be involved, assuming that the Church was indifferent and there was no feeling of obligation or pressure. The correlation for this was also less than for enjoyment. However, the three correlation coefficients are quite close in size and we should not read too much into the small differences.

The frequency of responses for these and other questions concerning Institute can be seen in Table 47. A similar pattern is revealed as for previous tables. A strong positive response reflects the committed nature of the respondents. The students are particularly complimentary of their teachers, though the ratio of choices falls in the same general range for the first five items. Roughly 80 percent of students agree or strongly agree that Institute combats the negative influence of college, that it is important in their life, that it is enjoyable, that their teacher is good, and that they would continue with Institute even if there was no sense of obligation from the Church to do so.

Table 47: Student responses to Institute

	N	Percentage response					
		Strongly agree	Agree on the whole	Not sure	Disagree on the whole	Strongly disagree	There are no negative influences
Institute combats negative influences of college	217	37.3	38.2	15.7	2.8	1.8	4.1
Institute important in my life	139	40.3	46.0	11.5	2.2	0.0	....
Institute is enjoyable	140	35.7	45.0	12.3	5.7	0.7	....
Teacher is good . .	136	52.2	28.7	11.0	5.9	2.2	....

	N	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Not sure	Probably no	Definitely no
		37.4	39.6	12.2	9.4	1.1
Would continue even if no obligation .	139					

	N	Very much	Quite a lot	Somewhat	Not really	Not at all
		17.0	19.3	26.9	26.9	9.9
Leaders encouraged me to enrol	223					

The fact that a large majority (77 percent) would continue to attend Institute, even when under no feeling of compulsion or obligation to do so, is revealing. It suggests, especially in combination with the first four items in Table 47 that Institute is proving attractive and enjoyable in its own right, for many, indeed most students who are enrolled.

This should not be so surprising. We are, after all, dealing with a group of people for most of whom religious questions are important. Although not all of them are equally involved in the Mormon Church, and some are on the fringes of activity, it is likely that almost all are concerned about questions of faith and belief. Despite some serious inadequacies identified in the earlier analysis of Institute, particularly in the administration of the programme, it appears to provide a popular and acceptable forum where like-minded individuals are able to explore these questions and receive the guidance which they seek.

The final item in Table 47 confirms this conclusion. It indicates that the

efforts of the Mormon Church to encourage students to enrol in the Institute programme are somewhat lacklustre. Just over a third of respondents report that they were encouraged "quite a lot" or "very much". The approach to the remainder was apparently rather low-key, with no real encouragement at all for 36 percent. This suggests that many students enrol in Institute on their own initiative, without any prodding or arm-twisting.

The figures also provide confirmation for the low priority attached to Institute in the Church, discussed earlier, together with the rather poor organisation and performance of Institute in a number of areas. It should be noted that most of the data presented above is for those who actually enrolled in Institute. More detailed analysis shows that of those who did not enrol, 44.2 percent that they were "not really" or "not at all" encouraged to enrol. Only 26.8 percent of this group selected "very much" or "quite a lot", to indicate a reasonable degree of effort on the part of Church leaders to involve them in the programme. It seems clear from this and the data presented earlier that Institute is operating well within its potential, and that with even a moderate increase in commitment and effort on the part of administrators and leaders, far more students could be recruited.

These data also have a bearing on the association between Institute and religiosity, discussed earlier. It will be remembered that a clear association exists between Institute and religiosity, but the nature of the dependency was unclear. It was suggested that the reality is probably a combination of Institute strengthening religiosity, and religiosity leading enrolment in Institute. It would seem that the latter situation is most likely to be the predominant one. Doubtless Institute reinforces the religious faith of those who enrol, but from the above discussion, it seems clear that strength of faith and commitment is an important factor leading to enrolment in Institute. There are doubtless social factors involved as well. The limited social opportunities for some students has already been described. The motivation for enrolment in an Institute class may not therefore be entirely for reasons of faith and belief.

Student Assessment of Sources of Support

This chapter has attempted to analyze the efficiency and effectiveness of various institutional and social variables shown to have an association with religiosity. The students themselves were asked what is "the most supportive influence on religious beliefs and attitudes during higher education." Their responses were grouped into the categories shown in Table 48. Some categories may overlap to a degree. Nevertheless, the table is suggestive, especially in relation to other data presented in this chapter.

Table 48: The most supportive influence, according to students

	All students (N=145)	Students away from home (N=94)	Students at home (N=49)
	%	%	%
Non-members at college	30.3	27.7	34.7
Personal devotion & commitment	20.7	20.2	22.4
Church organisations	15.9	14.9	18.4
Church members	13.8	17.0	8.2
Family	6.9	8.5	4.1
Personal determination	5.5	7.4	. . . . .
College Course	5.5	3.2	10.2
There are none	1.4	1.1	2.0

The most remarkable feature is the score for non-Mormon friends and acquaintances which, at 30 percent is the most popular selection. This, however does not necessarily indicate positive support from that quarter. Over a third of responses in this category are to do with the positive consequences of defending one's beliefs to others. This, it is claimed was a source of strength and reinforcement. As one student wrote: "difficult to answer because a negative influence can have a positive result if handled carefully" [emphasis original]. A majority described a non-antagonistic atmosphere of respect for others' beliefs, and a general open-mindedness on campus as being supportive – in the sense of being non-hostile. Only a small proportion of responses reported

an actual positive encouragement from non-members. The concept of strength through adversity is an important one, to which we shall return in the next chapter.

Other items revealed in Table 48 confirm some of the conclusions of this chapter. For example, the influence of the Church as an organisation is important, but not the most important source of support. Furthermore, Institute accounted for over 37 percent of Church support responses, easily the most dominant feature of the Church to be selected. The family is low in popularity as a source of support, which again reflects previous results. The influence of Church members is, surprisingly, fourth in importance according to the students. One might have expected this to rank first. Perhaps this reflects the general feeling of isolation and lack of integration with the local Church community which was revealed previously.

The difference in responses between students at home compared with those studying away from home are difficult to interpret. It might be noted that students at home seem to be more robust in a non-member environment, with nearly 35 percent selecting non-members compared with 28 percent of students away from home doing so. The higher percentage for Church organisations might argue that they are more integrated in their own ward. It is interesting that *all* students who selected items related to personal determination are studying away from home. Perhaps this indicates a greater feeling of responsibility and independence.

One of the interesting features of the students' selections is that personal devotion ranks so highly. This category includes activities such as personal prayer, scripture study, obedience to Church precepts and strength of personal testimony. Furthermore, it was evident from the nature of the responses that this item overlaps with support from non-members. The extent to which their contacts with others constitutes a positive or negative experience is related to the extent of their personal devotion. The following statement from one student summarizes this point of view.

From what I have experienced, you have to depend on what you have inside yourself (your own testimony) rather than rely on Church programmes to fulfil your needs. It's what you put in to Church programmes that counts, and you are responsible for your own happiness & integration & worthiness.

This comment suggests that issues of individual faith and belief are as important, perhaps more important than the institutional variables analyzed in this chapter. We have implied several times in previous chapters that this may be so and it is to such issues that we will now turn.

CHAPTER 7

FAITH, BELIEF AND PRACTICE

This study has established clear and significant associations between religiosity and a number of variables. They include the family background of students, although this was not as strong as expected. A stronger relationship was established with Church agencies for the support of students, especially Institute. The strongest associations were with student involvement in Church service, such as missionary work and leadership callings. In combination these relationships suggest areas of considerable importance in the support of religious commitment. They go some way to explaining the resilience of respondents' faith. Nevertheless, although these results should not be undervalued, it must be acknowledged that the strength of most correlations and the uncertain direction of dependency in some relationships provide a less than comprehensive explanation. We must conclude that the variables measured thus far have failed to account entirely for the strength of religiosity of Mormon students. It was in fact suggested in chapter two that a single discipline is unlikely to provide all the answers to religious questions, and that some characteristics of religion and religiosity are not susceptible to objective measurement.

There has been some support for this point of view. One well-known proponent is Peter Berger. His book, "A Rumour of Angels" was written specifically to address questions left unanswered by his previous sociological analyses. In the preface he states "my self-understanding is not exhausted by the fact that I am a sociologist."¹ Wilfred Cantwell Smith has taken a similar

¹ Peter L. Berger, *A Rumour of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural* (1969; London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1970), 9-10.

stand, and claims "It is a fundamental error of modern 'behavioural sciences' to aim at purely *objective* knowledge as an ultimate goal."² In this present study, for example, it is quite conceivable, even probable that two individuals could achieve the same score, perhaps even the maximum score, for the religiosity scales, yet have quite different levels of religiosity in terms of quality, nature and intensity. It is possible that a more sophisticated instrument, building on the experience of this, and other studies, might achieve greater precision in the measurement of these areas. Nevertheless, there appear to be fundamental difficulties in the empirical measurement of religious belief and experience.

In order to suggest other important variables we will turn in this penultimate chapter to issues of a more theological character. It will not be possible to fully explore these additional topics in the limited space remaining for this study. It will therefore be a somewhat cursory examination, to outline a few areas of significance deserving more detailed consideration in future research. It is proposed that the nature of the doctrine in which students believe, and the characteristics of the faith or belief itself are important factors when considering the questions posed in this inquiry. Different denominations regard faith in different ways; certainly that which adherents are expected to believe varies considerably. These issues, we suggest, are important in understanding the nature of religiosity, and the effect on it of secularizing influences such as higher education. Even from a sociological perspective, this has been recognised, as the following statement by Charles Glock illustrates.

In the past, social scientists have been somewhat reluctant . . . to credit theology with any great causal importance. . . . Thus theology has been left to languish as a perpetual dependent variable, always a consequence, never a cause.

Recently, we have been rediscovering what should always have been obvious, that religious beliefs have important implications for the ways men evaluate, respond to, and act upon the world. In a matter so intimately religious as feeling in contact with some supernatural agency, theology ought to play a crucial role. Clearly, such behaviour presupposes that persons have some conception of an active supernatural.³

² Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (1962; London: SPCK, 1978), 322.

³ Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), 165-166.

The areas of Mormon belief and practice considered here are, to some degree, an extension of the introduction provided in chapter three. Here we build on that discussion in four areas of particular relevance. The first concerns conformity and authority, especially as it relates to doctrinal orthodoxy. We then consider the LDS understanding of faith, belief and conversion, including their approach to religious knowledge and testimony. Next, the changing nature of the Christian imperative in relation to God compared with that to mankind will be reviewed, and the Mormon position explained. Finally, various community-affirming practices in ritual and symbol will be explored, including the Mormon health and dietary code.

The Mormon position with regard to authority and orthodoxy will be better understood if it is contrasted with a more general Christian setting. Accordingly, we will begin with a brief discussion of the topic of religious leadership and secularization from a wider Christian perspective.

Religious Leaders and Secularization

In the secularization debate, the position of the priests, ministers and theologians who lead and organise religion is clearly of some consequence. The popular view is that of an embattled clergy, struggling to defend religious faith against a rising tide of secularism which threatens to sweep all before it. The movement away from religion has been seen as originating in a massive groundswell of public opinion. However, there has been at least as much retreat from doctrinal positions by the clergy, as by the laity whom they serve. It could be argued that the doctrinal positions adopted by many clergymen have contributed to the movement away from organised religion. Mary Douglas has described the different perceptions of religious symbols of priests and laity. She refers to the decline of Friday abstinence from meat in the Roman Catholic Church and comments:

it was the only ritual which brought Christian symbols down into the kitchen and larder and on the dinner table . . . To take away one symbol that meant something is no guarantee that the spirit of charity will flow in its place. . . . we have seen that those who are responsible for ecclesiastical decisions are only too likely to have been made, by the

manner of their education, insensitive to non-verbal signals and dull to their meaning. This is central to the difficulties of Christianity today. It is as if the liturgical signal boxes were manned by colour-blind signalmen.⁴

Later, still using the Catholic Church as an example, she comments on the way in which the *New Catechism* rationalizes the supernatural elements of the traditional Eucharist.

They can't take it, the Dutch bishops who issued this catechism and the open-minded English teachers who seize on it as a watered-down expression of faith that has practically lost meaning for them. The mystery of the Eucharist is too dazzlingly magical for their impoverished symbolic perception. . . .

. . . their vast unlettered flocks do not share this disability. By reason of their positional upbringing and social experience they are capable of responding profoundly to symbols of orientation and boundary.⁵

For Douglas, in the context of her grid and group theory of social control, the diminution or abandonment of symbolic forms in religion is more serious than is commonly thought, and is an important element in the secularizing tendencies observed in the churches. Symbols, she argues, are an important form of communication and an inherent part of group control, and are a consequential element in the successful perpetuation of organised religion. Symbols help in the transmission and reinforcement of religious values. In destroying traditional ritual, without replacing it by new and equally prominent ritual and symbol, religious leaders are digging up their own foundation. We will return to this thought in connection with Mormon symbolic practice in due course. We will also give further consideration to the group and grid theory of Mary Douglas, since it is a useful model through which to understand the LDS Church.

The influence of a small theologically sophisticated elite on religious thinking has undoubtedly been profound. Typically, the philosophy of churchmen runs ahead of the beliefs of the laity, as demonstrated by the public outcry generated from time to time by controversial statements from various liberal theologians.

⁴ Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Barrie and Rockcliffe, 1970), 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

That some clergy become sceptical, and cease to believe in many of the things which laymen believe in as essentials of the faith, or believe in them in an entirely different way, can only be a source of confusion and despair to those who want to believe in certain, and usually simple, truths. . . . The alienation of the clergy is one of the remarkable phenomena of the Church of modern times. . . .

. . . There is, then, no longer much confidence in God's word or in God's guidance about the issues arising in contemporary society.⁶

These trends are acknowledged by David Martin, though in a somewhat more sympathetic manner. He describes a clergy responding to secular forces which vary according to social and political background, and of which they themselves may be only dimly aware. As they seek to discover a meaningful role in the modern world, the attitudes and positions of past ages seem anachronistic and obstructive to what are perceived as more appropriate functions. "It is just this irrelevant theological knowledge, and this emphasis on ritual validity, etc., which now provides a major constriction."⁷ If his congregation have more traditional expectations of their pastor, Martin suggests that

"he becomes doubly irked and charges his flock with ingrained apathy or even pharisaism with regard to the urgent world outside. They, for their part, of course, are thoroughly confined to their own mundane tasks, and expect the clergyman to look after the sacred for them on Sunday. . . . So a chasm begins to widen between pastor and flock."⁸

This condition, according to Martin, is characteristic of the last of three stages of secularization. A further development of this stage, he argues, is the emergence of a conservative reaction and division into sects and parties.⁹ It is interesting to note that many of the least liberal sects and denominations seem to be among the most successful in weathering the storm of secularization, at least in terms of attendance and participation. Perhaps, indeed, if we accept Martin's theory, they arise *because* of secularizing trends. In America, Stark and Glock discovered that the more conservative Protestant bodies together with Roman Catholics have much higher figures for church attendance than the more

⁶ Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion In Secular Society* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin 1969), 97-99.

⁷ David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 293.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 293.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 294-297.

liberal churches.¹⁰ The same relationship, they found, held true for most of the other forms of religious participation they measured, including financial contributions. Some of the sects and smaller faiths, including the Mormons are consistently expanding, at a time of widespread contraction for many churches. Bryan Wilson recognizes the potential significance of this in the closing paragraph of his book.

It may be, that in response to the growing institutionalism, impersonality, and bureaucracy of modern society, religion will find new functions to perform - but that, perhaps, would be not the religion which accepts the values of the new institutionalism, the religion of ecumenism, but the religion of the sects.¹¹

There is, in fact, considerable evidence to suggest that although the people may have left the churches, (at least in Western Europe), they have not left religion, and therefore, perhaps, it is the churches who have left the people. A 1978 survey in the South of England found that:

Clear majorities . . . consider themselves to be Christian, that Christ performed miracles and that He is alive today. Majorities also say that Christ's teachings are as relevant as 2,000 years ago, that their personal lives have been influenced by Him and that they pray either to Christ or God. Yet a large majority attend church only occasionally or not at all, and a significant proportion credits television with giving them a greater insight and understanding of Christ than their churches. . . . While the basic Christian traditions and leanings of England (as reflected in the poll) are still strongly felt, confusion, a trend away from belief and a low level of personal conviction are readily apparent.¹²

Despite the "trend away from belief" noted here, a recent Mori survey confirmed the widespread belief in God, even in 1994, among a younger generation. The sample was 1,200 people between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five. Of this group, "Just over half believed in a God of some form . . . while only one in seven said they did not believe there was a God. The rest were uncommitted."¹³

¹⁰ Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 83-86.

¹¹ Wilson, *Secular Society*, 263.

¹² Richard M. Eyre, *Public Opinion Poll: Current British Attitudes to Jesus Christ: 6,320 Interviews* (n.p.: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, London South Mission, 1978), 9.

¹³ Andrew Riley, "A Lost Generation", *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1994, p. 5

Although there has clearly been a movement away from organised religion, the widespread levels of personal belief, albeit weak and confused, are often underestimated. It is also possible that the strength of belief of past generations is sometimes overestimated. Owen Chadwick warns against unwarranted assumptions concerning historical context. He suggests a common error is when a researcher "postulates an imaginary picture of society before he starts his inquiry in order to make the process easier for him to understand."¹⁴ In discussing the decline in religiosity, reference is sometimes made to earlier times as though there was a golden age of faith, where religious commitment guided every action and choice on a daily basis. Whilst this may have been true of some communities at some periods of time, it may well be that the mass of society has always regarded religion with some degree of reservation, and that, whilst believing in a general sense, it is the constraints of society rather than a fervent personal belief which has governed behaviour. David Martin suggests that when church and state are closely integrated, purely religious values are often quiescent. Such a position of strength "did *not* involve universal obedience to religious precepts or universal attendance at divine service."¹⁵ This was so, even though the priest was "ontologically necessary to that society. He was integral to it . . . he was not, conceptually, a dispensable adjunct of the social order."¹⁶ Under these conditions religious behaviour becomes more a component of social norms than personal faith, and does not always influence daily life as much as is sometimes supposed. In the following quotation Marjorie Cruickshank describes attitudes in the period leading up to the 1944 education act. Her description has a contemporary ring to it, and is perhaps not too far off attitudes in 1994.

It was true that the majority of the English people, who were not teachers, administrators, or definite members of any denomination, had little interest in the religious conflict.

¹⁴ Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 3.

¹⁵ Martin, *A General Theory*, 281.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 281.

Their attitude towards religion generally has perhaps best been described as "a combination of vague uncertainties, real sympathy and good feeling mingled with a large measure of indifference and ignorance". Religion rarely impinged on their everyday lives and although their unconscious assumptions were Christian, the conscious profession of the Christian faith was completely alien to them,. On the whole they probably preferred their children to receive some knowledge of the scriptures at school, though they would have been hard put to it to give their reasons.¹⁷

There appears to be a strong tendency to conservatism in matters of religious faith amongst the majority of ordinary men and women. Radical groups amongst the established denominations, and the more extreme evangelical sects are not necessarily representative of the attitudes and sympathies of people as a whole. Neither are the theories of an intellectual elite. Yet it is commonly implied in academic writing that the views of the scholar represent those of the majority. Owen Chadwick suggests caution as we assess popular support for academic innovation: "we tread in a mist through that mysterious land which divides an intellectual advance from its popular consequences."¹⁸ Harvey Cox also considers academic theologians to be out of touch, though not through advanced thinking but by clinging to an anachronistic understanding of God, out of place in the modern world and representing the esoteric beliefs of a select few.¹⁹ Indeed, throughout his book he condemns various theologies and philosophies as being out of step with the modern world or "Secular City". Yet Cox seems to assume that the liberal views he himself advocates *are* representative of the wider society. Stark and Glock found that "By and large, laymen are simply unaware of the complicated redefinitions of modern theology."²⁰ However, in the same study Stark and Glock came to the eventual conclusion that the evidence unambiguously points to a trend away from the traditional metaphysical beliefs of Christianity. They further concluded that,

¹⁷ Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present Day* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 144.

¹⁸ Chadwick, *European Mind*, 173.

¹⁹ Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (London: SCM Press, 1965), 247-248.

²⁰ Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 23-24.

as suggested earlier, an important factor of change is the priests themselves.

the modern skeptics are not the apostates, village atheists, or political revolutionaries of old. The leaders of today's challenge to traditional beliefs are principally theologians, those in whose care the church entrusts its sacred teachings. It is not philosophers or scientists, but the greatest theologians of our time who are saying "God is dead," or that notions of a "God out there" are antiquated.²¹

Major shifts in religious outlook are dependent not only on charismatic, committed leaders or small influential groups, but also on the readiness of society to accept their views. It does seem evident that, just as politicians can create disenchantment among their electorate, so can the churches create a sense of uncertainty and scepticism among their members. Perhaps the faithful and committed will always remain so, but those on the fringes of religious faith, and the large majority of the uncommitted described by Cruickshank might find what small sympathies and affiliation they had with the church eroded altogether. Such people may then either forsake organised religion entirely, or some, perhaps the minority who have deep convictions but cannot accept the modern theology of the mainstream churches, may then turn to the more conservative denominations or, as Wilson suggests, to the sects.

The nature of such movement is still unclear. The popular view is that fundamentalist movements are growing at the expense of more liberal, mainline churches. However research is still inconclusive, as Tom Smith reveals in a recent paper. He analyzes in some detail the methods and data used in a wide range of studies, and casts some doubt on the reliability of their conclusions.

But the common idea that more Americans are adopting fundamentalist beliefs and joining fundamentalist churches is not well supported by the available evidence. As we have seen, the church membership figures present a limited probably biased view of changes in religious affiliation and theological orientations. . . .

The idea of a fundamentalist revival in recent decades needs a reevaluation. Despite the image created by church statistics, the fundamentalists have not been rapidly increasing their share of the general population. They may have modestly increased their popular appeal, but even these gains are uncertain.²²

²¹ Ibid., 205-206.

²² Tim W. Smith, "Are Conservative Churches Growing?", *Review of Religious Research* 33.4 (June 1992), 324-325.

Smith goes on to point out inconsistencies in the definitions and data used. One difficulty is the broad categorizations adopted for analysis. For example, what constitutes liberal or conservative churches? Are these terms the equivalent of non-fundamentalist and fundamentalist? Churches are often a composite of both liberal and conservative traits. Where would we place the Mormons in the continuum, for example? Many researchers class them as a fundamentalist group. Yet, as was previously noted, they are only "somewhat" fundamentalist. On the subject of Bible inerrancy for example, a rather common measure used to identify fundamentalists, Mormons would not qualify. They believe the Bible contains errors and that a literal acceptance of everything it teaches is unwarranted. It is, however, true that they believe in the inerrancy of the Book of Mormon. Also, although they accept that much scriptural content is metaphorical, they do accept a large proportion as literal truth. They are, in fact, somewhere between fundamentalism and mainstream Christianity.

It is surely possible to be conservative without necessarily being fundamentalist. Many Anglican parishes and congregations could never be described as liberal, but neither are they fundamentalist. "Moderate", suggesting a mid-point between the two is inappropriate, since they are definitely to the right on the religious continuum. They are, in fact, conservative. The simplistic categorization of churches and personal religious positions is a central difficulty. A further problem, from a British point of view, is that most research has been conducted in America.

Until more precise and better controlled research is available, the nature of denominational expansion remains uncertain, at least in comparative and global terms. One issue to resolve when considering church growth is the factor of disaffiliation and movement to another faith or no faith at all. Denominational switching is rather common, in fact "about 40% of American Protestants indicate a denominational preference different from that in which they were raised."²³

²³ Stan L. Albrecht and Howard M. Bahr, "Patterns of Religious Disaffiliation: A Study of Lifelong Mormons, Mormon Converts, and Former Mormons", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22.4 (1983): 367.

Incredibly, some conclusions concerning church growth take no account of disaffiliation, but only record conversion. The *net* gain for the Mormons in America has been calculated at 36 percent, higher than most other denominations.²⁴ For some individual churches, as opposed to large and imprecise categories, data is reasonably accurate and meaningful. Smith draws attention to this, and in fact suggests that the data from such churches has biased the overall conclusions of some researchers. It is undeniably the case, for example, that the Mormon Church is expanding rapidly, especially when measured on a world-wide scale. In the British Isles the expansion is also clearly demonstrated, though at a slower rate than elsewhere – some 3 percent per annum at present.²⁵ Other churches also have been expanding, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses. At the same time, some of the larger, mainline churches have diminished in active membership.

The dilemma which faces many churches today is the difficulty of reconciling a new theology with old institutions and forms of worship. It is not clear, indeed, what the new theology actually is. It has been characterized more by a rejection of a traditional, supernatural view of God and Christ than by any coherent, publicly appealing alternative. The grave question, as stated by Stark and Glock is "whether a Christianity without Christ as a literal Saviour can survive *any* institutional reform."²⁶ Stark and Glock go on to suggest, the difficulty is further compounded by the fact that available data suggest that the laity who hold the most conservative doctrinal positions also provide the greatest support; the churches simply cannot afford to alienate them.

As mentioned earlier, it is likely that substantial numbers of the laity are relatively uninformed and unmoved by the complex theological changes that are taking place. However, the brighter, most intellectually active members, such

²⁴ Ibid., 367.

²⁵ Statistics supplied to the author by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Public Communications Department, 751 Warwick Road, Solihull, 4 January 1996.

²⁶ Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 212.

as college students are much more likely to understand, and be personally interested in the debate. This may be a factor in the apparently higher rate of secularization of college students compared with the general population. These issues, concerning the relationship between leaders and laity, especially in matters of doctrine and liturgy could be important for the present study. We will now consider how this may affect students in the Mormon Church.

Mormon Orthodoxy

The large degree of conformity which is expected in matters of Mormon doctrine has already been mentioned. This is reflected throughout the Church hierarchy. It is most unlikely that LDS members would be aware of any serious or fundamental disagreements over doctrinal issues amongst their leaders, even if such were to exist. Controversial statements are hardly ever voiced publicly by senior leaders in the Mormon Church.

However, Mormons *do* believe in continuing revelation. Their scriptural canon has never been closed, and in theory it can be added to indefinitely. The Mormon belief in fixed, unalterable doctrine on the one hand, and an open continuum of revelation and new scripture on the other is a paradox of some consequence for the present debate. It has been argued that a principal reason for the negative association of religiosity and education is the incompatibility of the scholarly and the religious perspective.²⁷ The scholarly perspective, it is claimed, is characterized by openness, scepticism and questioning of received knowledge. It is based on empirical evidence and rational argument. "While knowledge in hand today may be deemed important, it is more important to inquire about what is not known."²⁸ A religious outlook, in contrast, is traditionally concerned with the acceptance of a canon of revealed truth. Faith is more praiseworthy than doubt; questioning of the Divine Will is discouraged.

²⁷ Edward C. Lehman, Jr., "The Scholarly Perspective and Religious Commitment", *Sociological Analysis* 33 (1972), 199-213.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

Empirical evidence is of secondary importance, and the emphasis is on the recognition of received knowledge. Revelation has a place primarily as a confirming experience, to consolidate for the individual that which has already been revealed through others.

In the modern, pluralistic world of religion, such a description is no longer universal. It is "increasingly commonplace to observe religionists taking 'secular' attitudes toward doctrine."²⁹ Nevertheless, a large part of the religious community still operate on such assumptions. Indeed, some of the tensions and controversy referred to in the previous section are a consequence of a minority challenge to this traditional position. In order to adopt a scholarly approach to religion, it is necessary to change fundamental dogma and in effect create a new theology. This is bound to be disruptive, and create conflict between liberals and traditionalists in the manner described.

It would be misleading to suggest that the LDS Church is exempt from these tensions. They *do* have a fixed body of doctrine and an unusually strong commitment to it. However, they also believe that the scriptural canon is incomplete. They look forward to receiving new truths and further scripture. Furthermore, their theology distinguishes between matters of principle and policies, procedures and programmes. Procedures – the implementation of doctrinal principles – can and should change with time, they say.³⁰ There is thus a degree of openness to change, and a place for new knowledge. This may help to some extent in reconciling the scholarly and religious perspective of LDS students.

In addition, each individual is entitled to, even encouraged to seek personal revelation. At first sight this seems a recipe for confusion and instability, but this doctrine is structured and organised in the same logical manner as so much else in the LDS Church. Individuals are entitled to receive revelation and inspiration for themselves only for their own area of authority

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

³⁰ Boyd K. Packer, "Principles", *Ensign*, March 1985: 6-10.

and responsibility. Thus, the Sunday School president may receive divine guidance for the administration of his Sunday School, but not for the operation of the Young Women programme. A father is entitled to revelation for his own family, but not for someone else's family, or the operation of his ward. In circumstances where responsibilities overlap, or in cases of disagreement, the Church officer with overall jurisdiction is looked to for judgement. Thus the bishop has the final word in his ward, unless his judgement is superseded by that of his stake president.³¹ This system avoids potential division and uncertainty. It is a principle that is taught with some vigour in the LDS Church, and after several years of leadership roles most members will be very familiar with it.

The above situation exists for organisational and procedural matters; in doctrinal issues it may not be quite so straightforward. Although the same line of authority should be followed in the case of a doctrinal dispute, informal channels exist which members are inclined to follow to settle their questions. Certain members in wards and stakes will be recognized as knowledgeable authorities on doctrinal and scriptural issues. CES coordinators are often perceived in this way by Church members, and are frequently asked for their opinion on obscure or contentious issues. Reference to an "authority" is so well established in the Church that this will usually settle the matter; a quotation from a prominent leader will serve the same purpose. It is highly unusual in the LDS Church for members to pursue personal interpretations of doctrinal or scriptural issues in the face of readily accessible arbitration.

It should be noted that it is the very strong belief of Mormons that only one man in the entire Church is entitled to make definitive pronouncements on matters of doctrine. This one man is the Prophet, or President of the Church. Comments from others count only as personal opinion. This view was summarized by one of the Church's apostles, as follows:

³¹ Edward L. Kimball, Ed., *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 453.

There is only one man in all the world who has the right to introduce a new doctrine to this Church, and that man is the President of the Church. So teachers, until you become the President of the Church, will you be willing to content yourselves with the present officially accepted doctrines of the Church?³²

Of course, all members are encouraged to read the scriptures and pray for personal enlightenment. There may be disagreements, and individual positions may carry greater or lesser weight depending on the stature of the individual. Nevertheless, the very strong Mormon deference to authority tends to settle differences quite quickly, at all levels of Church membership, and the pronouncement of the Prophet is regarded as final.

There is not total unanimity of course and the Church distinguishes between *settled* and *unsettled* doctrine. The former embrace issues which have been defined by various prophets, and the latter include issues which remain unknown. Mormons are strongly encouraged to avoid speculation in matters of unsettled doctrine. There are also, as in most organisations of similar size, pressure groups and lobbies which represent specific interest groups. Such groups may take an extreme or controversial stand over various issues, some doctrinal and others procedural. Their activity has been growing in recent years and from time to time it has caused the First Presidency to reaffirm the Church position on such issues as abortion, homosexuality and the male priesthood. These groups are still small, and are often made up of disaffected ex-members of the Church, since the persistent or blatant teaching of "false doctrine" is regarded as an excommunicable offense by the Church. Their influence is largely restricted to large centres of Church membership in America, and is hardly noticed at all in the British Isles. As the Church expands, it is likely that the challenge from such groups will increase, but at present it seems to be comfortably contained.

The Church organisational and authority structure can be considered in terms of the grid and group theory of Mary Douglas, which was touched on

³² The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, *Conference Report*, Salt Lake City, April 1953, 83.

previously. Douglas proposes that social position can be understood in relation to two variables: group and grid. "A group must essentially have some corporate identity, some recognisable signs of inclusion and exclusion";³³ it also involves degrees of permanence of association. A group implies an internal structure with sub-groups, leadership hierarchy and delegation of authority. Social control is constrained by the boundaries, rules and prescriptions of the group. The grid, by contrast refers to a pattern of ego-centric relationships in which individuals react according to such attributes as status, need, ability, strength and charisma, without reference to any group constraints. In this sense, it should be emphasised that group is not the equivalent of organisation since, as Douglas points out, "a high degree of organisation can be based on ego-focused categories"³⁴. Indeed, this last point has the potential for some confusion between grid and group as Douglas expands her theory; it is the *nature* of the organisation that determines whether it is group or grid, not the fact of its existence as such.

From previous descriptions of the leadership structure of the Mormon Church it may have been noted that greater emphasis is given to the position than to the person. Indeed, the office functions as a symbol of God's authority, and as such endows the incumbent with rather more than conventional institutional authority. The LDS attitude of reverence to positions of responsibility, particularly certain priesthood offices such as bishop, stake president, seventy and apostle is such that the office itself seems to take on a degree of charisma. Relationships and jurisdiction of leadership positions are very precisely defined, and the boundaries of sub-groups within the Church are quite clear. There is no doubt that the LDS Church is very high indeed in social control on the group variable. This is enhanced by the participatory nature of the organisation, in which most members will have at least one distinct organisational role to play.

³³ Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

At the same time, considerable stress is placed on individual autonomy and the worth of the individual, distinct from organisational position. Ego-centred relationships cut across organisational boundaries for reasons of common interests, age, sex, experience and friendship. It was mentioned above that doctrinal disputes are likely to be referred to an acknowledged, though unofficial expert rather than official ecclesiastical leaders. Individuals, therefore, have two distinct positions in the social structure of the Church, one conferred by the leadership position they occupy, and another based on the kind of person they are, and their concomitant relationship with others in the congregation. However, although grid factors are moderately high, there is no doubt that group is dominant in this Church. The place for individual initiative in matters of official policy, principle and liturgy is virtually nil. Indeed, if chaos is to be avoided, this is essential in a church where the vast majority of ecclesiastical leaders are replaced at regular, relatively short intervals of a few years. Continuity and stability is dependent on a well-defined and relatively fixed framework of operation. Virtue is attached, not to innovative doctrinal interpretation or organisational experiments, but to appropriate application within established parameters. Reference is often made to "the handbook" in cases of dispute. "Priesthood leaders should read the handbook and teach the principles as outlined therein."³⁵ This can sometimes lead to a degree of tension for individuals, since the Church places much emphasis on personal inspiration, following one's inner promptings and meeting the needs of the individual. Where there is a conflict, does one follow the handbook, or one's intuition? Furthermore, because of the lay nature of almost all leadership roles in the Church, the great bulk of church activity and organisation consists of a complex pattern of personal relationships which are moderated by both group and grid. Indeed, it is the intensity and frequency of interaction in the Mormon Church that makes the grid and group theory so apposite as a model. Nevertheless, as

³⁵ H. Burke Peterson, "Acquiring and Managing Production Projects", *Ensign* (November 1976): 116.

stated, the grid pattern is subordinate to the constraints of the group.

This dominance by the group has been recognized by senior leaders in the Church, and some manifestations of it have caused concern. For example, it is rather typical of Mormons to see solutions to problems in terms of programmes rather than people. An institutional remedy is often the first to be considered. If some local need or challenge presents itself, the instinctive Mormon reaction is to organise a committee, appoint a chairman, establish reporting procedures and schedule meetings. The implicit assumption in a group-dominated society is that there must be a programme to solve every problem. From time to time various general authorities of the Church have warned about the dangers of over-programming, and the need to reduce the time requirements of members so that there is opportunity for individual activity and development. Despite such potential drawbacks, Mary Douglas implies that retaining strong group control is necessary for the effective continuance of organised religion through the churches. Without high grid and group with the associated symbolism, ritual and dogma, the result may be a rather insecure relativism based on ethical humanism.³⁶

For an LDS setting, a more complete description of control and position might be provided we add a third vector to the group and grid variables, which would take Douglas's model into three dimensions. The third vector would measure the influence of God. The interaction of group, grid and God is more satisfactory than group and grid alone, from a Mormon point of view. It was previously explained that the Mormon Church places considerable emphasis on seeking the guidance and influence of God. They believe they are directed by God not just individually but also as a movement, through and also despite agencies of social control. Whilst it may be impossible to measure and there may be disagreement concerning its reality, there is no doubt of the importance of the concept. Observers may see it as part of group control, but many of the Mormon students under consideration here will be convinced of the operation of

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 166-167.

God in their own lives and in the life of their Church, independent of group or grid factors. The issue is therefore significant, whether or not an observer accepts that God actually *is* active in the lives of individuals. The combination of high grid and group, together with the assumed confirming influence of God places the young student in a very stable position, compared with others for whom all three factors may be more problematic.

The Mormon Claim to Exclusive Authority

Mormons claim that the authority, doctrine, ritual and organisation established by Christ through his disciples was lost to the world in a universal apostasy during the first few centuries after the Resurrection. They believe that the Christian churches which emerged in subsequent ages were man-made imitations of the pure Church of Christ, and that the teachings of Christ were adulterated to a point where these churches were unacceptable to God. Most crucially, they believe that the authority to act in the name of God was lost, and that the ordination of priests and the performing of sacramental ordinances such as baptism and confirmation ceased to have validity in the eyes of God. As has been emphasised several times, the concept of authority is particularly important to Mormons. They believe that whilst charitable works and pastoral care may be performed by anyone who feels the urge to do so, there is a limit to what can be legitimately done in the name of God. They do not accept that a sense of vocation or a feeling of being chosen is sufficient to entitle an individual to perform essential Christian rites. They certainly do not accept that such inspiration is sufficient to organise a church. In this of course they are not unique, and many denominations and sects have a somewhat similar position. The Roman Catholic Church, for example, claims continuous authority from Saint Peter through the Popes, and regards this as an important feature of their position in the religious world. Even so, the Decree of Ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council³⁷ is a movement of reconciliation very far indeed from the

³⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1971 ed., s.v. "Ecumenical Movement", by Stephen C. Neil.

Mormon position. It is probably true, that in most denominations the concept of authority, at least for the ordinary members, is not such a continuously present and important issue as it is in the Mormon Church.

Mormons claim that the lost authority was restored to the earth through Joseph Smith, by a process which began with a visitation from God the Father and Jesus Christ and included numerous other visions and revelations. Over a period of time the True Church was organised, with the proper order of ministerial positions, sacramental ritual and doctrinal teachings. The Mormons attach considerable importance to the fact that they are a *restoration*, not a *reformation* of Christ's Church. In this sense, they certainly would not accept that they are part of the protestant tradition, or any other tradition for that matter.

The Mormon position is unacceptable to many if not most other Christians, particularly their insistence that they have exclusive possession of divine authority. They *do* accept that other churches have much good in them, and that ministers of other churches may be sincere, good men doing God's work. However, they would claim that there are limitations on what God will accept from such ministers, and that, for example, baptism by them would have no validity for salvation. The Mormons claim, and testify vigorously that only the Mormon Church has a fullness of the Christian Gospel, and that only through the Mormon Church can salvation be secured. They believe that good may be found everywhere, and that other religions should be honoured and respected. They do not claim any kind of monopoly on decency and virtue: they accept that men and women of all religions, or no religion at all achieve the highest standards of Christian living, and may well exceed many Mormons in this respect. However, although the Lord will honour such persons for their integrity and good works, it will be necessary for them to accept, either in this life or the next, the authority and sacraments available only through the Mormon Church. Sincerity is not sufficient. The Mormon interpretation of the Gospels is that Jesus took a similar, uncompromising position. They believe that his teaching is that the good and sincere Pharisee, Jew, Hindu, Muslim and all others must accept Christ, and

that while their good works are approved, they must still, like Nicodemus, be "born of the water and of the spirit", by proper authority. This has traditionally been the position of Christians to the non-Christian world, and Mormons would argue that there is no difference in principle in their position in relation to other Christians.

Understandably, many other Christians (and non-Christians) find this standpoint arrogant, even offensive. It is this claim to exclusive authority and being the One True Church which causes friction and disharmony with other Christian denominations, and not only for the Mormons but for other exclusivist movements also. A rational, philosophical analysis of the issues may lead to the conclusion that such claims need not necessarily imply arrogance or intolerance. Stephen Evans makes the following observation.

If someone is committed to an exclusivist religion, does this mean he is intolerant or arrogant? I do not think so. True tolerance and respect require a recognition of genuine differences. Genuine dialogue likewise begins with a cordial admission of differences and a willingness to respect sincere disagreement. . . .

A religious believer who is convinced that her faith is true is not necessarily arrogant. She can, without giving up her convictions, admit her fallibility and appreciate the perspectives of others. . . . if she feels compelled to share her faith with others, it may not be a sign of arrogant pride or imperialism but rather the result of a humble desire for others to know the truth.³⁸

However, personal relationships and religious rivalry are seldom governed entirely by such calm and rational reflection. As before stated, although the Mormon Position is not unique, it is emphasised and proclaimed in such an uncompromising manner that it is difficult to avoid or circumvent in relationships with believers from other denominations. In a previous chapter, Grant Bangerter, a general authority in the Mormon Church was quoted on the expectation that Church members should recognise the good in other Churches, and he generally counselled a considerate and conciliatory attitude. However, he then went on to say this:

Even though we do not believe the way they do, we stand firmly on the things that have been revealed to us. We do not apologize that we do not have the same doctrines and principles

³⁸ C. Stephen Evans, *Philosophy of Religion: Thinking About Faith* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1982), 184.

that other churches have. We can talk about it in a warm and friendly way but we do not apologize. We didn't initiate this restoration. God did. If others do not appreciate it, we nevertheless know it is the truth.³⁹

No matter how genuine the Mormon profession of friendliness and warmth towards other denominations may be, it may only appear patronising in light of the fundamental precept of preeminence described above. If the Mormons were to drop these claims, they would undoubtedly find easier acceptance and probably fairly swift assimilation into the international Christian community, despite their belief in the Book of Mormon. This has, in fact already occurred to some extent for a related movement, the Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Starting in 1844 with an almost identical position to the Mormons, over a period of time this denomination has moderated its doctrinal position on many contentious issues, and in consequence has established much closer links with the protestant community.⁴⁰ However, the belief in the rightness of their cause, and especially an exclusive possession of authority, is fundamental in the Mormon Church. If this were to be relinquished, the Church would cease to be as it now is: it would essentially become a different faith, a different organism, which is what seems to have happened to the Reorganized Church.

It was suggested in chapter two that such an uncompromising theological position may be a considerable problem for students going to university, that they might find themselves alienated by both camps: by the secular world and also by the religious world. However, it may be that such a position is more of an asset than a disadvantage when coping with the secularizing influences of any environment, including that of university. It is, after all a position of considerable strength, especially when combined with some of the other elements of Mormon theology, to be discussed shortly. Attention was drawn in the last

³⁹William Grant Bangerter, "Its A Two-Way Street", fireside address given at the BYU Marriott Centre, Provo, Utah, on 4 August 1985.

⁴⁰Daniel H. Ludlow, Ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1992 ed., s.v. "Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (RLDS)", by Richard P. Howard.

chapter to the fact that some students considered the challenge of defending their faith in the university environment to be a helpful, consolidating experience. One respondent described the secular pressures of university, then stated "instead of this being a negative influence, it has helped me to rise above it. I've also had great opportunities to share my beliefs with my friends... they now accept and partially understand my standards." This has some empirical support. Marie Cornwall concluded that "all else being equal, minority status in the larger community actually serves as an important positive influence on religious belief and commitment."⁴¹ In a study of evangelical college students, Hammond and Hunter discovered a similar phenomenon. In evangelical colleges, the usual pattern of secularization was evident, but in secular colleges "there is a consolidation of beliefs and practices by those highly evangelical in theological doctrine."⁴²

Many (though of course not all) non-Mormon students belong to religious traditions where the public questioning of even basic doctrine is acceptable, where they observe their own religious leaders in disagreement over various issues, some of which may be quite fundamental, and where the lack of a fixed position is normal. This issue was also addressed in chapter three, and Wilson's observation that such a position encourages a trend towards secularization was examined.⁴³ The Mormon student, on the other hand, arrives at university with a different experience, and a different set of assumptions which, initially at least, provide a strong and stable anchor for belief. One student commented on this contrast; she explains that religious discussions with other students are quite common and says "I realise when I discuss that the church is really true & this also gives me confidence in discussing my beliefs with others who are unsure of what they believe in."

⁴¹ Marie Cornwall, "The Social Bases of Religion: A Study of Factors Influencing Religious Belief and Commitment", *Review of Religious Research* 29.1 (1987): 54.

⁴² Phillip E. Hammond and James Davison Hunter, "On Maintaining Plausibility: The Worldview of Evangelical College Students", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 23.3 (1984): 230.

⁴³ Wilson, *Secular Society*, 47-48.

Mormon Concept of Testimony

The concept of testimony was mentioned in the last chapter as being a significant factor in LDS teaching, and it is closely related to the present discussion. The word "testimony" has two specific and distinct, though closely related meanings in the Mormon Church.

At one level it is the label given to the vocal expression or declaration of belief, either at a formal meeting or at other times. Such expression is strongly encouraged, since it is felt that it strengthens both one's own faith, and the faith of those who are present. On the first Sunday of each month the worship service (Sacrament Meeting) takes an unusual form. Instead of the normal pattern of two or three short sermons, the meeting is devoted to the extemporaneous expression of testimony by those who feel so moved, somewhat after the manner of the Quakers. In the time available (usually about forty-five minutes) twenty or so of the congregation will have the opportunity to do so. There is no pre-planning for this, and no assignments are made in advance; the thing is completely spontaneous. It is not unusual for children and adolescents to give their testimony. It is expected that individuals should participate in response to the prompting of the Holy Spirit. The actual form may vary slightly from place to place. In some wards, individuals may stand where they sit when they wish to speak; more typically the person must walk to the front and speak from the pulpit.

The opportunity to vocalize one's heartfelt spiritual feelings and religious commitment was recognised as important by Fowler, in his work on faith development. Furthermore, he discovered that very few of those who were interviewed in his research had regular occasion to do so.

to our initial surprise, my associates and I found that something on the order of 90 percent of our interviews with adults ended with the respondent - following two and a half hours of intense conversation - saying something like this: "I really appreciate this experience; I *never* get an opportunity to talk about these things." . . . In the course of the interview, people become involved in the important work of bringing their faith to words. Sometimes they are doing this for the very first time. . . . From this experience, I have come to believe that it is most important to provide occasions for people to express in words, in action, in contemplation, "the faith that is in them." . . . Commitments are consolidated, integrated, and evaluated in the process of articulation. And, if this

articulation is carried out in groups, there is a mutually strengthening impact among the members.⁴⁴

It would seem that the Mormon emphasis on testimony is an important contribution in the overall pattern of Church traditions and structures which exist to support the belief of individuals. It is one which is apparently not shared by members of most Christian faiths, although some do provide a somewhat equivalent experience. Moreover, the expression of belief in the form of testimony is not restricted to the formal testimony meeting described above. In LDS teaching, individuals are encouraged to express vocally their religious conviction in many more informal settings. Teachers are strongly urged to include a personal declaration of their belief in the course of their lessons. In missionary work the principle of testimony is emphasised with particular vigour; members and missionaries are expected as a matter of course to bear witness of their faith when discussing religion with non-Mormons.

Of course, within the membership of the Church there is considerable variation from person to person in the frequency with which the opportunity to declare testimony is taken. Some members do so quite rarely. This is not always an indication of lack of faith or commitment: the prospect of standing before a congregation of a hundred or more people and speaking extemporaneously without notes may be a daunting prospect for many, if not most individuals. Nevertheless, in practice a large proportion of the active membership do express their beliefs in this way several times a year, and many do so at least monthly. The quality and depth of expression varies considerably, not only because of age but also for a range of complex factors such as personal maturity, experience and self confidence. Factors of eloquence and articulation often place limits on the ability of people to express what they feel. It should also be admitted that testimonies can be trite and repetitive; a few minutes of self-expression from the pulpit will not always achieve the depth of response possible in a two and a half hour interview as described previously by Fowler. Nevertheless, testimonies are

⁴⁴ James W. Fowler, "Faith and the Structure of Meaning", in *Faith Development and Fowler*, eds. Craig Dykstra and Sharon Parks (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1986) 38.

usually sincere, and are often profound, sometimes moving the speaker to tears and deep emotion. There is no doubt that students who participate regularly in such an experience, both as observers and speakers are likely, as Fowler suggests, to have their faith consolidated, integrated and strengthened.

The vocal testimony is considered to be the outward expression of something of deeper significance, which is the second meaning of the word. As was mentioned, there are limits to the extent one is able to express verbally what one feels. An individual's testimony is thought of as the core of their personal witness and acceptance of the truth of the Mormon Church, including its authority and doctrine. It is understood to include the degree of commitment and strength of belief which they hold; their level of conformity and loyalty to Church teachings and leaders. It is more than an acceptance of LDS tenets, it is the motivating force that compels obedience. The following kind of phrase may be commonly heard in leadership councils, when discussing the spiritual condition of an irresolute member: "he knows the Church is true, but his testimony is weak."

The basis for this testimony, it is claimed, is the Holy Spirit. It was previously mentioned that though Mormon doctrine is to a great extent systematic and rational, nevertheless the emphasis is on a spiritual, not an intellectual conversion. Missionaries invite prospective members to study and pray about what they are taught, and reach a decision based on an experience of the Holy Spirit. This same emphasis extends through all levels of Church activity and teaching, and is considered to be the means by which members deepen and strengthen their faith and testimony. The Church teaches that one's testimony is a dynamic, changing thing, not a static objective which, when once achieved may be forgotten. Members are taught that constant prayer, study and involvement are necessary to maintain and strengthen a testimony, and that if it is not supported in this way, a testimony will weaken and die.

In this connection, it is important to note that the Mormon concept of conversion is somewhat different from that of many fundamentalist or evangelical faiths. As Douglas Davies has pointed out, the origins of the Church

involved a turning away from Protestant evangelicalism.

To "gain a testimony" is an intrinsic part of Mormon spirituality. For people not belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints this needs to be carefully explained for one very particular reason. Namely, because Mormonism is not a "conversionist" religious movement. It does not follow that well established pattern of Protestant evangelicalism in which stress is placed on the evil, sin ridden, human heart, lost through the Fall of Adam and redeemed through Christ in an act of repentance and direct regeneration by the Holy Spirit. . . . It does not preach for conversion in this rapid sense of psychological descent into guilt and ascent into freedom of forgiveness. So the gaining of a testimony is not the experience of a momentary conversion.⁴⁵

Mormons certainly believe, as do most Christians, in the redemptive powers of the atonement of Christ. Indeed, this is the central doctrine of their faith. However, as Davies points out their acknowledgement of this redeeming power, and an acceptance of its efficacy in their own lives is different from that of many Christian traditions. Their concept of original sin is different from most other Christians. For them, this is a transgression of Adam for which, through the sacrifice of Christ we are not held accountable. Children are born sinless, according to Mormon theology, and sin only as they become accountable for their actions and deliberately choose to do wrong. This is typical of a rather positive, optimistic view of life which will be referred to later. The preoccupation with sin and guilt that is typical of many fundamentalist sects, and is often associated with conversion experiences is totally absent. The concept that human nature is basically good has been described by Owen Chadwick as an inherent characteristic of the Enlightenment. It is a "principle which fights puritanism in society, formalism in art, absolutism in government, obscurantism in thought."⁴⁶ If this is so, it helps explain the Mormon enthusiasm for education and the rational character of their theology.

Mormons believe in the cleansing "baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost", but not in the absolutist sense of many fundamentalists. For Mormons, such an experience is desirable, but as a confirming, encouraging experience, or a point

⁴⁵ Douglas James Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, [1987?]), 131.

⁴⁶ Chadwick, *European Mind*, 152.

of beginning rather than a salvational consummation. They accept that a "Damascus Road" experience can occur, and this has a legitimate place in their theology. Indeed, this must be so in light of the Joseph Smith story. However, they see such dramatic conversions as exceptional rather than typical. The effort of the Church is therefore not directed primarily at a specific experience or event for conversion, but at the ongoing, incremental progress in matters of commitment, knowledge and activity. It is therefore likely that by the time a student arrives at university his testimony is based on something considerably more substantial than one or two salvational spiritual experiences.

The Means of Knowing Spiritual Realities

Mormons take the position that many other Christians take, that whilst reason and experience through the senses are important in understanding religion, there is a further agency, called the spirit, through which understanding comes. Everyone possesses a spirit, and spiritual awareness is different from intellectual, emotional or physical awareness. It is not subject to the process of testing appropriate in other areas of experience and cognition, nevertheless it is just as real. The non-believer will say that such experiences are just part of the emotional and psychological condition of the individual, but he cannot refute the actuality of such an experience or feeling, no matter what its source. The Mormon student may say, in response to direct criticism of his belief, "Christ has revealed himself and his Church to me, I have prayed, received his Spirit, and heard his voice, therefore I believe." This is a very strong position to take. It leaves the non-believer with very few rationally legitimate responses. He or she may say: "I don't believe you, you are lying." Or the response might be: "I accept that you *think* you have received a revelation, but you are deluding yourself, you have misinterpreted your experience." There is possibly a third response, more likely from some fundamentalists, who might say that there *has* been a revelation, but that it was a demonic deception. These are really the only types of response possible. Non-believers may support their position with psychological and sociological data,

but for the believer this usually does not represent convincing proof.

Needham suggests that notions of proof and evidence are inappropriate for religious belief, since such belief does not arise from logical necessity.

Assertions of belief need not be the termini of chains of correct inference; nor, conversely, is it essential that valid logical grounds shall be discoverable for their defence or explication. Men commonly believe without reasons . . .

It is apparently a distinctive feature of belief-statements in general that they are . . . on a special plane. . . . the point to be made for the moment is clear enough: there is a logical peculiarity about assertions of belief such that they cannot be contradicted.

. . . an assertion of belief is a report about the person who makes it, and not intrinsically or primarily about objective matters of truth or fact which others may equally apprehend. . . . Others may doubt his assertion, and can say that they do not think he really believes (or can believe, given the circumstances) what he says. In this case there is a contradiction, but it attaches to the veracity of the person making the declaration, and not to the truth of the belief in question.⁴⁷

Central to this argument is what can be accepted as reason and logic. The above statement may be seen quite differently by someone standing outside the experience of belief than someone standing inside. From the outside, it may seem that "Men commonly believe without reasons" though it may not be true that people believe without cause. Does belief spring into existence in and of itself? Many people who believe would say not, and would suggest that the cause of their belief (the Holy Spirit, revelation, God etc.) is the reason. As such, it is not amenable to measurement by normal procedures, but for the believer, belief is seldom irrational or unreasonable. However, regardless of whether or not belief arises from logical necessity, others have argued that evidence may be found through a rational examination of the issues involved. Stephen Evans has provided a clear and persuasive summary of such arguments, and with regard to religious experience of the sort we are discussing, he says:

the existence of religious experiences is undeniable. The difficult question, however, is to decide what if anything can be inferred from the occurrence of such sensations. . . . That these sensations are really present in the believer no one will deny, but the believer will say that the cause of the feelings is God's activity, while the skeptic will claim that these psychological changes can be explained naturalistically.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Rodney Needham, *Belief, Language and Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 72-74.

⁴⁸ Evans, *Philosophy of Religion*, 83.

Evans then goes on to point out that one widely accepted school of thought proposes that experience should be understood as a collection of sensory images and sensations which we use to interpret the world in which we live. A representational model of experience proposes that a *direct* encounter or awareness of the external world is not possible; it can only occur through the subjective mediation of our senses. He then states:

The only way to avoid skepticism [about the nature of reality] would seem to be to assume that usually the real world is as it appears to be; the causes of our perceptions of objects such as trees and stones are trees and stones. It is hard to see why religious believers attracted to a representational model of experience should not make a similar assumption. What appears to be the activity of God is, normally at least, the activity of God.⁴⁹

However, even given that there may be some rational grounds for accepting the reality and occurrence of what people call a religious experience, there are further challenges to be met. It is not the intention here to embark on a detailed exploration of epistemology. The philosophical debate between objective and subjective means of knowing as represented by positivism and existentialism is well documented. The Mormon position, as mentioned several times, does appear to stress a rational, objective approach to life, yet at the same time claims that this, in and of itself is insufficient. Despite the strong rational thread running through Mormon doctrine there is no doubt that if pressed, they would incline more to the outlook expressed in the following quotation from Karl Popper.

The old scientific ideal of episteme, absolute certainty, demonstrable knowledge, has proved to be an idol. It may indeed be corroborated, but every corroboration is relative to other statements which again are tentative. Only in our subjective experience of conviction, in our subjective faith, can we be absolutely certain.⁵⁰

Many Mormon students will come to university with this absolute certainty of subjective faith, and their belief will be based on the premise just outlined concerning a religious experience through the Holy Spirit. at the same time,

⁴⁹ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁰ Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (London: Hutchinson, 1959), quoted in John Maxwell, *In Search of Truth* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p.3.

they will be aware of the rationally satisfying nature of much of what they believe, and the rather systematic, pragmatic nature of Mormon theology. Their assumption about knowledge and religious faith will approximate the views expressed, though they are unlikely to have thought it through in quite so clear a fashion. As stated, this is a strong position to hold against non-believers and other secularizing influences. It may also be an advantage over a faith where rationality has reduced the importance of spiritual experience, or where spiritual experience is seen to be revealed through the rational process.

Nevertheless, it is clear that many members of other churches take a similar position to the Mormons, and claim the same subjective spiritual witness of their own faith and belief. This presents no particular difficulty for many Christians, but for an exclusivist faith like Mormonism it poses a problem: how is it possible for people to receive a spiritual witness of an alternative faith? The problem of pluralism for Mormons will now be considered.

Distinction Between Faith and Belief

In an earlier discussion it was mentioned that Mormon theology recognises at least two distinct meanings of the word "faith". In common usage it is often virtually synonymous with "belief", but for Mormons true faith is much more than belief. In the early years of the Church, its founder, Joseph Smith, gave a series of formal lectures on the topic of faith, which were compiled and have become a classic theological text for the Church. In this treatise, he states:

2. Let us here observe, that three things are necessary in order that any rational and intelligent being may exercise faith in God unto life and salvation.
3. First, the idea that he actually exists.
4. Secondly, a *correct* idea of his character, perfections, and attributes.
5. Thirdly, an actual knowledge that the course of life which he is pursuing is according to his will. For without an acquaintance with these three important facts, the faith of every rational being must be imperfect and unproductive⁵¹

⁵¹ Joseph Smith Jr., "Lectures On Faith", in *A Compilation Containing the Lectures on Faith as delivered at the School of the Prophets at Kirtland, Ohio with added references on the Godhead and the Holy Ghost; also An Historical Sketch of the Same by Dr. John A. Widtsoe; also a treatise on True Faith by Orson Pratt; also a Bibliography on Melchizedek by Ariel L. Crowley*, comp. N. B. Lundwall (Salt Lake City: n.p., n.d.), 33.

The lectures develop the theme of truth at some length, emphasising that a necessary relationship exists between truth and faith, and that it is impossible to have faith in a false principle. Bruce R. McConkie, in commenting on these lectures summarized the concept as follows:

faith is a hope in that which is not seen which is true. Faith and truth cannot be separated; if there is to be faith, saving faith, faith unto life and salvation, faith that leads to the celestial world, there must first be truth.

*Not only is a true knowledge of God a condition precedent to the acquirement of this faith, but faith can be exercised only by those who conform to the principles of truth which come from the true God who actually exists.*⁵²

From the foregoing it can be seen that faith, as understood in the LDS Church is different from belief. One of the characteristics of belief is that people may well believe in that which is not necessarily true. Rodney Needham explores this avenue in some detail,⁵³ and it is apparent from the context that he assumes that faith and belief are essentially the same phenomenon. This would not be accepted by the Latter-day Saints. For them faith must be rooted in truth, and if someone professes to have faith in something they consider to be untrue (for example, that a church other than the Mormon Church is the True Church of God), they would maintain that it is merely misplaced belief, not faith. Faith in this sense is a gift from God. It is something greater than belief, since it involves more than a deep commitment to a set of propositions. Mormon theology includes the concept of miracles. Not only are scriptural accounts of miracles accepted, but it is claimed that miraculous events, such as faith healing continue today. Such miraculous events, according to Mormons, are the product of faith, as distinct from belief, hope or even deep commitment. The most complete expression of faith is a creative force which can affect external reality.

*Faith, then, is the first great governing principle which has power, dominion, and authority over all things; by it they exist, by it they are upheld, by it they are changed, or by it they remain, agreeable to the will of God. Without it there is no power, and without power there could be no creation nor existence!*⁵⁴

⁵² Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 262.

⁵³ Needham, *Belief*, 64-81.

⁵⁴ Smith, "Lectures on Faith", 10.

Thus for Mormons faith is centred in the person of God, rather than precepts or dogma (a similar position to that of Wilfred Cantwell Smith, whose views will be mentioned shortly). Faith is ultimately and irreducibly for Latter-day Saints grounded in Jesus Christ and the power of his resurrection and atonement. Thus when Fowler says "Faith is not always religious in its content or context",⁵⁵ a rather common point of view, the Mormons would disagree. For them faith by definition can only be a religious phenomenon; specifically, the only possible object of faith is God, and furthermore, such faith can only be received as a gift from God.

In this, however, there is one important qualification. For Mormons, unlike many religious scholars, including Fowler and Smith, faith in God cannot be separated from one's conception of God. Faith depends upon, and is incrementally related to the extent to which our idea of God approaches his reality. For Mormons, the object of faith is more important than the subject. For many liberal theologians, faith seems to be primarily subjective, which of course allows the acceptance of many varieties of religious expression, including non-Christian forms. For Latter-day Saints however God is not as inaccessible to human understanding as he is in many Christian theologies. Intellectually this may be true, they would agree, but through the spirit we may have the person and nature of God revealed to us. As we increase in our understanding of God, so our faith will increase. It is not possible, in Mormon theology, to have faith in a false god, and there is, according to them, only one God. People, including non-Mormons, may have a sufficient understanding of this God to have varying degrees of faith in him, but some conceptions of God are so remote from his reality that belief in such a being cannot generate faith.

It is therefore possible for a Mormon student to explain religious pluralism in the above terms. The Mormon will certainly accept that others may have faith in those elements of their dogma and doctrine which are true (i.e.

⁵⁵ James W. Fowler, *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 4.

which correspond to Mormon doctrine), but that faith in anything else is merely belief; sincere, perhaps, but nonetheless belief, not faith and not grounded in truth. There are some echoes of Wilfred Cantwell Smith's concept here. Smith proposed that religion is composed of two components: "cumulative tradition", which is the outward manifestations of religious practice and "faith", being the inner commitment and transcendent experience of the individual.⁵⁶ He suggested that the two are frequently used selectively to justify a particular point of view.

When one is setting forth one's own faith, one speaks of something deep, personal, and transcendently oriented. If one uses the term 'religion' then, this is what one spontaneously means. If, on the other hand, one is rejecting what other people set forth--in and through which one does not oneself find or see any transcendent orientation, at least no valid one--then one necessarily conceptualizes it in terms of its outward manifestations, since these are all that is available. One's own 'religion' may be piety and faith, obedience, worship, and a vision of God. An alien 'religion' is a system of beliefs or rituals, an abstract and impersonal pattern of observables.⁵⁷

This is not the same as the LDS position on faith however. No doubt many Mormons take this short-sighted view of other traditions, but the point we are making here is somewhat deeper than this. Smith goes on to discuss faith in greater detail, and suggests that it is manifested in different ways. One of these manifestations is intellectual: the formulation of doctrine, dogma, creeds and concepts, in other words religious beliefs. There have been attempts to discriminate two types of belief, "belief in" and "belief that". The latter expression implies belief in a series of propositions rather than the actual object of belief, which is intended by the former. Smith supports the need for these distinctions, but goes on to say that "monstrous confusion, I would suggest, has arisen from this ambiguity, and its implication that belief is identical with faith, rather than an expression of it."⁵⁸ Belief as an expression of faith but not identical to it is fairly close to the LDS position. They would add that while

⁵⁶ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (1962; London: SPCK, 1978), 156-157.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.181.

belief may be an expression of faith, faith is not a necessary requirement of belief, even belief "in".

Where Mormons would part company with Smith is in his assertion that doctrinal systems are necessarily historical human constructs.⁵⁹ He seems to suggest that items of doctrine and dogma cannot be regarded as propositional truths, that "intellectual formulations in the religious realm refer not directly to a transcendent reality but only indirectly, through the inner life of persons."⁶⁰ The LDS Church certainly recognizes the limitations of human intellectual expression. In relation to scriptural translation, one prominent LDS theologian has stated:

It isn't a matter of "correct" or "incorrect" as much as it is a matter of purpose. the nature of human language is such that there can be no "literal" translation of any extensive or intricate document. Every translation is, in effect, an interpretation. The language is not the revelation; it is the awkward vehicle by which a revelation or a concept is expressed.⁶¹

Mormons agree, therefore, that communion with God is often an intensely personal experience, difficult or impossible to express in words. However, they do not accept that this leads to an imprecise relativism, where all expressions of belief have equal value. Indeed, Smith himself rejects this notion: "I certainly do not mean that all religious doctrines are equally true, just as one would hardly hold that all works of art are equally beautiful or all ethical systems equally good."⁶² Mormons would agree with this, but where they differ is in their assertion that the statement applies to all theologies except their own. Even though language is the "awkward vehicle" by which revelation is expressed, they claim that it is expressed most truly and comprehensively in their own traditions.

This concept is easily misunderstood, and indeed many Latter-day Saints

⁵⁹ Ibid., 184-185.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 184.

⁶¹ Robert J. Matthews, "I Have a Question", *Ensign*, November 1981: 16-17.

⁶² Smith, *Meaning and End*, 184.

themselves misinterpret it. As Mormon scholar Hugh Nibley has said,

Having been given great knowledge the Saints were in constant danger of underestimating their own ignorance. . . . The Mormons have constantly slipped into the dangerous complacency of the student who feels superior because he has the only answerbook in the class.

The Mormon position on faith and belief does not imply exclusive possession. This point has been made before, but it is sufficiently important to emphasise here. As stated in one of the Institute instruction manuals:

God has raised up inspired teachers and great reformers in various cultures throughout history - not just Jewish and Christian spokesmen. In this gospel view, all peoples and even all religions possess significant elements of truth.⁶³

This view does not appear to be a modern development in the Church, to accommodate burgeoning relations with a wider religious community. The above quotation echoes the following statement by Brigham Young, made in 1854.

"Do you suppose the Hindoos have the light of the Spirit of Christ?" I know they have; and so have the Hottentots, and so has every nation and kingdom upon the face of the earth, even though some of them may be cannibals.⁶⁴

The Mormon claim of faith, therefore, does not include the claim of exclusive knowledge. However, it *does* involve a claim to exclusive authority. This is important: the ritual access to truth involved in the claim to authority is the basis of their claim to inerrancy in sacred knowledge. Nothing in their faith, they maintain, is false but varying proportions of all other traditions is. Where other people have faith, it can only be in those elements of their belief that are true. Anything other than this, which includes those traditions which contradict Mormon theology, is false and cannot be the expression of true faith. Smith's "cumulative traditions" described above may not be synonymous with faith, but for Mormons it leads to it. As was stated earlier, Mormons assert that a conception of God is an important element in understanding faith. Therefore,

⁶³ Spencer J. Palmer and Roger R. Keller, *Religions of the World: A Latter-day Saint View* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1990), 223.

⁶⁴ Brigham Young, "Spiritual Gifts - Hell - The Spirit World - The Elders and the Nations - The Lamanites - The Temple.", *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter Day Saints Book Depot, 1854-1886), 2:140.

beliefs which lead to an imperfect and mistaken idea of God cannot lead to faith.

This position may once again be seen as arrogant, close-minded and offensive by other religions, but it is undeniably a strong position for the Mormon student as he copes with the influences not only of secularism, but also evangelism from other religious traditions. Some would see this as a closed system of the worst kind; naturally the Mormons would disagree. For them any alternative position leads to relativism, loss of certainty and a theological secularism, factors which they believe led to the apostasy of the Church which they claim followed closely the death of the apostles. However, the rightness or wrongness of the Mormon attitude is not at issue here; we are exploring some of the possible reasons why Mormon students seem to be unusually resistant to the secularizing influence of higher education. It is at least feasible that the position described above is a contributory factor.

Religious Knowledge

The subjective experience of faith described above is different from the acquisition of religious knowledge, though not unrelated to it. The extent to which members are aware of the teachings and doctrines of their church varies considerably. Religious knowledge is one of the dimensions of religiosity proposed by Glock, and in their survey Stark and Glock included questions to measure the extent of Biblical knowledge among respondents. The results show an astonishingly poor cognizance of even the most basic issues.

The public on the whole is amazingly ignorant of what seem to be unbelievably obvious questions. For example, 79 percent of the Protestants and 86 percent of the Catholics could not name a *single* Old Testament prophet! More than two-thirds of American Christians do not know who preached the Sermon on the Mount! More than a third did not know where Jesus was born! . . .

These data present an ironic picture of American religion. Virtually everyone has a denomination, but few know even trivial facts about their faith.⁶⁵

These results are supported by numerous other surveys and polls, including polls by Gallup and similar professional organisations. It is quite well

⁶⁵ Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 161-162.

established that general levels of religious knowledge, even among those who claim to be active church-goers, is poor. This has implications for the topic under study. Some minimum level of knowledge is necessary for religious commitment: one can hardly be committed to nothing. It is conceivable that someone may blindly follow the tradition of the community or family, having been raised in it from childhood, but this could hardly be called commitment. Even in such a situation, knowledge of the existence of the tradition at least is necessary. In normal circumstances we would surely accept that knowledge is an essential (though not a sufficient) condition for commitment and belief. One cannot make assent without having something about which to assent.

It seems that the church membership of many people is based on the most fragile of knowledge. It is possible that the doctrinal beliefs and understanding of many devout people may be quite different from the position of the church to which they belong, or the teachings of the Bible which they profess to accept. When they are confronted with strange or unacceptable doctrine, as may occur, for example, in the pedagogical milieu of a university, this may prove a considerable challenge to their faith. They may suddenly discover that what they thought they understood to be their religion is not what it seemed. Faulty or incomplete knowledge may not be the only problem. Even those beliefs which are accurately perceived may be challenged by argument which brings a wholly new dimension to bear on what was previously thought to be uncontested. The unreflective, indiscriminating believer may face challenges to faith in a university which are unexpected and overwhelming.

Of course, many believers in many churches are knowledgeable and well informed concerning their beliefs and associated contrary arguments. It is likely however that a particularly high proportion of Mormon students will be in this category. A test of religious knowledge was not included in the student survey, and no comparative data for Mormons was included in the various studies and reports discussed above. However, there is a very strong tradition of fairly intensive instruction in the Mormon Church, which the student survey shows a majority of students have been exposed to. This begins at age four in the

Primary organisation, and continues through Sunday School for all ages. It is particularly comprehensive and well structured in the Seminary and Institute programmes, which were previously described in some detail. It is quite likely that the average Mormon college student is better informed about his or her religion than the average religious college student will be. By the time a young adult reaches university, he or she will already have encountered many of the internal anomalies of a Biblical faith, and be versed in explanations and counter-arguments. Since the Mormon Church is frequently under attack, the new student may already be experienced in defending the faith.

One very considerable and unique advantage for the LDS student is the Mormon belief in scripture other than the Bible. The thing which alienates many other Christians may help support the religious faith of the new student. The Mormon member's knowledge of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants is unlikely to be excelled by anyone they will meet on the average campus. Attacks in this quarter are most likely to come from other believers – usually members of fundamentalist, evangelical groups, and will seldom be of consequence as coherent, rational arguments, and will probably have been tackled before. Additionally, belief in these additional scriptures helps in refuting the arguments of the secularists, particularly those which seek to undermine the veracity or logical consistency of Biblical teachings. The Mormons, it may be remembered, only believe the Bible to be the Word of God *as far as it is translated correctly*. They readily accept that the Bible is a flawed and incomplete document which over the centuries has suffered omissions and distortions. They claim that their additional scripture throws light on, and clarifies doctrine which is obscure, misleading or missing in the Bible. Whether or not this is the case is a matter for individual opinion: the important thing is, the Mormons believe it to be true. Thus, the Mormon student has a "fall back" position. He or she can always refer, if Biblical doctrine is under attack, to The Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, or the Pearl of Great Price, documents which will be relatively unknown to all but a handful of non-Mormon critics. The sub-title of the Book of Mormon is, in fact, "Another Testament of

Jesus Christ." Even if his or her own knowledge of these scriptures is not very great, the student can be sustained in the face of a difficult challenge by privately assuring himself or herself that "the answer is somewhere in there."

Temporal and Spiritual Tensions

The interaction of the temporal and spiritual is an important feature of LDS faith. The Mormon concept of time and eternity involves an interesting attitude to material needs and concerns and the physical necessities of life. This may be of significance in the present discussion, and deserves closer study in comparison with more general trends in the religious world.

Some observers claim that a fundamental change that has taken place in religion is a shift of emphasis between our relationship to God and our relationship with other people. Moral and ethical considerations in the way we treat each other have achieved a prominence which was not typical of the theology of earlier centuries. In answer to the question "which is the great commandment in the law?"⁶⁶ Jesus stated that the first is to love God, and the second, which is "like unto it", is to love your neighbour. For centuries it was widely held that the achievement of personal purity through the sacraments was the first task of a Christian. In some religious faiths it seems that this order has, at a practical level, been reversed. Now, the first great commandment is to love one's neighbour; ritual and liturgy take second place. Leslie Francis reveals the significance of the social gospel for British teenagers; 60 percent see this as a priority.⁶⁷ Stark and Glock comment on the same trend in America.

Recently it has become clear that for many theologians and religious intellectuals religion means a concern with ethics. If traditional Christianity was primarily preoccupied with the man-to-God Relationship, newer theologies, beginning with the Social Gospel Movement in the late nineteenth century, have been shifting primary religious concerns to the man-to-man relationship.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Matthew 22:36.

⁶⁷ Francis, Leslie J, *Teenagers and the Church* (London: Collins, 1984), 49.

⁶⁸ Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 69.

Following this statement, they incorporated an index to measure the extent to which ethical attitudes were important, and though as they admit the index is not entirely satisfactory, it did support the above point of view in revealing a number of religious denominations where ethical concerns seem to be more important than issues of worship and doctrine. Those who tend to a strong orthodoxy of belief tended to score lower on the ethical index – in some cases significantly lower than more liberal groups. This was not a universal trend, and Roman Catholics, for example, show a slight positive relationship between the two indices: highly orthodox Catholics were slightly more likely to score highly on the ethical index. Nevertheless, for the majority of the sample, and for all Protestants, the most liberal groups were the most concerned about ethical behaviour. Mormons were excluded from this particular study, and therefore no direct comparison is possible.

Few Christians would deny that it is praiseworthy to look after the poor and care for the disadvantaged. Indeed, this is what many people associate with the Christian gospel, seemingly with good reason: the teachings of Jesus are full of injunctions to be of service; the Good Samaritan is probably the best known of all New Testament parables. There is no reason why a dichotomy should exist between loving God and loving one's neighbour; many Christians would argue that both are achievable and that in any case the one is part of the other. It seems curious, therefore, that there should be a relatively widespread inverse relationship between charitable behaviour and holding to the traditional doctrines and practices of Christianity.

One possible explanation is that charitable behaviour is sufficient in itself: one does not need to be religious to accept the social gospel taught by Christ. As one becomes more concerned and involved in charitable work, the liturgical demands of the church may seem less relevant to the pressing needs of suffering humanity. It would be quite easy, especially when the traditional forms are no longer stressed, for the link between social and theological concerns to become unhinged. This was suggested in chapter four, as an explanation for the "odd" factor of charitable items, which showed no

relationship with other religiosity variables. Churches which elevate humanitarian duty as their first and most important role, perhaps to win support in an age of unprecedented social conscience, may in the long run be sowing the seeds of their own absorption by the secular world. This is especially likely if, at the same time, they denigrate their own theological roots. There is a danger of the emergence of what James Fowler calls a henotheistic faith, which "represents the elevation to central, life-defining value and power of a limited and finite good. It means the attribution of ultimate concern to that which is of less than ultimate worth."⁶⁹

Mary Douglas has explained these trends in terms of her group and grid theory. She postulates a connection between anti-ritualism and a tendency in modern society to minimize group control, and exalt individualism and personal freedom. We previously reported her proposition that rejection of the symbols of control inherent in traditional orthodoxy is part of this pattern. After quoting observations on the trend towards anti-ritualism in American Catholicism, she suggests the relation between this and an emphasis on ethical values and behaviour.

Let me use this excerpt to signpost three phases in the move away from ritualism. First, there is the contempt of external ritual forms; second, there is the private internalising of religious experience; third, there is the move to humanist philanthropy. When the third stage is underway, the symbolic life of the spirit is finished. . . . any anthropologist knows that public forms of symbolic expression are not to be despised. The reformers who set low value on the external and symbolic aspects of Friday abstinence and who exhort the faithful to prefer elymosynary deeds are not making an intellectually free assessment of forms of worship. They are moving with the secular tide along with other sections of the middle classes who seek to be justified in their lives only by saving others from hunger and injustice. . . . There is a sad disjunction between the recognised need of clergy, teachers, writers and the needs of those they preach, teach and write for.⁷⁰

The last half of the quotation reinforces comments made earlier concerning the influence of religious leaders. Here, Douglas is again suggesting that the perceptions and needs of the religious intelligentsia is quite different

⁶⁹ Fowler, *Stages of Faith*, 20.

⁷⁰ Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 7.

from that of the ordinary believer. In this there is an echo of Weber's discussion of the early Christian controversy between theological gnosis and simple faith as avenues to salvation. He claims that "A decisive influence was everywhere exerted on the character of religion by the relationship between the theological intellectuals, who were the virtuosi of religious knowledge, and the pious non-intellectuals."⁷¹ Weber goes on to say that the priest "must demonstrate his capacity to understand more and believe more than is possible for the average human mind."⁷² Douglas implies that some modern priests give the impression of believing *less* than their congregations. The proposition she makes is that religious leaders, in dismantling the traditional symbols of their religion (such as Friday abstinence in the Catholic Church), are doing more than destroy what they perceive to be empty forms and superstitions. Their aim is to create a religion which is in some way more "authentic" and intellectually respectable in the modern world: a religion which relies on inner conviction and personal response rather than outward symbol. However, in doing away with the ritual forms and symbols, they begin a process which leads to the eventual loss of supernatural beliefs and the substitution of a "humanist philanthropy". She goes on to say:

But social responsibility is no substitute for symbolic forms and indeed depends upon them. When ritualism is openly despised the philanthropic impulse is in danger of defeating itself. For it is an illusion to suppose that there can be organisation without symbolic expression. Those who despise ritual, even at its most magical, are cherishing in the name of reason a very irrational concept of communication.⁷³

Thus, in their efforts to modernize what they perceive to be an antiquated religion, religious leaders are in danger of losing religion altogether. In their efforts to emphasise what they think will have greater popular appeal, such as humanitarian ethics, they may lose the religious identity they seek to cultivate.

In any case, there seems, on the face of it, no reason why adherence to

⁷¹ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff (1963; London: Methuen, 1965), 193.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 195.

⁷³ Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 50.

theological orthodoxy should prevent an enthusiastic participation in charitable work. Indeed, the research quoted above does not actually measure the degree of *activity* in such ventures, but merely the *priority* assigned to it in a religious context. Respondents were asked to what extent such activities were *essential for salvation*. Clearly, if one believed in salvation by grace alone, a rather common theological position in more conservative faiths, one's answer would show a negative response. However, this would not necessarily indicate a position opposed to charitable work, or that respondents were not engaged in such work. Of more crucial significance is the relative importance given to the two elements of religious expression by the churches, and in the mind of the worshipper. Which is more important: God or people? Many Christians might argue that there is no distinction, or should be none: after all, the second commandment is "like unto" the first. However, as suggested above, such an attitude is perhaps sowing the seeds of a latent secularism: even if true worship of the Christian God is considered incomplete without charitable works it is nevertheless true that charitable works can exist and thrive independent of belief in God. This seems to be an area of ambiguity and uncertainty, especially in a world where social conscience is an increasingly important force. One can appreciate that on a college campus such issues may be particularly significant, as the idealism of youth grapples with some of the appalling contemporary challenges posed by natural disasters and the inhumanity of people to each other. This, then, might become a source of concern for the religious student, who may question the relevance of organized worship, when compared with the much more concrete issues of social justice. According to Mary Douglas, this becomes more, rather than less likely when religion is stripped of the traditional rituals and form which are a symbolic representation, not only of belief but of a social order necessary for belief to flourish. Religious faith may not be immediately abandoned, but a shift in emphasis and priorities is possible, which may lead to the erosion of religiosity. If, in addition to his or her own thoughts the student observes an equivocal attitude on the part of the church, then clearly the problem is compounded.

Much of the above discussion has to do with theories of secularization which apply to society as a whole, not the specific context of higher education. However, it was suggested previously that students are more likely to be aware of the issues and arguments as they are exposed to the exchange of ideas in the heightened intellectual climate of a university. The influences described above will perhaps have greater potency in a college setting. The vantage of a university campus is more likely to incline students to the more radical views and secularizing tendencies of their priests, and perhaps propel them further as the modern faith seems inadequate and the traditional faith has been discredited.

Mormon students are in a different position from this, for several reasons. In the Mormon Church the first commandment, the love and worship of God is clearly and unequivocally first. Indeed, the potentially divisive relationship between the first and second commandments is recognised, and is likely to have been discussed in Sunday School, Institute and other study groups. In LDS theology, salvation is dependent on fulfilling the principles and ritual ordinances of the Church. Mormons believe in salvation by grace *and* works, or more precisely grace *through* works. It is their belief that compliance with the prescribed ordinances must be accompanied by charitable works; that the one without the other is insufficient. For Mormons, if social concern is absent, the theological formulas are a hollow shell. On the other hand, charity by itself is insufficient. The Mormon Church definitely places God first: they tend to see ethical concerns within the context of their faith. There is of course considerable opportunity for service to others within the framework of their religion. The extensive involvement of ordinary members in the organisation of the Church has already been described; the home teaching and visiting teaching duties of members attempts to provide a safety net where the material, as well as spiritual needs of every member are provided. Frequent exhortation is heard from Church leaders for members to care for the widows and underprivileged in the Church. The following passage from the Book of Mormon is typical of many. "And behold, I tell you these things that you may learn wisdom; that ye may

learn that when you are in the service of your fellow-beings, ye are only in the service of your God."⁷⁴ A more graphic warning for Church members is given in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Wo [sic] unto you rich men, that will not give your substance to the poor, for your riches will canker your souls; and this shall be your lamentation in the day of visitation, and of judgment, and of indignation: The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and my soul is not saved!

Wo [sic] unto you poor men, whose hearts are not broken, whose spirits are not contrite, and whose bellies are not satisfied, and whose hands are not stayed from laying hold upon other men's goods, whose eyes are full of greediness, and who will not labor with your own hands!⁷⁵

It can be seen that considerable emphasis is given to service and compassion, much after the New Testament example. The welfare programme of the Church is considerable. This includes the monthly Fast Sunday, in which members are expected to fast for twenty-four hours and donate the money thus saved to the Church's welfare funds. It involves the ownership and management of ranches and farms, with extensive volunteer help, the produce of which is specifically targeted for welfare purposes. The Church contributes extensively in money and manpower to many of the human catastrophes which regularly claim international attention through the television screen.

Nevertheless, despite involvement in interdenominational welfare and relief projects, and assistance in the wider community, the greater part of the Mormon effort is for its own members. It is the Mormon ideal to be independent of aid from any source other than themselves. The Church's welfare programme, briefly described above is intended to provide for all needy members. Mormons are strongly discouraged from obtaining charitable aid from elsewhere, including government assistance. Each bishop is able to draw on the Bishop's Storehouse for commodities or cash to provide for the needs of his members. He is also expected to activate volunteer support for needy families, using the

⁷⁴ *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ*, Sacred Scripture of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 Ed., Mosiah 2:17.

⁷⁵ *Doctrine and Covenants*, sacred scripture of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 ed., 56:16-17.

expertise of members that may be available in his ward or nearby wards. This independent approach to welfare is demanding in both time and resources; consequently, as stated above, the greater part of the Mormon welfare effort is within its own congregations. Despite this, members are encouraged to be involved in all worthwhile causes, as time and circumstances allow; the ubiquitous Mormon missionaries are required to spend half a day each week in community service. It was noted in an earlier chapter that 27 percent of Institute teachers are engaged in non-Church voluntary work. Nevertheless, for the average member in countries where membership is small, the requirements of providing for the needs of members and running the Church organisation often leaves little time for outside activity and volunteer aid.

Notwithstanding this considerable emphasis on the social gospel and ethical behaviour, we should once more emphasise that LDS theology firmly puts God ahead of one's neighbour. Significantly, in the context of this discussion, material and physical help is accorded a spiritual dimension. In relation to such things phrases such as the "sacred funds" of the Church are common; and the consequent concern to avoid waste. The money and goods are seen, in a rather literal sense, as belonging to God. This is another example of the intersection of the material and spiritual worlds, temporal and eternal concerns in the Mormon mind. In LDS theology, the sacred and the secular are often indivisible. From the Doctrine and Covenants, for example, we read: "all things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given unto you a law which was temporal."⁷⁶ They have never accepted the traditional protestant concept of a depraved, fallen and sinful creation which must be rejected and shunned. Thus, although a response to the divine is seen as greater than responding to the needs of the world, there is nothing inconsistent for a Mormon that such response can in fact be manifest through activities of a temporal nature.

The Mormon view is that the only way in which the multitude of material

⁷⁶ *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sacred Scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 29:34.

problems of the world can be solved is through an acceptance of Jesus Christ and his Church – the Mormon Church. They believe that while it is appropriate to help their neighbour as far as possible, such help is destined to be no more than a hacking at the leaves of the problem rather than the roots, so long as their neighbour refuses to acknowledge and accept the principles of the Gospel of Christ. There is only one permanent solution to the social and material problems of the world, in LDS philosophy, and that is the world-wide acceptance of Jesus and his teachings, as revealed in the Mormon Church. Anything else can never be other than short-term and partial. In the meantime, the most effective use of the limited resources available is best achieved through the inspiration of God.

All this is illustrative of an important feature of Mormon theology. From the earliest days Mormons preached temporal salvation, here and now. According to LDS teachings, God has no pleasure in the poverty of mankind. Mormons have always been taught that through righteous hard work and cooperative industry, God will bless his people with prosperity in this world, not just the next. Indeed, the material aspirations of the Church was one of the causes of conflict with non-Mormons in the early days of the Church. Their collaborative enterprise was very successful, and perceived as a threat to existing commerce. "It was inevitable that the old settlers should find the economic competition too keen for them, or sensing its coming, seek to prevent it."⁷⁷ Furthermore, their refusal to accept the social and religious conventions caused a massive and violent rejection from a society which felt threatened by their presence.

In the nineteenth century the concept of Zion and gathering to Zion was a powerful motivation for converts to immigrate to America. It is evident that many did so not only with spiritual, but also with material betterment in mind. Nevertheless, spiritual motives were strong and the blending of spiritual and

⁷⁷William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1961), 116-117.

temporal concerns produced a powerful incentive. The Church was "able to combine a religious message of salvation and an imminent millennial transformation with the opportunity for improvement in economic circumstances."⁷⁸ Richard Jensen states "converts began to catch the vision . . . theological reasons then combined with economic and social motives for the gathering, to bring about a significant, continuous religious migration."⁷⁹ A lengthy epistle from the Twelve was written to deal with the issue of economic opportunity in the New World, to explain the rather harsh reality and point the way forward.⁸⁰ The interesting point however is that the mingling of temporal and spiritual motives in the "gathering" was not considered inconsistent or undesirable. Robert Walker comments on Mormonism's "pecuniary lure", and states "The Mormon missionaries, who believed that religion should temporally bless as well as religiously sanctify, would not have had it otherwise."⁸¹ It is still a central teaching of the Church that Zion is not only a spiritual concept, but also a material condition. Although the geographical emphasis has changed, it is still very much part of the LDS philosophy that a Zion community involves not only the sharing of spiritual wealth, but also the achievement of physical and material success. In Mormon scripture, one ancient Zion community is designated as such not only because of righteousness, but also because "there was no poor among them."⁸² Glock and Stark have commented on the disadvantage to religion that the more traditional Christian response to material welfare has

⁷⁸ Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht and J. Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective", *BYU Studies* 27.2 (1987): 133.

⁷⁹ Richard L. Jensen, "The British Gathering to Zion", in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837-1987*, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 167.

⁸⁰ Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain* (1937. Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1984), 229-230.

⁸¹ Ronald W. Walker, "Cradling Mormonism: The Rise of the Gospel in Early Victorian England", *BYU Studies* 27.1 (1987): 31.

⁸² *Pearl of Great Price*, sacred scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981 ed., Moses 7:18.

been. They suggest that trends to secularism are, in part encouraged by the advantage that radical political movements have over the churches.

Just as clearly as the church can offer other-worldly promises to mitigate earthly deprivation, it cannot, usually, offer changes in material rewards in this world. Radical political movement, on the other hand, offer to change things here and now . . .

While radical Utopias and theological heavens may be equally chimerical, hope for the former lies in the material world, thus posing a potential threat to existing institutions, while the latter imply no social overhaul.⁸³

This quotation is from a section in which Glock and Stark argue that generally religion is primarily an agent of social integration and stability. As such, churches tend to be status-affirming institutions and in this role have difficulty promoting social or economic change. Mormonism, unlike some traditional churches wants to change things "here and now". The doctrinal framework and tradition of the Church is such that this is an integral part of the message. Several schemes were developed for mutual economic development. One of most successful was Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Association, better known as ZCMI. Its objective was to import goods into Utah, sell them as cheaply as possible, and divide any profit among the people. One objective was to prevent exorbitant charges, and so "the directors were empowered to set standard retail prices."⁸⁴ Since eventually over 150 stores were in operation it effectively controlled retailing throughout the territory. ZCMI stores are still operating in Utah, though now on a normal commercial basis.

Another example of cooperative enterprise, though of greater theological significance, is the "United Order". This was the organisation developed to implement an important doctrinal principle, "The Law of Consecration".⁸⁵ The object was to "better establish ideal Christian community and group economic

⁸³ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*, 191.

⁸⁴ Church Educational System, *Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1989), 397.

⁸⁵ For a detailed examination of this, and other Mormon economic activities, see Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (1957; Chicago: Phoenix Books - The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 186-221.

self-sufficiency."⁸⁶ This was not a system under which all things were held in common, as is often supposed. There were several variations, but in its ideal form members of an Order initially deeded all their goods, land and wealth to the Church (a "consecration"). Thereafter, each family received a "stewardship" from the resultant communal store, according to their needs, talents and circumstances. This might be greater or smaller than their original consecration, but once received it became their own property, legally deeded back to them. If they chose, they could leave the Order, and retain what they then owned. Thus the United Orders were based on private enterprise and ownership organised on a communal pattern. Each year whatever surplus each stewardship had accrued was deeded over to the Church and redistributed, stored or invested according to the needs of the community. The United Order was practised in various communities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but the high level of selfless commitment together with various legal and procedural difficulties proved too much for the Saints. Despite a few notable successes most Orders lasted only a few years and were abandoned by 1877.⁸⁷ Significantly, however, it has never been abandoned as a doctrinal principal, and it is regarded by the Church as an ideal of Christian living towards which we should work, and which will one day return.

The practical manifestation of this philosophy has changed somewhat from the nineteenth century, but nevertheless, an LDS student will find no conflict between traditional theology and issues of material well-being. He will, in fact have been taught that the only permanent solution to the social ills of the world is offered by his Church. The extent to which this is accepted literally should be emphasised. An active Mormon will be quite secure in this outlook. It illustrates what has been an underlying aspect of this faith: a sureness and certainty in a unique and all-embracing interpretation of life which would be

⁸⁶ Daniel H. Ludlow, Ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), s.v. "United Orders", by L. Dwight Israelson.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1494.

imperious and egotistical, were it not for a seemingly ingenuous acceptance that things could not be any other than this. Conversion to the Church involves more than a change of venue. As Douglas J. Davies has pointed out:

A reorientation of life was being called for which did not mean that a person now attended a different place of worship on Sunday and lived a more ethical life, they certainly did that, but in addition there was to be a transformation of world-view which demanded a relocating of intellectual stance which few could have grasped in its fullness at the outset.⁸⁸

The preceding description illustrates how this world-view combines the two imperatives of the Christian Gospel, love of God and love of neighbour in a way which is not competitive. Love of neighbour is considered to flow out of love of God. The teaching of the Church is quite unambiguous, God comes first; we serve and obey him; his ordinances, rituals and worship are of first importance. However, the redeeming power of such spiritual involvement is only activated by love of neighbour, and compassionate service is regarded as a sacred, spiritual responsibility. The Mormon student will certainly find no ambiguity in the teachings of his Church on these issues, and the combination of spiritual devotion and opportunity for practical aid may help to resolve any personal concerns he may have. It should be recognised that the philosophy described above is not necessarily unique to Mormons, and other churches may share a similar theological view. However, it has a particularly prominent place in the teachings of the LDS Church, and the very pragmatic approach to some aspects of material welfare and charitable aid is quite unusual.

Health and Dietary Code

An important area of social control and boundary definition in many religious traditions is health and dietary practices. One of the most well-known features of the LDS Church is the dietary and health code known as the Word of Wisdom. A prominent, though not exclusive feature of this health law is abstention from tea, coffee, alcohol and tobacco. It originated in the early days

⁸⁸ Davies, *Mormon Spirituality*, 23.

of the Church (1833), and is regarded by Church members as one of the many revelations received by Joseph Smith. Originally it was regarded as a voluntary code; wise advice rather than a binding commandment. The introduction suggests as much: "To be sent greeting; not by commandment or constraint, but by revelation and the word of wisdom."⁸⁹ It was therefore some time in becoming a general requirement of faithful Church members. As Douglas Davies has observed in his analysis of the Mormon Church in Wales:

As far as Wales was concerned these early Saints seemed very little troubled over the consumption of tea. Indeed it seemed to play a normal part in their communal gatherings. It was only about thirty years later than any specific and systematic attention was given to the habit. We learn from Merthyr in August 1867 that all the missionaries observe the Word of Wisdom to a great degree, at least as far as tobacco and alcohol were concerned. Only some did not drink tea and coffee. The implication is that only some ordinary members follow suit. A report of January 1868 says that tea drinking was a quite a problem of conscience for many members 'though some are leaving it off'.⁹⁰

The reason why by the 1860s it had become a more important issue was that it had become a commandment, binding on the Church, by a general conference vote under the direction of Brigham Young in September 1851. From that time more emphasis was given to the practice, and now the Word of Wisdom is regarded as a fundamental test of faithfulness; it is a basic minimum requirement of orthodoxy. Under normal circumstances members will not be eligible for office in the Church if they do not comply with the prohibitions of the Word of Wisdom. Converts will not be baptised unless they demonstrate their willingness to conform to the rule. This health code therefore serves as a distinctive mark of membership. Jewish dietary customs are well known for their complexity, though perhaps the best known feature is abstinence from pork. This is popularly explained in terms of health, a protection against the hazards of curing and preserving the flesh in a hot climate etc. However, whilst health protection may be a *consequence* of such practices, it is seldom the *reason*. Detailed explanations of presumed reasons are apt to mask motives and function.

⁸⁹ *Doctrine and Covenants*, 89:2.

⁹⁰ Davies, *Mormon Spirituality*, 6.

For example, the Mormon abstinence from tea and coffee is often explained as a desire to avoid caffeine and stimulants. A low caffeine diet may indeed be one outcome, but for Mormons the reason is essentially religious. These customs have long been acknowledged as a significant mechanism for preserving group identity and a sense of separateness and solidarity. Mary Douglas devotes several pages in examining this function of Jewish custom and the importance of dietary practices as religious symbols in a wider Christian context.⁹¹ Such practices generate high group control for Jews, and the Word of Wisdom has much of the same function for Mormons. Religious practices which are part of normal daily activities such as eating, drinking or common social custom are difficult to ignore, either by the observer or the observed. They are certainly likely to instill a feeling of being distinct and separate. Indeed, one of the reasons put forward for the abandonment of Friday abstinence in British Roman Catholicism, following the decree of Pope Paul VI, was to do with the social distinction of the practice. In discussing this issue, Mary Douglas quotes from the Archbishop's letter, which includes the following observation:

For the most part, professional and working people have their midday meal away from home, often in a canteen. Again, social events are often fixed for Friday. And whilst an alternative dish is often available, it is questioned whether it is advisable for a Catholic to appear singular in this matter. Non-Catholics know and accept that we do not eat meat on Fridays but often they do not understand why we do not, and in consequence regard us as odd.⁹²

This statement, from one of the great world religions, well established and respected in Britain, concerning a practice which was also well known and accepted, indicates the potential difficulty of stepping even slightly out of the predominant social milieu. Most people seek for acceptance; non-conformists are a minority, even among college students. The challenge of being odd or different is a considerable one for some less confident members of the LDS Church. However, the feeling of being odd or different reinforces the group identity of members and throws them back into their religion for strength and support. It

⁹¹ Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 38-46.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 43-44.

should perhaps be noted that the principles of the Word of Wisdom are not unique to Mormons; Seventh Day Adventists have a very similar health code, which probably serves a similar symbolic purpose, over and beyond any possible health benefits. It is possible that it is the religious reasons for the practice that seem to make it so distinctive, and perhaps difficult. For example vegetarianism is becoming rather common in modern society. However, the reasons given for pursuing such a practice are generally either moral or physical, and are accepted as quite reasonable; indeed many restaurants now provide vegetarian dishes. To do something similar for religious motives is what makes a custom such as the Word of Wisdom seem so peculiar, though no doubt the impression of oddness it creates is somewhat magnified in the mind of the believer.

Abstinence from tea, coffee, alcohol and tobacco is only part of the Word of Wisdom. The prohibitions are understood to embrace drugs and stimulants also. In addition, members are exhorted to refrain from excessive use of meat, although meat eating is specifically approved if in moderation. The use of fresh fruit and vegetables is encouraged, together with the use of cereals, particularly wheat. A further Doctrine and Covenants instruction, often classed with the Word of Wisdom though not part of the same scriptural section, refers to good sleeping habits. Members are urged to sleep adequately but not too long, to retire early and rise early.

The Word of Wisdom and associated instructions are symptomatic of another aspect of LDS theology, which is the importance of the body and the physical world. This is related to earlier comments in connection with the material aspirations of a Zion community. However, in addition to economic concerns, the Mormon Church is interested in physical wellbeing. Building on the Word of Wisdom, the LDS Church stresses the importance of good exercise and a healthy lifestyle. It was mentioned in chapter three that there was nothing ascetic about Brigham Young's concept of education, and that he vigorously promoted social and cultural activities. In America, sports and athletics are an important part of Church social life. Indeed, the physical side

of life is celebrated rather than denigrated. In some religious traditions the body is seen as an encumbrance we would be better off without, and in the next life we will be rid of it. This is not so in the LDS Church; however sexual morality is of the strict, old-fashioned kind and certain pleasures are denied because of the Word of Wisdom; we are not therefore describing a hedonistic philosophy. Mormons believe the body is a sacred creation, which must not to be abused, but nevertheless should be enjoyed and celebrated. Mormons believe literally in a physical resurrection. They believe that Jesus Christ and God the Father are physical beings. In Mormon ideology, a "fullness of joy" is only possible in the permanent unity of the spirit and the body. This union of spirit and matter, or the manifestation of the spirit through the body is characteristic of churches in which group control is strong, and where individual freedom is within the form of society, according to Mary Douglas.⁹³

The whole approach is significant as we pursue doctrinal strengths which Mormon students may have in the university environment. Despite the LDS focus on spiritual matters, their teachings certainly have a very pragmatic here-and-now appeal. Their millennial expectations, though visionary are not ethereal but of a concrete, physical kind. Their idea of Zion is something that is achieved with blood, sweat and tears, in addition to divine help. They certainly believe in living *in* the world, if not *of* the world, in their own manner and style. They celebrate physical prowess and intellectual achievement: college students will feel free, even perhaps obligated to throw themselves wholeheartedly into most aspects of student and academic life, even though at the same time some areas are forbidden. Work hard, play hard, be true to God and be cheerful withal is a good description of what might be expected of the ideal student.

Other Symbols of Unity and Distinctiveness

Superficially the Mormon Church seems rather devoid of symbol and ritual. This is not what would be expected for an organisation high in group

⁹³ Ibid., 162.

control, according to Mary Douglas's grid and group theory. However, it is only a superficial impression, as we shall explain shortly. Mormon chapels are rather plain, with no symbolic tokens or decoration; they do not even use that most universal of Christian symbols, the cross. Indeed, this is one of the issues which lead some people to reject LDS claims to be Christian. When challenged about the absence of the cross in the LDS Church, the response of a prominent Mormon leader was revealing, and is worth quoting at some length.

for us the cross is the symbol of the dying Christ, while our message is a declaration of the living Christ. . . .

. . . the lives of our people must become the only meaningful expression of our faith and in fact, therefore, the symbol of our worship. . . .

. . . no member of this Church must ever forget the terrible price paid by our Redeemer who gave his life that all men might live . . .

We cannot forget that. We must never forget it, for here our Savior, our Redeemer, the Son of God, gave himself a vicarious sacrifice for each of us. But the gloom of that dark evening before the Jewish Sabbath . . . drained away the hope of even his most ardent and knowing disciples. . . .

On Calvary he was the dying Jesus. From the tomb he emerged the living Christ. the cross had been the bitter fruit of Judas' betrayal, the summary of Peter's denial. The empty tomb now became the testimony of his divinity⁹⁴

This interesting quotation illustrates several things about the Church. First, it is an optimistic religion. It looks forward, emphasises the positive and encourages the membership to do likewise. As previously stated, they view mankind as fundamentally good and that children are born without sin, rather than the sinful infant and flawed humanity of orthodox Catholic and Protestant tradition. Determinism and predestination in the Calvinist mould is not part of LDS belief. Second, it puts great store in the activity of individual members. The extent to which their activities are symbolic will be considered shortly. Third, there is undeniably a deep commitment to Christ, and a literal acceptance of the Atonement, though as the quotation illustrates this can be expressed in distinctly unorthodox ways. However, the idea that it should be possible to identify a Christian by his or her lifestyle is clearly stated.

⁹⁴ Gordon B. Hinkley, "The Symbol of Christ", Sermon preached at the 145th. Annual General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, at the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, 6 April 1975, *Ensign*, May 1975, 92-93.

Hinkley's idea that the lives of the people were the symbol of the Church is an apt one, not in the sense that they are more righteous than others, but that the activities carried on by them are a distinctive symbol of the Church. There are, indeed, few static symbols of any kind to be found in the Mormon religion, at least as far as Sunday worship and standard activities are concerned. An exception to this is the temple, which was introduced in chapter three. The temple does, indeed utilise a highly ritualistic, ceremonial approach to worship which is entirely in keeping with Douglas' theory. However, there are other unifying features, symbolic and otherwise, which are less obvious.

There is a recognizable style of architecture for Mormon chapels, and it would usually be possible for a Mormon in a strange town to spot an LDS building. This is of some significance in creating a sense of identity. Referring to the post-war expansion of the LDS Church in America, Jan Shipps stated:

In what turned out to be a brilliant decision from the standpoint of the maintenance of LDS identity in an altered situation, the brethren at the head to the church decreed that the church's standard building plans would be used for all these LDS structures. Their edict, which appears to have been made on practical and economic grounds, has been much maligned on aesthetic grounds. But in view of the significance of *place* to the Saints, the sagacity of the decision that led the Saints to build structures that gave the impression of the appearance of a new religious "franchise" is evident in retrospect.

. . . the neat, utilitarian, multifunctional structures built according to the church's standard plan were distinctively Mormon places. The very fact that these clearly identifiable LDS structures could be found in town after town and suburb after suburb cultivated among the Saints what might be called a Zionite sense, making the very LDS meetinghouses themselves agents of assimilation and signals that wherever the Saints gather, there Zion is.⁹⁵

Although Mormon buildings are not yet as prevalent in Britain as in America, there is no doubt that they serve the same functions of association, boundary and belonging. These chapels invariably include a spire of some kind, usually detached from the building; apart from the spire no symbolic decorative features are used. However, in the activities and customs of the Church we find an important range of symbols which, in addition to expressing specific doctrinal or liturgical messages also encourage a strong sense of unity and identity.

⁹⁵ Jan Shipps, "'Is Mormonism Christian?' Reflections on a Complicated Question", *BYU Studies* 33.3 (1993), 459.

Sunday services provide the central range of activities around which the life of the Church revolves. Sunday services are the same for all Mormon communities world-wide, and consist of a three-hour block of consecutive meetings. Although the sequence of the meetings may vary slightly, the same group of meetings, of the same length are held in every Mormon congregation every week. Sunday School, for those aged twelve and over lasts forty minutes; Priesthood, Relief Society, and Young Women lasts fifty minutes; Primary, for children under twelve runs parallel with these two sessions, and lasts ninety minutes; the main Sunday worship service, called Sacrament Meeting is for all ages and lasts for seventy minutes. Although there may be local variations for occasional special programmes, all instructional classes follow the same courses of study worldwide. Likewise, the same basic pattern is universally followed for the Sacrament Meeting. This pattern consists of a hymn, a prayer, Church business (voting on changes of officers), the Sacrament, one or two short (ten minute) sermons, a hymn, one longer (twenty minute) sermon, a hymn and a prayer. Minor variations to this are quite frequent in such things as the number and length of sermons or the inclusion of a choir, but the basic model is ubiquitous. The sermons and prayers are by ordinary members of the congregation, assigned in turn by a member of the bishopric (the bishopric consists of three men: the bishop and two counsellors). The service is planned and directed by a member of the bishopric. It is very simple and by some traditional standards somewhat informal. The ecclesiastical officers wear no special clothing or vestments, the prayers are extemporaneous and there is no ceremonial ritual except in relation to the Sacrament.

The heart of Mormon Sunday worship is the administration of the Sacrament. "The Sacrament" is the Mormon term for the Eucharist or Holy Communion. Baptism and other rites are not normally known as sacraments in the Mormon Church, hence the term uniquely applies to the Lord's Supper. The ordinance itself reflects the generally simple approach to worship. Ordinary bread is used, and water is used instead of wine (in keeping with the Word of Wisdom). The bread and water are placed in trays on a plain table and covered

with a white cloth. At the appropriate time two priests or elders uncover the Sacrament, and break the bread into small pieces. A blessing is pronounced by one of the priests (a formal, set prayer, one of the few occasions when prayer is not extemporaneous), and the bread is passed amongst the congregation by deacons or teachers (specific ecclesiastical officers, usually boys twelve to sixteen). Only worthy members are expected to partake, though since the trays are passed hand to hand along the pews the decision is largely up to the individual. After the bread, the water is blessed and passed to the congregation in the same manner. The water is in individual, thimble-sized disposable cups carried in purpose-made trays. The short prayers of blessing remind worshippers that the water represents the blood of Christ, and the bread represents his body, and exhorts them to take upon themselves the name of Christ, to always remember him and keep his commandments. The whole ceremony lasts about fifteen minutes.

Considerable importance is attached the Sacrament in the LDS faith, in the renewing of commitments and remembering the Lord's atonement. It is the focal point of the week, and an occasion when the entire membership, regardless of age or status, is involved together in a common purpose. If a student participates in this regularly, the experience will do much to reinforce group identity. This is particularly true in the Mormon Church because of the high level of lay involvement on Sunday. If a male, the student himself may take a turn in officiating at the Sacrament Table, and both sexes may preach a sermon, or say a prayer. The general sense of shared community involvement is very strong. To a stranger, observing the bustle of activity during the three hour block, it might seem that almost everyone has something to do, or some contribution to make. This is why, as was mentioned earlier, it is important that the term ward bishop includes the student within this community of activity in some way.

Other forms of behaviour symbolically augment the sense of solidarity. For example, members call each other "brother" or "sister", never "mister" or "missis". A meeting will be called to order with "brethren", never "gentlemen",

or "sisters", never "ladies". They do this in recognition of the belief that we are all children of God. Frequent handshaking is also a Mormon habit. This no doubt is partly a reflection of the influence of American culture in the Church, but handshaking is excessive even by American standards. These habits, which may seem rather eccentric to a casual visitor are quickly adopted by members and become second nature. Their function as group-affirming behaviour is apparent in encounters between members and non-members in church. The relationship is clearly different from that between members. The handshake is a less natural greeting; does one call the non-member brother or sister? The evangelistic emphasis of the Church encourages members to be open and friendly to non-members, and the whole atmosphere at church is intended to be as welcoming to a visitor as possible. However, habits and customs are so unlike normal behaviour in the wider society that sometimes an effort must be made to bridge the gap. Furthermore, the grid relationships in a given congregation can be so strong that an outsider may penetrate only with difficulty. In some wards and branches this may be true even for members, as we observed for some students moving away from home. For the majority, however, the Church environment should reinforce a sense of distinctiveness and belonging. In the university environment they may experience a feeling of separateness and singularity, which will emphasise the Church community as their natural and comfortable place of belonging.

In this chapter we have examined a variety of aspects of the Mormon Church which may contribute to the enduring religiosity of LDS college students. The most important of these, it is suggested, is to do with the nature of what is believed and the processes by which this is reinforced and taught. Some of these features are not unique to Mormons, and others are. However, it is in combination that these elements of religious belief become a powerful and effective force in supporting the faith of LDS members. It is possible that these general characteristics of the faith have more to do with the spiritual resilience of students than the institutional provisions designed specifically to help them, although these programmes do have an important part to play. As was stated at

the outset, this discussion of doctrine and practice has necessarily been limited. It is suggested that future research could look more closely at this area and its contribution to Mormon religiosity.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

The central issue of this study has been an investigation of the religiosity of Mormon college students in Britain. There were two main objectives. The first was to discover the extent to which higher education effects the religiosity of Mormon students. The second was to identify and examine factors which are associated with their response and which may support or weaken their resistance to secularizing trends.

The theoretical and research base on which this study builds has been largely American. Partly this is because of the American origins of the Mormon Church; no published research of any kind has been conducted in Britain concerning Mormon religiosity and college students. It is also because a far greater interest has been shown by American researchers concerning religiosity in general, especially its association with higher education. Indeed, hardly any research at all has been conducted in this country in this field. This is somewhat surprising, when we consider the huge and rather rapid changes that have taken place over the past fifty years in religion and education. One of the first recommendations of this study therefore is the need for more British research on the association of education and religiosity; indeed religiosity in general has been somewhat neglected.

It is also clear that more research is required in America, as elsewhere. Research findings are inconclusive and sometimes contradictory. Several specific areas needing further work and clarification were identified. One of the most important of these is to do with comparative studies involving more than one denomination or religious group. It has been demonstrated that a single instrument, utilising one typology of religiosity is likely to be inadequate for comparing religiosity of members of different faiths. This applies to multi-faith

samples, as well as comparisons between groups from different faiths. It is a conclusion of this study that some of the inconsistency observed in research findings is to do with this problem. More work is required to determine the extent to which religiosity between different churches can be meaningfully compared. This raises the fundamental question of whether religiosity exists as an independent human quality, or whether it is only meaningful in the context of a given religious tradition.

The multidimensional nature of religiosity is closely related to these issues. This is another area requiring more careful thought and research. At present research opinion is divided on everything except the fact that religiosity is probably multi-dimensional. Even on this basic issue there are one or two dissenters. The notion of whether the dimensions are universal in scope, as proposed by Charles Glock over three decades ago is an important concern which is not yet resolved. This presents a problem for meaningful comparison between research results; until definitions of religiosity and its structure are more widely agreed it will be difficult to achieve any further consolidation. Much research and analytical study is incompatible because assumptions and definitions are different.

It is instructive to observe that even two apparently similar groups may produce significantly different results. The same instrument was used in this study as was used for a similar study in America. The two samples were from the same Church, yet although an initial examination of the results showed a superficially similar pattern of factors, more detailed analysis revealed a quite different arrangement of underlying dimensions. There were differences between the samples, and these were noted. Nevertheless, the variation in results from these two groups in the same Church further calls into question the use of core dimensions for universal comparisons. Some multidimensional schemes such as that of Glock and Cornwall may be useful as a conceptual model, but seem not to find widespread concordance with the results of statistical procedures in even closely related studies. This does not necessarily argue that such schemes are unsound, but it clearly demonstrates the complexity of the

issues involved, and highlights the rather modest degree of progress in this field.

In all these topics not only is there scope for sociologists of religion, but also for theologians. It was noted that this area has been somewhat neglected by theologians, in both Britain and America. An opportunity exists for greater thought and study to add a much needed theological perspective to what at present is largely the work of social scientists. Indeed, in light of the rather confused and inconclusive state of research at present, the additional contribution of theology might provide helpful clarification.

Religiosity and Education

Despite the inconsistencies mentioned above, the bulk of American research findings have supported two propositions which are important for this study. The first is that higher education has a secularizing influence on students. In the absence of substantial British research, it has been assumed that the same holds true for this country. The few British studies which are available are either inconclusive or partially supportive of this judgment. However, it should be recognized that one weakness of this inquiry is the lack of a non-student control group. The inclusion of such a group was beyond the financial and organisational resources available. Perhaps for the same reasons, there has been a general failure to include such a group in almost all similar studies. The influence of education on religiosity has usually been measured by comparing religiosity scores for varying lengths of exposure to education, mostly through cross-sectional studies. Some research has analyzed large populations, and compared religiosity of college graduates with non-graduates, and so forth. There is a gap to fill in this field through research which compares groups of college students with contemporary groups of non-college persons.

The second proposition is that whilst students in general decrease in religiosity during years at college, Mormon students do not. Mormon resistance to the secularizing influence of higher education was the central hypothesis to be tested for the British Isles. The results show that there is, indeed, no

significant difference in religiosity for different years at college for Mormon students. For this sample, the college experience has had no effect on religious commitment. As previously stated British evidence is scant, but what little there is tends to support the American conclusion that members of most other denominations do decline in religiosity because of higher education.

The relative position of LDS students to others is based largely on American data. Further research is required into the experience of students from other denominations in a British context, for more definite confirmation that the Mormon response is unusual. Care would need to be taken in making comparisons, however, in light of what was said earlier concerning the application of a single instrument to different religions. It is possible that a different typology of religiosity will be necessary for different denominations. The questionnaire used for the research in this study was designed so that LDS-specific items could be translated for other religious denominations; other questions included were thought to be reasonably universal. It remains for other researchers to discover if this will be a useful approach.

Associations with Religiosity

After establishing that the religiosity of LDS students is little affected by the college experience, possible explanations for this were sought. An attempt was made to discover elements in the Mormon Church that are supportive of students' religiosity. A number of associations were identified, though for most of them the nature of the dependency is not clear. It is probable that a reciprocal relationship exists, and that while Church agencies support students' faith, it is the most faithful students who participate in the agencies. The extent of any influence is likely to vary considerably for different students.

Those elements which showed the strongest association with religiosity were the serving of a mission, participation in Institute, and involvement in Church callings. General agencies of pastoral care showed some association, though not as strong as the first three items. One of the surprising results of this study is to do with family and parental influence. Although there was a

clear association between religiosity and family background, it was relatively weak. It was mentioned that this outcome finds some support in a small number of studies which have demonstrated an early independence from family influence in matters of religious faith. However, in general most studies suggest that a much higher level of association should be expected.

Church Agencies for Student Support

An analysis was undertaken of the main Church agencies designed to support students. The results were somewhat mixed, and a number of details emerged which should be of considerable concern for LDS Church leaders. LDSSA, the only organisation devoted exclusively to student welfare is virtually non-functioning, and has little or no impact on most students.

Institutes of Religion is a much more robust programme, and in many ways is regarded as the flagship of student support by the Church. Extensive resources in money and personnel are allocated to it. As already stated, a relatively high association between religiosity and Institute was discovered. Accordingly, a substantial proportion of space and research was devoted to it. This revealed a number of deficiencies, some serious. The main problems were to do with teacher appointment, training, supervision and workload; also the turnover of teachers is unacceptably high. Some of these problems are caused by a lack of shared values and priorities between CES personnel and ecclesiastical leaders. However, some were clearly the result of a low priority attached to the programme by CES personnel; it frequently takes second-place to its companion programme, Seminary. The greatest strength of Institute seems to be the loyalty and dedication of the volunteer teachers. Despite the fact that over a third wish to resign, most teachers enjoy their involvement and are committed to the teaching and welfare of their students. Although on balance Institute is a thriving programme, it could have a far greater impact if the weaknesses outlined in this study were corrected.

The Single Adult programmes cater equally for non-students and students, and generally take little account of educational status. The strength

and organisation these agencies varies considerably throughout the country. If students are fortunate enough to find themselves in a well organised area they will undoubtedly benefit. However, in general the structure of these programmes is very loose and they tend to receive a low priority from the ecclesiastical leaders who supervise and staff them.

General agencies of pastoral care are largely directed by the bishop. He is also responsible for the involvement of students in leadership or teaching positions. It was discovered that the success of this area of Church support is very variable, and generally quite poor. It is evident that overall bishops and other priesthood leaders have a scant understanding of, and give little priority to the needs of college students. There are exceptions, of course, but in general students who move away from home do not have home teaching visits, are not involved in Church callings, and are not interviewed on arrival in their new ward. Forty-two percent feel that they are not integrated in their term ward. There was a wide difference between student reports and bishops' estimates in these areas. The bishops overestimated the extent to which students are being supported, and their response suggests a general ignorance of student needs.

The general picture of Church support for students seems rather depressing. Indeed, support for this age-group in general, whether or not they are students, seems rather poor. It seems that once they cease to be "youth" (a term of some importance in the Church, and one which denotes a group needing special attention), they are regarded as capable of looking after themselves. In view of these findings, a strong recommendation of this study is that the Mormon Church needs to enhance the standing of students (and young adults generally), and give greater priority to their needs.

Despite this condemnation, religiosity of students is undoubtedly strong, and clearly unchanged through their college experience. There is no doubt that even though there are weaknesses in the various agencies, they do contribute to this condition. However, it was pointed out that the association with social and institutional factors, though significant is only moderate for the most part. No single element dominates, and though in combination these various agencies

may have a considerable influence, the strength of this influence seems insufficient to entirely account for the phenomenon. It was proposed that the nature of the doctrine and the characteristics of faith and belief should be examined.

Faith and Belief

It was argued that social and institutional factors alone are inadequate to explain the issues being considered. Indeed, it was suggested that an examination of the complex nature of religion is incomplete unless the concept of God is addressed. It was strongly suggested that the nature and intensity of an individual's relationship with God is of fundamental importance, and that this cannot be fully analyzed by empirical measurement. A number of Mormon beliefs and characteristics were identified, some unique and some shared with other religions, which may contribute towards the strength of religiosity of Mormon students. In combination they amount to a world-view which is unusually stable and well integrated.

Mormon doctrine emphasises conversion through the Holy Spirit, and Mormons are convinced of the rightness of their cause through a testimony which is founded in the belief of an ongoing personal communication with Deity. This point is an important one; Mormons believe that the origin of their religious commitment is the influence of the Holy Spirit. It is reinforced by symbolism and ritual in worship, particularly at their temples, but also in weekly chapel worship. Dietary laws contribute to a sense of separateness and emphasise the distinctive nature of membership in the Church in the routine daily activities associated with food and drink. Membership in the Mormon Church is more than a religious preference, it is a way of life.

The spiritual basis of religious faith is combined with a doctrine that is strongly rational in character. The Church has a robust pragmatic outlook which appeals to the reason, whatever the supernatural basis for belief. The combination of a rational theology and devout spiritual commitment seems to result in a strong and stable religiosity. This is reinforced by the Mormon

philosophy of the spiritual and physical worlds. Temporal salvation and welfare is not in competition with spiritual and liturgical values. The physical necessities of life are incorporated in the theological structure of their faith and do not conflict with heavenly aspirations.

A further important factor is the combination of individual autonomy and ecclesiastical authority. One of the stabilizing features of the Mormon Church is a strong organisational and doctrinal solidarity. Obedience to priesthood authority is very strongly emphasised at all levels, and the pronouncement of the prophet is regarded as final. There is no discernable liberal wing in the senior leadership of the Church which, as far as ordinary members will be aware is totally united. At the same time, individual freedom is stressed, and members are instructed that they are entitled to revelation for their own areas of responsibility. Coercion is repudiated, and the response and involvement of members is expected to be through willing, freely given participation, though of course the expectation of such service is part of the ethos of the Church.

It is a conclusion of this study that these issues of religious faith and practice are likely to be at least as important in determining the strength of religiosity as social and institutional factors. The integrated nature of LDS religious life is an important and distinctive quality which has been noted several times. As Douglas Davies observed, "Mormon theology developed in a way which combines beliefs and practices in a total form of life endeavour."¹

We remarked earlier about the optimistic nature of the LDS faith, and this characteristic is of great significance. There is no doubt that the movement has a very strong sense of conviction in the rightness and truth of its cause, which pervades all levels of membership and organisation. As Davies points out, "One feature of Mormon life which has constantly played beneath the surface of Mormon self-identity and self-evaluation is that of confidence."² Despite an

¹ Douglas James Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, [1987?]), 115.

² *Ibid.*, 111.

inclination to introversion and a tendency for somewhat severe self-examination, the Church is undeniably very confident of its place and mission. Mormons are quite sure that they are God's chosen people on earth, doing his will. This is a very strong base from which to face the world for anyone, including college students. The buoyancy and assurance of the Church as an organisation is revealed at a personal level in the lives of individual members. It is perhaps the case that the enduring religiosity of LDS college students is in large measure a reflection of a vigorous, optimistic Church community, with confidence in itself and certainty about its place in both time and eternity.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE AND CASE STUDY FORMS

Please note that the forms in this appendix are not facsimiles of the originals. In order to accommodate wider margins, the pagination, layout and size of print have all been slightly altered.

LDS COLLEGE STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (JANUARY 1991)

Dear Student, my name is Craig Marshall, and I am working on a PhD degree at Nottingham University. My research involves a study of the religious attitudes of LDS students in further education in the British Isles. I am hoping you will help me by completing this questionnaire and returning it in the envelope provided. Although some questions are very personal, no names are required, and over 450 students are being surveyed. The highest standards of professional confidentiality will apply, and complete anonymity is assured. My research is therefore dependent on your goodwill and cooperation. This study has the support of CES (for whom I work), and the results of the survey should be of value in helping to improve institute, LDSSA and other forms of student support.

As with all surveys of this kind, the size of the response is vitally important for the reliability of the results. Your individual contributions are therefore critical; please don't put this to one side, assuming I will obtain sufficient information from others.

Although the questionnaire may look lengthy, most questions are multiple-choice, and easy to respond to. Some questions may require a little more thought, but our pilot study has shown that the average time taken to complete the entire questionnaire is about 15 - 20 minutes. Many thanks for your help.

For multiple choice statements and questions, please circle only one of the alternative responses, that most nearly corresponds with your own belief, attitude or situation.

Section A: Personal & Family Background

1. Gender

1 Male / 2 Female
2. What is your age in years?

_____ years
3. Marital status

1 single / 2 married / 3 divorced / 4 separated / 5 widowed
4. Which year of your course is this?

year _____ of _____ years
5. What qualification are your studying for?

6. What is your course subject?

7. How many years have you been a member of the LDS Church?

_____ years
8. Have you served a full-time mission?

1 YES / 2 NO
9. How many years of Seminary have you completed?

_____ years
10. Which of your parents are (or if deceased, were) Church members?

1 both / 2 mother / 3 father / 4 neither

Questions 11 - 15 refer to your parental family; if you are now living independent of your parents, respond according to the situation when you were living at home with them. Please answer these questions even if your parents are non-members.

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
11. How often does your family have family prayer?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. How often does your family have a family religious discussion (including home evening)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. How often does your family read the scriptures together:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. How often does your family have family discussions about right and wrong?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. How often does your family attend sacrament meeting?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section b: Higher Education and Religious Belief

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
16. College students are subjected to greater spiritual challenges than non-students of the same age.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My association with other students negatively influences my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
18. The teaching of the lecturers negatively influences my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
19. The textbooks and course materials I study negatively influence my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My increased independence as a student negatively influences my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
21. My activity at Church has diminished during my time in higher education.	1	2	3	4	5

For questions 22 to 26, consider whether specific aspects of your religious beliefs create differences in your social relationships with most other students.

22. Sexual morality creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
23. The Word of Wisdom creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Sabbath observance creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Honesty creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
26. An obligation to be a missionary and convert others creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5

27. Which one aspect of your beliefs, either from the above list, or another of your choice, creates the greatest differences (if any) in your social relationships with other students?
1 there are no differences / 2 sexual morality / 3 Word of Wisdom / 4 sabbath observance / 5 honest / 6 being a missionary / 7 other (state what):

28. Does higher education have a negative influence on religious beliefs? 1 YES / 2 NO
If YES, what specific aspect of higher education has the most negative influence?

29. The most supportive influence on religious beliefs and attitudes during higher education is:

Section C: Church Support

30. Do you have a Church calling? home ward: 1 YES / 2 NO term ward: 3 YES / 2 NO
If YES, state your calling(s):
31. Do home teachers or visiting teachers visit you during term-time?
1 weekly / 2 a few times a month / 3 monthly / 4 a few times a year / 5 never
32. During your first year, were you interviewed by your new bishop after you moved into your term-time ward?
1 a few days after / 2 a few weeks after /
3 a few months after / 4 not at all / 5 can't remember
33. Is your term-time ward a different ward from your home ward?
1 YES / 2 NO
- If YES, continue with questions 34 - 37, if NO, go to question 38.

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
34. I am integrated in my term-time ward.	1	2	3	4	5
35. I prefer being in my home ward rather than my term-time ward.	1	2	3	4	5
36. My term-time bishop (who may of course be the same person as your home-ward bishop if you are studying at home) is concerned about my welfare.	1	2	3	4	5
37. My term-time bishop understands the challenges I face as a student.	1	2	3	4	5

Section D: Institute & LDSSA

38. Including the current year, how many years of institute have you studied?_____ years
39. Were you encouraged by Church leaders to enrol in institute?
1 very much / 2 quite a lot / 3 somewhat / 4 not really / 5 not at all
40. Are you enrolled in institute this year? 1 YES / 2 NO
If YES, continue with questions 41 - 45, If NO go to question 46.
41. If institute was not regarded as very important by the Church, and there was no feeling of obligation or pressure for you to be involved, would you still continue with it?
1 definitely yes / 2 probably yes / 3 not sure / 4 probably no / 5 definitely no
42. Approximately how many people regularly attend your institute class? _____

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
43. Institute will make an important contribution to my life.	1	2	3	4	5
44. Institute is enjoyable.	1	2	3	4	5
45. My institute teacher is a good teacher.	1	2	3	4	5

	there is no negative influence	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
46. Institute helps students to combat the negative spiritual influences (if any) of higher education.	6	1	2	3	4	5
47. The LDSSA helps students to combat the negative spiritual influences (if any) of higher education.	6	1	2	3	4	5
48. The LDSSA makes a difference in my life.		1	2	3	4	5
49. The LDSSA does not serve any useful purpose.		1	2	3	4	5

50. Are you registered with the LDSSA?

1 YES / 2 NO / 3 DON'T KNOW

51. Have you receive the LDSSA magazine, the "Clarion"?

1 YES / 2 NO

Section E: Religious Attitudes

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
52. I believe in the divinity of Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
53. I believe in God.	1	2	3	4	5
54. There is life after death.	1	2	3	4	5
55. The Bible is the word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
56. Satan actually exists.	1	2	3	4	5
57. The president of the Church is a prophet of God.	1	2	3	4	5
58. The Book of Mormon is the word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
59. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the only true church on earth.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Joseph Smith actually saw God the Father and Jesus Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Without religious faith my life would not have much meaning.	1	2	3	4	5
62. I am willing to do whatever the Lord wants me to do.	1	2	3	4	5
63. Some doctrines of the LDS Church are hard for me to accept.	1	2	3	4	5
64. I don't really care about the LDS Church.	1	2	3	4	5
65. I do not accept some standards of the LDS Church.	1	2	3	4	5
66. The LDS Church puts too many restrictions on its members.	1	2	3	4	5

	very much	quite a lot	somewhat	not really	not at all
67. The Church is an important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
68. I encourage others to believe in Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
69. I seek God's guidance when making important decision in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
70. I admit my sins to God and pray for forgiveness.	1	2	3	4	5
71. I try to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.	1	2	3	4	5
72. My relationship with the Lord is an important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
73. The Holy Ghost is an important influence in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
74. I love God with all my heart.	1	2	3	4	5
75. I live a Christian life.	1	2	3	4	5
76. I share what I have with the poor.	1	2	3	4	5
77. I forgive others.	1	2	3	4	5

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
78. How often do you offer personal prayers to God?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
79. How often do you attend Sacrament Meeting?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
80. How often do you attend Priesthood or Relief Society?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
81. How often do you attend Church activities other than Sunday services?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
82. How often do you fast?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
83. How often do you read the scriptures?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

84. What percentage of your income do you pay as tithing?
10% / 7% / 5% / 3% / 1% / none

Section F: General Comments

85. If you have further comments about institute, LDSSA, or any other areas concerning LDS students in further education, please write below.

Thank you very much indeed for your help. I appreciate the time you have taken, and I wish you well in your own studies.

Yours sincerely,

Craig L. Marshall
9 Atwater Close, Yarm, Cleveland, TS15 9UF

LDS COLLEGE STUDENT CASE STUDY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (FEBRUARY 1991)

Section A: Personal & Family Background

1. Gender

1 Male / 2 Female
2. What is your age in years?

_____ years
3. Marital status

1 single / 2 married / 3 divorced / 4 separated / 5 widowed
4. Which year of your course is this?

year _____ of _____ years
5. What qualification are your studying for?

6. What is your course subject?

7. How many years have you been a member of the LDS Church?

_____ years
8. Have you served a full-time mission?

1 YES / 2 NO
9. How many years of Seminary have you completed?

_____ years
10. Which of your parents are (or if deceased, were) Church members?

1 both / 2 mother / 3 father / 4 neither

Questions 11 - 15 refer to your parental family; if you are now living independent of your parents, respond according to the situation when you were living at home with them. Please answer these questions even if your parents are non-members.

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
11. How often does your family have family prayer?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. How often does your family have a family religious discussion (including home evening)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. How often does your family read the scriptures together?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. How often does your family have family discussions about right and wrong?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. How often does your family attend sacrament meeting?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Do your parents talk to you about your involvement in Institute?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section B: Conversion and Testimony

17. How did you come to join the Church? (INTERVIEWER: i.e. what led to the student's baptism - joined with parents, contacted by missionaries, through a friend, through a testimony of the Book of Mormon etc.)

18. Do you have now, or have you had in the past, a serious interest in the Gospel?

1 YES / 2 NO
- If YES, what factors first stimulated you to a serious interest in the Gospel?
(INTERVIEWER: If he was baptized independently, at a mature age, qu. 17 may already have provided an answer for this, but if he was baptized as a child or joined with his family, there may be more to tell; ask, as a prompt, "were there any events in you life, or characteristics of the Church that particularly influenced you?").

19. Do you believe that the LDS Church is the true Church of Jesus Christ?

1 YES / 2 NO

If YES, when did you first become aware that the Church is the true Church of Jesus Christ? (INTERVIEWER: again, this may have been partly answered by the above two questions, but it will help to clarify the answers.)

20. How do you answer critics who say that religious faith is a psychological or a sociological phenomenon, that God is a product of the mind?

21. I have a sense of divine guidance in my life; although I may not always be consciously aware of it, I believe God is protecting and directing me.

1 strongly agree / 2 agree on the whole / 3 not sure / 4 disagree on the whole / 5 strongly disagree

22. How often do you personal prayers become more than routine, and reach a level where you feel a spiritually uplifting communion with God?

1 daily / 2 a few times a week / 3 weekly / 4 a few times a month / 5 monthly / 6 a few times a year / 7 never

23. What factors are important for the kind of prayer described in question 22?

Section C. Conformity and Commitment

24. Do you feel pressured by your parents' expectations of your religious standards and behaviour?

1 very much / 2 quite a lot / 3 somewhat / 4 not really / 5 not at all

INTERVIEWER: Explain that "Church" in the next two questions means the Church as a local community of people, rather than a theocratic organisation.

25. To what extent does the Church's view of you match your view of yourself?

(INTERVIEWER: Explain that the general standing of the individual as a member of the Church community is being considered - does the Church, informally as a community, assess you by the same criteria that you use to assess yourself?)

1 virtually identical / 2 reasonably close / 3 not sure / 4 not very close / 5 completely different

26. Which one of the following activities is valued most by the Church judging commitment to the Gospel?

attendance at meetings 1
frequency and quality of personal prayer 2
living the Word of Wisdom 3
studying the scriptures 4
being an effective member missionary 5
being a good neighbour, helping the poor 6

27. Which one of the following activities is valued most by the Lord in judging commitment to the Gospel?

attendance at meetings 1
frequency and quality of personal prayer 2
living the Word of Wisdom 3
studying the scriptures 4
being an effective member missionary 5
being a good neighbour, helping the poor 6

28. If there is a difference in your answers to questions 26 and 27, how do you explain the difference?

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
29. How often do you discuss the Church with non-member friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. How often do you bear your testimony in testimony meeting?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
31. I often feel pressured by the demands of Church expectations.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I always maintain Church standards governing personal leisure activities such as dating, dancing and music.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I consider such standards to be reasonable.	1	2	3	4	5
34. My religious faith affects most major decisions in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
35. I devote sufficient time to church work, considering my circumstances.	1	2	3	4	5
36. I am sufficiently involved in Church activity.	1	2	3	4	5
37. On the whole, although I am not perfect, I feel a sense of approval from God for my life and the direction I am going.	1	2	3	4	5

38. Explain your choice for question 37:

	very much	quite a lot	somewhat	not really	not at all
39. Did you pray about which college course to pursue?	1	2	3	4	5
40. Did you fast about which college course to pursue?	1	2	3	4	5
41. Did the Lord guide you in your decision about your college course?	1	2	3	4	5

Section D: Church Support

42. Do you have a Church calling? home ward: 1 YES / 2 NO term ward: 3 YES / 2 NO
If YES, state your calling(s):

43. Do home teachers or visiting teachers visit you during term-time?
1 weekly / 2 a few times a month / 3 monthly / 4 a few times a year / 5 never

44. Is your term-time ward a different ward from your home ward?
1 YES / 2 NO
If YES, continue with questions 45 - 48, if NO, go to question 49.

45. During your first year, were you interviewed by your new bishop after you moved into your term-time ward?
1 a few days after / 2 a few weeks after /
3 a few months after / 4 not at all / 5 can't remember

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
46. I am integrated in my term-time ward.	1	2	3	4	5
47. I prefer being in my home ward rather than my term-time ward.	1	2	3	4	5

48. Please explain you choice for the last question; what do you like or dislike about each ward?

49. My term-time bishop (who may of course be the same person as your home-ward bishop if you are studying at home) is concerned about my welfare.	1	2	3	4	5
50. My term-time bishop understands the challenges I face as a student.	1	2	3	4	5

51. Approximately how many young adults in your peer group attend your term ward?

52. What recommendations would you make to improve Church support for students?

Section E: Institute & LDSSA

53. Including the current year, how many years of institute have you studied?_____ years

54. Were you encouraged by Church leaders to enrol in institute?
1 very much / 2 quite a lot / 3 somewhat / 4 not really / 5 not at all

55. Are you enrolled in institute this year? 1 YES / 2 NO
Please explain your decision, whether YES or NO:

If YES for question 55, continue with questions 56 to 65, If NO go to question 66.

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
56. Institute will make an important contribution to my life.	1	2	3	4	5
57. Institute is enjoyable.	1	2	3	4	5
58. My institute teacher is a good teacher.	1	2	3	4	5
59. Institute helps me combat the negative spiritual influences (if any) of higher education	1	2	3	4	5
60. Institute is a college-level course of instruction in the gospel, equivalent in depth and quality at a spiritual level to my secular studies.					

61. If institute was not regarded as very important by the Church, and there was no feeling of obligation or pressure for you to be involved, would you still continue with it?
1 definitely yes / 2 probably yes / 3 not sure / 4 probably no / 5 definitely no
Please explain your answer:

62. Approximately how many people regularly attend your institute class? _____

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
63. How often do Church leaders inquire concerning your progress in Institute?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64. Do your parents talk to you about your progress in Institute?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65. How often does your Institute teacher have contact with you out-of-class?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

66. Do you have difficulty being involved in Institute? 1 YES / 2 NO

If YES, what are the difficulties? (ring more than one if necessary)
1 transport to class / 2 time of the class / 3 too busy with college work / other (specify):

67. How could Institute be improved?

68. Are you registered with the LDSSA? 1 YES / 2 NO / 3 DON'T KNOW

69. Do you know who your local LDSSA rep is? 1 YES / 2 NO

70. Have you receive the LDSSA magazine, the "Clarion"? 1 YES / 2 NO

71. Is the "Clarion" worthwhile? 1 YES / 2 NO
Please explain your answer, whether YES or NO:

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
72. The LDSSA helps students to combat the negative spiritual influences (if any) of higher education.	1	2	3	4	5
73. The LDSSA does no serve any useful purpose.	1	2	3	4	5
74. Do you think there is sufficient difference between the challenges of LDS students compared with other LDS members to justify a special organisation such as the LDSSA?	1	2	3	4	5

75. If the LDSSA was to suddenly cease to exist, would it make much difference to you, personally?
1 very much / 2 quite a lot / 3 somewhat / 4 not really / 5 not at all
Please explain your answer:

Section F: Higher Education and Religious Belief

		strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
76.	College students are subjected to greater spiritual challenges than non-students of the same age.	1	2	3	4	5
77.	My association with other students negatively influences my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
78.	The teaching of the lecturers negatively influences my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
79.	The textbooks and course materials I study negatively influence my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
80.	My increased independence as a student negatively influences my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
81.	My activity at Church has diminished during my time in higher education.	1	2	3	4	5

For questions 82 to 86, consider whether specific aspects of your religious beliefs create differences in your social relationships with most other students.

82.	Sexual morality creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
83.	The Word of Wisdom creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
84.	Sabbath observance creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
85.	Honesty creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5
86.	An obligation to be a missionary and convert others creates differences.	1	2	3	4	5

87. Which one aspect of your beliefs, either from the above list, or another of your choice, creates the greatest differences (if any) in your social relationships with other students?
1 there are no differences / 2 sexual morality / 3 Word of Wisdom / 4 sabbath observance / 5 honest / 6 being a missionary / 7 other (state what):

88. Does higher education have a negative influence on religious beliefs? 1 YES / 2 NO
If YES, what specific aspect of higher education has the most negative influence?

89. The most supportive influence on religious beliefs and attitudes during higher education is:

Section G: Religious Attitudes

		strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
90.	I believe in the divinity of Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
91.	I believe in God.	1	2	3	4	5
92.	There is life after death.	1	2	3	4	5
93.	The Bible is the word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
94.	Satan actually exists.	1	2	3	4	5
95.	The president of the Church is a prophet of God.	1	2	3	4	5
96.	The Book of Mormon is the word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
97.	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the only true church on earth.	1	2	3	4	5
98.	Joseph Smith actually saw God the Father and Jesus Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
99.	Without religious faith my life would not have much meaning.	1	2	3	4	5
100.	I am willing to do whatever the Lord wants me to do.	1	2	3	4	5
101.	Some doctrines of the LDS Church are hard for me to accept.	1	2	3	4	5
102.	I don't really care about the LDS Church.	1	2	3	4	5
103.	I do not accept some standards of the LDS Church.	1	2	3	4	5
104.	The LDS Church puts too many restrictions on its members.	1	2	3	4	5

		very much	quite a lot	somewhat	not really	not at all
105.	The Church is an important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
106.	I encourage others to believe in Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
107.	I seek God's guidance when making important decision in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
108.	I admit my sins to God and pray for forgiveness.	1	2	3	4	5
109.	I try to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.	1	2	3	4	5
110.	My relationship with the Lord is an important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
111.	The Holy Ghost is an important influence in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
112.	I love God with all my heart.	1	2	3	4	5
113.	I live a Christian life.	1	2	3	4	5
114.	I share what I have with the poor.	1	2	3	4	5
115.	I forgive others.	1	2	3	4	5

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
116. How often do you offer personal prayers to God?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
117. How often do you attend Sacrament Meeting?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
118. How often do you attend Priesthood or Relief Society?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
119. How often do you attend Church activities other than Sunday services?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
120. How often do you fast?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
121. How often do you read the scriptures?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section F: General Comments

122. INTERVIEWER: Ask the student if he has any further comments about Institute, LDSSA, or any other areas concerning LDS students in further education. If so, please write below.

LDS STUDENT CASE STUDY FINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
(JUNE 1993)

COORDINATOR CODE:

1. Case Number (office use only): _____
2. Sex: Male . . . 1 Female . . . 2
3. Age in years: _____
4. Marital Status: Married 1
Never Married . . . 2
Divorced. 3
Separated 4
Widowed 5
5. Has your marital status changed since your last interview?
Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
6. What qualification are you studying for? (e.g. BA, BSc, MA etc.) _____
7. What is your course subject? _____
8. Which year of your course is this? Year _____ of _____ Years
9. Overall, have you enjoyed your time at college/university?
Enjoyed very much 1
Enjoyed somewhat 2
Neither enjoyed nor disliked 3
Disliked somewhat 4
Disliked very much 5
10. If you answered "disliked somewhat" or "disliked very much", please explain why.
11. Do you have a Church calling in your home ward? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
12. If YES, state your calling(s):
13. Is your term ward different from your home ward? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
IF YES TO QUESTION 13, ANSWER QUESTIONS 14 TO 21, OTHERWISE GO TO QUESTION 22.
14. Do you have a Church calling in your term ward? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
15. If YES, state your calling(s):
16. Overall, have you enjoyed attending your term ward during your time at college? Enjoyed very much 1
Enjoyed somewhat 2
Neither enjoyed nor disliked 3
Disliked somewhat 4
Disliked very much 5
17. If you answered "disliked somewhat" or "disliked very much", please explain why.

30.To what extent has institute been a spiritual influence in your life this year?

- Very much 1
- Quite a lot 2
- Somewhat 3
- Not really 4
- Not at all 5

31.During the academic year, has your institute teacher contacted you, other than through teaching the class or seeing you at Church meetings?

- Yes 1
- No 2

32.How could institute be improved?

33.Do you know who your stake LDSSA president is?

- Yes 1
- No 2

34.Have you been contacted by your stake LDSSA president during this academic year?

- Yes 1
- No 2

35.Have you received an edition of the "Clarion" this academic year?

- Yes 1
- No 2

36.If YES, what is your opinion of it?

37.Do you agree that there is a sufficient difference between the challenges of LDS college students and those of other Church members to justify a special organisation like the LDSSA?

- Strongly agree 1
- Agree on the whole 2
- Not sure 3
- Disagree on the whole 4
- Strongly disagree 5

38.How could the LDSSA be improved?

39.Do you feel that, in general, the experience of a full-time college or university course is a negative influence on religious beliefs?

- Very much 1
- Quite a lot 2
- Somewhat 3
- Not really 4
- Not at all 5

40. If you chose "very much", "quite a lot" or "somewhat", please say in what way the college experience exerts a negative influence.

41.Did you find during your past three years at college that your religious beliefs created social barriers in your interaction with other students?

- Very much 1
- Quite a lot 2
- Somewhat 3
- Not really 4
- Not at all 5

42. If you chose "very much", "quite a lot", or "somewhat", please describe in what ways this occurred.

43.Has your involvement in the Church changed from what it was before you started college/university three years ago? Has it:

- Increased a lot 1
- Increased somewhat . . . 2
- Not really changed . . . 3
- Decreased somewhat . . . 4
- Decreased a lot 5

44. If it HAS changed, what has caused the change?

45.Has your testimony of the Gospel changed from what it was before you started college/university three years ago? Has it become:

- Much stronger 1
- Somewhat stronger 2
- Not really any different . . 3
- Somewhat weaker 4
- Much weaker 5

46. If it HAS changed, what has caused the change?

The following section is a repeat of questions asked in the original survey, and the first case study interviews. Tell the respondent this, and assure them that the repetition is intended. Impress upon them that they should not attempt to remember their previous answers, and to respond as though this was the first time.

Section B: Religious Attitudes

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
47. I believe in the divinity of Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
48. I believe in God.	1	2	3	4	5
49. There is life after death.	1	2	3	4	5
50. The Bible is the word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
51. Satan actually exists.	1	2	3	4	5
52. The president of the Church is a prophet of God.	1	2	3	4	5
53. The Book of Mormon is the word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
54. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the only true church on earth.	1	2	3	4	5
55. Joseph Smith actually saw God the Father and Jesus Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
56. Without religious faith my life would not have much meaning.	1	2	3	4	5
57. I am willing to do whatever the Lord wants me to do.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Some doctrines of the LDS Church are hard for me to accept.	1	2	3	4	5

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
59. I don't really care about the LDS Church.	1	2	3	4	5
60. I do not accept some standards of the LDS Church.	1	2	3	4	5
61. The LDS Church puts too many restrictions on its members.	1	2	3	4	5

	very much	quite a lot	somewhat	not really	not at all
62. The Church is an important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
63. I encourage others to believe in Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
64. I seek God's guidance when making important decision in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
65. I admit my sins to God and pray for forgiveness.	1	2	3	4	5
66. I try to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.	1	2	3	4	5
67. My relationship with the Lord is an important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
68. The Holy Ghost is an important influence in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
69. I love God with all my heart.	1	2	3	4	5
70. I live a Christian life.	1	2	3	4	5
71. I share what I have with the poor.	1	2	3	4	5
72. I forgive others.	1	2	3	4	5

	daily	a few times a week	weekly	a few times a month	monthly	a few times a year	never
73. How often do you offer personal prayers to God?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
74. How often do you attend Sacrament Meeting?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
75. How often do you attend Priesthood or Relief Society?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
76. How often do you attend Church activities other than Sunday services?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
77. How often do you fast?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
78. How often do you read the scriptures?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

79. Do you have any additional comments concerning LDS students in further education, or the effect of further education on yourself?

INSTITUTE TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE (MARCH 1993)

Case Number (office use only): _____

NOTE: The term "college student" refers only to those engaged in *full time* post-secondary education (normally 18+ but sometimes 17+ in Scotland), including student nurses and others in full time vocational training, but *not* including 6th. form students or their equivalent.

Please select one choice for each question, by circling the appropriate number. Record 0 for nil responses, and NA when not applicable.

Section 1: Teacher Background

1. Sex:

Male . . . 1 Female . . . 2
2. Age in years:

3. Marital Status:

Married 1
Never Married . . . 2
Divorced. 3
Separated 4
Widowed 5
4. If you are married, is your spouse a Church Member?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
5. If YES, is your marriage sealed in the temple?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
6. How many years have you been a member of the LDS Church?

7. Including the current year, how many years have you been an institute teacher?

8. How many years if any have you completed as an institute student?

9. How many years if any have you completed as a Seminary student?

10. How many years if any have you completed as a college student? (see definition above)

11. Do you have any college degrees or degree equivalents?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
12. If YES, what is the highest degree (or equivalent) you achieved?

Batchelor's . . . 1
Master's . . . 2
Doctorate . . . 3
13. How many children do you have?

14. How many of your children, if any, are college age or older?

15. How many of your children, if any, have been or now are college students?

16. Do you have Church positions other than institute teacher?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
17. If YES, please list your other positions:
18. Are you involved in voluntary work in any non-Church organisations?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
19. If YES, please specify what you do, for which organisation(s):
20. Are you in full time and/or part time employment?

Full Time . . . 1 Part Time . . . 2 Both . . . 3 Neither . . . 4
21. Are you qualified to teach professionally?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2

Section 2: Appointment

22. Did you make the initial approach, by
expressing an interest for teaching in institute? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
23. If NO, which of the following
did make the initial approach? CES Coordinator . . . 1
Bishopric Member . . . 2
Stake Presidency Member . . . 3
Other (state who):
24. Did you receive a formal appointment interview? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
25. If YES, which of the following conducted the interview? CES Coordinator . . . 1
Bishopric Member . . . 2
Stake Presidency Member . . . 3
Other (state who):
26. If you received an appointment interview,
how good was it in helping you understand
what would be expected of you as an institute teacher? Excellent . . . 1
Good . . . 2
Fair . . . 3
Poor . . . 4
Very Poor . . . 5
27. Did you receive a formal letter of
appointment from your Coordinator? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2

Section 3: Training

28. As a new institute teacher, did you receive any special induction
training, in addition to regular faculty meetings? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
29. If YES, did this training provide you with
sufficient basic knowledge to enable you to
start teaching the course with reasonable confidence? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
30. How many faculty meetings are held each year in your stake,
to which institute teachers are invited? _____
31. Give the number of these faculty meetings you expect to have attended
by the end of the current academic year (Sept 1992 - June 1993): _____
32. Do you have difficulty attending
the faculty meetings regularly? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
33. How good are faculty meetings
for helping to improve your teaching? Excellent . . . 1
Good . . . 2
Fair . . . 3
Poor . . . 4
Very Poor . . . 5
34. Are your faculty meetings held
in conjunction with Seminary teachers? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
35. If YES, to what extent is a balance maintained
between the needs of Seminary teachers
and institute teachers? Strong Seminary bias . . . 1
Seminary bias . . . 2
Good balance . . . 3
Institute bias . . . 4
Strong institute bias . . . 5

Section 4: Supervision

36. How many times, since the beginning of the current course in
September 1993, has your Coordinator had a personal interview with you? _____
37. How many times, since the beginning of the current course in
September 1993, has your Coordinator visited your class? _____

38. If you had a choice, how often would you like your coordinator to visit your class?
Once per month . . . 1
Once per quarter . . . 2
Once or twice annually . . . 3
Not at all . . . 4
39. When your coordinator visits your class, is it:
At his initiative . . . 1
At your request . . . 2
I have never had a visit . . . 3
40. Would you enjoy having your coordinator visit your class?
Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
41. Would you enjoy having a personal evaluation interview with your coordinator?
Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
42. On average, how often are you contacted by your coordinator, by a combination of letter, telephone and personal visit?
Several times per week . . . 1
Once per week . . . 2
Once or twice per month . . . 3
Less than once per month . . . 4
43. Do you feel you have enough contact and support from your coordinator?
Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
44. Does the supervision you receive provide the kind of help you need?
Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
45. To whom do you feel you are primarily responsible, in the day-to-day running of the programme? Select one choice:
CES Coordinator . . . 1
Bishop or Branch President . . . 2
Stake President . . . 3

Section 5: Teaching and Students

46. What kind of institute class do you teach?
Ward class . . . 1
Stake Class . . . 2
Multi-ward class . . . 3
47. How helpful are the lesson materials (teacher manual etc.)
Excellent . . . 1
Good . . . 2
Fair . . . 3
Poor . . . 4
Very Poor . . . 5
48. Assuming your circumstances remain as they are now, are you willing to continue teaching institute, when the current year is finished? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
49. Please give the reason for your answer:
50. How many LDS college students regularly attend your class? _____
51. How many people altogether regularly attend your class? _____
52. How many LDS college students are in the unit(s) served by your class? _____

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Circle one number for each statement.

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
53. The challenges which LDS college student face are significantly different from those of other LDS single adults of the same age.	1	2	3	4	5
54. Special Church programmes for the support of college students are necessary.	1	2	3	4	5
55. Institute is a programme in which college students should receive special emphasis.	1	2	3	4	5
56. On the whole, LDS college students are supported adequately by the Church.	1	2	3	4	5
57. I enjoy my work as an institute teacher.	1	2	3	4	5
58. I do not have sufficient time to fulfil to my satisfaction my role as an institute teacher.	1	2	3	4	5
59. As an institute teacher, I am having a significant effect on the lives of my students.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Institute teacher is a divinely inspired Church calling.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Institute teacher is a professional volunteer appointment.	1	2	3	4	5
62. Seminary tends to be given priority over institute by CES.	1	2	3	4	5

BEFORE POSTING, PLEASE CHECK TO ENSURE YOU HAVE NOT MISSED ANY QUESTIONS

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

BISHOPS' QUESTIONNAIRE (RE LDS COLLEGE STUDENTS)
BRITISH ISLES, FEBRUARY 1993

NOTE: The term "college student" refers only to those engaged in *full time* post-secondary education (normally 18+, but sometimes 17+ in Scotland), including student nurses and others in full time vocational training, but *not* including 6th. form students or their equivalent.

Please record 0 for all nil responses, or NA when not applicable.

- 1. Including the current year, how old are you in years? _____
- 2. Including the current year, how many years in total have you served as bishop or branch president? (include previous terms of service) _____
- 3. How many years have you yourself spent as a college student? _____
- 4. How many children do you have who are college age (18+) or older? _____
- 5. How many of your children have been or now are college students? _____
- 6. How many college students do you have in your unit? _____
- 7. How many college students are young single adults living away from their family? _____

Questions 8 through 15 refer only to those who are young single adults living away from home

- 8. How many YSA college students living away from home have moved in from other units? _____
- 9. How many of these new move-ins did you or your counsellors interview within four weeks of their arrival? _____
- 10. How many YSA college students in your unit are enrolled in institute? _____
- 11. How many of your YSA college students receive regular monthly visits from home teachers and/or visiting teachers? _____
- 12. How many YSA college students have transport difficulties for Church meetings? _____
- 13. How many YSA college students do members help with transport on a regular basis? _____
- 14. How many YSA college students are invited to members homes for a meal or family home evening or similar, at least monthly? _____
- 15. How many of your YSA college students have a Church calling? _____
- 16. Do you have a ward or branch institute class? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
- 17. If YES, does the teacher have a regular interview with a member of the bishopric or branch presidency? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
- 18. Do you know who the LDSSA President for your stake is? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Circle one number for each statement.

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
19. The challenges which LDS college student face are significantly different from those of other LDS single adults of the same age.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Special Church programmes for the support of college students are necessary.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Institute is a programme in which college students should receive special emphasis.	1	2	3	4	5
22. On the whole, LDS college students are supported adequately by the Church.	1	2	3	4	5

CES COORDINATOR QUESTIONNAIRE: INSTITUTE AND COLLEGE STUDENTS
JUNE 1993

Case Number (office use only): _____

Section 1: Definitions and Policies

Please consider the following statements, indicate whether you agree or disagree that they accurately describe CES policy, and add any comments you may have.

1. An official institute class must have an enrolment predominantly of Young Single Adults (18-30 years), and/or college students (those of any age who are studying for one hour or more per week in further or higher education).

Agree . . . 1 Disagree . . . 2 Don't Know . . . 3

Comments:

2. Classes which consists predominantly of older (30+) adults who are not college students are not institute classes and should not be supervised by CES personnel, and the teachers of such classes are not considered to be institute teachers.

Agree . . . 1 Disagree . . . 2 Don't Know . . . 3

Comments:

3. CES coordinators are expected to appoint all institute teachers, regardless of the potential number of college students involved.

Agree . . . 1 Disagree . . . 2 Don't Know . . . 3

Comments:

4. CES coordinators are expected to supervise all institute classes, regardless of type or enrolment, though special emphasis should be given where college students are enrolled.

Agree . . . 1 Disagree . . . 2 Don't Know . . . 3

Comments:

5. Although young adults generally are eligible to enrol in institute, college students remain the prime target, and coordinators are expected to be involved with, and develop a knowledge of college students in their area.

Agree . . . 1 Disagree . . . 2 Don't Know . . . 3

Comments:

NOTE: For the remainder of the questionnaire, unless otherwise indicated, questions concerning teachers and classes assume as definitions statements (1) and (2) above.

Section 2: General Information

6. In how many stakes do you supervise an institute programme? _____
7. How many of the following types of institute class do you have? Ward classes _____
Multi-ward classes _____
Stake classes _____
8. How many directed-study students do you have, who are not part of a class? _____
9. How many stipended institute teachers do you have? _____
10. How many classes do you supervise that are not, technically, institute classes, according to the definitions given earlier. _____
11. If you do have such classes, how do you justify supervising them? _____

Section 3: Selection and Appointment of Teachers

12. Who has the greatest influence in the selection of an institute teacher? Bishop . . . 1
Stake President . . . 2
Coordinator . . . 3
Other (state who): . . . 4
13. Who, in your opinion, *should* have the greatest influence in the selection of an institute teacher? Bishop . . . 1
Stake President . . . 2
Coordinator . . . 3
Other (state who): . . . 4
14. Under normal circumstances, what proportion of institute teachers receive an appointment interview from you? All institute teachers . . . 1
75% of teachers . . . 2
50% of teachers . . . 3
25% of teachers . . . 4
Few, if any institute teachers . . . 5
15. What proportion of institute teachers receive a formal letter of appointment from you? All institute teachers . . . 1
75% of teachers . . . 2
50% of teachers . . . 3
25% of teachers . . . 4
Few, if any institute teachers . . . 5
16. Overall, to what extent are you satisfied with the quality of those who are selected as institute teachers? Very satisfied . . . 1
Satisfied . . . 2
Somewhat satisfied . . . 3
Dissatisfied . . . 4
Very dissatisfied . . . 5

Section 4: Training & Supervision

17. Do you provide any special induction training for new institute teachers, in addition to the normal inservice training programme? Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2
18. If YES briefly summarise what this training consists of: _____

19. What faculty meeting provision do you make for institute teachers? (ring more than one choice if appropriate)

Separate faculty meeting . . . 1

State number per year: _____

Separate time in conjunction with a sem/inst joint meeting . . . 2

State number per year: _____

Joint Seminary/Institute meeting, no separate time . . . 3

State number per year: _____

No faculty meeting provision for institute teachers at all . . . 4
20. For those who hold joint Seminary & institute faculty meetings: to what extent do you maintain a balance between the needs of Seminary and institute teachers?

Strong Seminary bias . . . 1

Seminary bias . . . 2

Good balance . . . 3

Institute bias . . . 4

Strong institute bias . . . 5
21. How many institute teachers do you supervise?

22. How many institute teachers are invited to faculty meetings?

23. How many institute teachers, on average, attend your faculty meetings?

24. How many Seminary teachers do you supervise?

25. How many Seminary teachers, on average, attend your faculty meetings?

26. How often, on average, do you visit institute teachers, either to visit the class, or to conduct an interview?

Twice or more per week . . . 1

Once per week . . . 2

Once or twice per month . . . 3

A few times per year . . . 4

Hardly ever, if at all . . . 5
27. Is this as often as you would ideally like to visit?

Yes . . . 1

No . . . 2
28. If NO, why don't you visit more often?

29. On average, how many of your institute teachers will be visited by you:

At least once per year _____

At least twice per year _____

More than twice per year _____

Hardly ever, if at all _____

Section 5: Teaching

30. How helpful, in your opinion, are the lesson materials (teacher manual, audio-visual aids etc.) for the teacher?

Excellent . . . 1

Good . . . 2

Fair . . . 3

Poor . . . 4

Very Poor . . . 5
31. Briefly describe any improvements you would like to see in the lesson materials.

32. One of the objectives of institute is to teach the gospel at the same level as the secular courses are taught at university. To what extent do your teachers, considered overall as a group, achieve this objective?

- Very much . . . 1
- Quite a lot . . . 2
- Somewhat . . . 3
- Not really . . . 4
- Not at all . . . 5

33. What is the average, overall standard of teaching of your institute teachers?

- Excellent . . . 1
- Good . . . 2
- Fair . . . 3
- Poor . . . 4
- Very Poor . . . 5

Section 6: Students and LDSSA

NOTE: In this section, the term "college student" refers only to those engaged in full time post-secondary education (normally 18+ but sometimes 17+ in Scotland), including student nurses and others in full time vocational training, but not including 6th. form students or their equivalent.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Circle one number for each statement.

	strongly agree	agree on the whole	not sure	disagree on the whole	strongly disagree
34. The challenges which LDS college student face are significantly different from those of other LDS single adults of the same age.	1	2	3	4	5
35. Special Church programmes for the support of college students are necessary.	1	2	3	4	5
36. Institute is a programme in which college students should receive special emphasis.	1	2	3	4	5
37. On the whole, LDS college students are supported adequately by the Church.	1	2	3	4	5
38. As it is presently functioning, LDSSA does not justify the time and effort spent on it.	1	2	3	4	5
39. In general, the experience of a full-time college course has a negative influence on religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
40. I enjoy my work as a CES coordinator.	1	2	3	4	5
41. 44 hours per week is insufficient time to fulfil the requirements of my job.	1	2	3	4	5
42. I tend to give priority to Seminary over institute in my work.	1	2	3	4	5

43. To what extent is the LDSSA programme functioning in your region? Please indicate the number of your stakes which fit the following descriptions.

- Fully functioning _____
- Functioning reasonably well _____
- Just about functioning _____
- Exists in name only _____
- Does not exist at all _____

44. To what extent are you discharging your CES responsibilities

towards college and university students in your region?

Very well . . . 1
Quite well . . . 2
Somewhat . . . 3
Not very well . . . 4
Hardly at all . . . 5

Comments:

45. How could the British Isles LDSSA be improved?

46. What is your opinion of the "Clarion"?

47. How could institute in the British Isles be improved?

48. What relationship would you like to see emerge between Young Single Adults, Institute, and the LDSSA?

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