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Religious Organizational Socialization in the Evangelical Free Church of America

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RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH OF AMERICA

by

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VITA

The author, Kenneth W. Inskeep, was born March 15, 1953, in Rockford, Illinois.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few years conservative evangelicals have received considerable attention. They have found themselves in the newspapers, on the nightly news, in popular magazines, and in the sociological journals. Whether or not they deserve this attention is open to debate; but the present study offers yet another look. At the same time, it is more than a simple look at evangelicals. It is an examination of the problems of socialization faced by religious organizations in modern society.

The relationship of socialization to modernity is complex. In the modern world, as Berger (1980:17) has suggested, nothing can be taken for granted. Every bit of knowledge, every view of the world, every claim for truth is subject to dispute, and because of this, socialization is problematic. What can any group "know" with "certainty" that can be passed on to its children? But socialization presumes a <u>stable</u> body of knowledge which can be transmitted from one generation to the next. Modernity attacks this very assumption. One could argue, at least in a modern society, that <u>no</u> stable body of knowledge

exists. It has died for lack of general support.

This obviously does not mean that social agreements do not exist, or that the content of many social agreements cannot be be communicated. We can agree on basic rules of the road, on the nature of a taxing structure, on the conventions of politeness, or even the rules that govern baseball (although even these agreements are often in dispute); but when it comes to the values of life that give it form, substance, and meaning, we end up in bitter social disputes. Issue after issue is debated--from temperance to abortion to the Equal Rights Amendment to national defense--and it is this lack of social agreement on the most important issues of life that leaves cultural groups floundering when it comes to socialization.

American evangelicals, because of their particular view of the world, are most susceptible to the contemporary problems of socialization. Thus they are of special interest. But because American evangelicalism is also a varied movement, I will be concentrating mainly on one group--The Evangelical Free Church of America. The Free Church is a relatively small group, steeped in the traditions of Scandinavian pietism, whose founders came to this country in the late 1800s; but now the denomination has grown to include conservative evangelicals from almost every ethnic background. Nevertheless, the church was and is primarily white, middle class, and increasingly

upwardly mobile. The denomination is organized congregationally with a loose over-arching structure connecting individual congregations into districts headed by superintendents and coordinated by a national board and president. The denomination includes 900 churches and a membership of about 143,000.

The influence of the Evangelical Free Church in the evangelical subculture, however, far outweighs its size, primarily due to the development of a seminary that is both well known and well respected within conservative evangelicalism (Quebedeaux, 1978:32). In fact, the larger evangelical subculture and the Evangelical Free Church are so tightly tied that it is impossible to understand the Free Church without general reference to conservative evangelicalism in America.

The Free Church is part of a conservative evangelical subculture in American society that includes several segments. I shall be concentrating on two. The word "evangelical" is used by various religious groups in American society, even though these groups do not necessarily share basic doctrinal perspectives. I use the term "conservative evangelical" to separate out, from the many groups using the title "evangelical," those who are doctrinally orthodox in the tradition of Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, B.B. Warfield, Charles Hodge, James Gresham Machen, Dwight L. Moody, and Billy Graham (cf. Gerstner,

1975). These conservative evangelicals maintain that conservative doctrinal positions are vital to historical "evangelicalism." Those calling themselves "evangelicals" must believe in the miracles of Christ, the virgin birth, the "satisfaction" view of the atonement, verbal inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible, and the bodily resurrection of Christ (Gerstner, 1975:30). This doctrinal orthodoxy alone, however, is not enough. Conservative evangelicals also believe in spreading the gospel--which amounts to encouraging strongly all who come into contact with them to believe the way they believe. Persell has pointed to this "evangelistic" work in her definition of evangelicalism. She (1984:460) has defined evangelicalism as:

> A form of Protestantism that stresses the preaching of of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the validity of personal conversion experiences, biblical Scripture as the basis for faith, and the active preaching of the faith in one's home country and abroad.

There is also, among conservative evangelicals, strong support of American "democracy" in addition to other conservative positions on almost all social and political issues of concern in American society (cf. Pierard, 1970; Jorstad, 1981).

Closely tied with conservative evangelicalism is another religious movement in American society--"fundamentalism." Fundamentalism came into being around the turn of the century and is defined by Carpenter (1984:259) as:

> An interdenominational, evangelical movement that grew

> up around the Bible schools, magazines, missions, and conferences founded by Dwight L. Moody, and his proteges, such as Adoniram J. Gordon, Cyrus I. Scofield, and Ruben A. Torey in the 1880s and 1890s. Its denominational roots were in the generally reformed wings of North American Evangelicalism: the Baptists, Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists. The Movement became known as 'fundamentalist' when it took the offensive after World War I. America was turning its back on God, fundamentalists thought, and only a return to the fundamentals of the faith and evangelical mores would set things right.

Initially, fundamentalism and conservative evangelicalism were closely tied. In fact, conservative evangelicalism emerged from fundamentalism. But now, as Persell (1984:460) has pointed out:

> The evangelicals see themselves as more moderate religiously and politically than the fundamentalists. . . They tend to see fundamentalism as narrow-minded and reactionary. . . .

Quebedeaux (1978:7) has also pointed to the differences between fundamentalism and evangelicalism. He has argued that the "fundamentalists constitute the strict subculture within evangelical Christianity." He (1978:7) continued to note:

> By way of reaction, fundamentalism became an opposition movement against the modernists (or liberals) who had departed from orthodox belief; it was in that opposition that fundamentalists found their identity. They have insisted on the verbal inerrancy of Scripture and its literal interpretation. But the fundamentalists have also tended to live in a cultural time warp, rejecting all the values of religious modernism or liberalism, but also the wider society itself. For them there is not much difference between religious liberalism and out-and-out secularism.

Both conservative evangelicals (including the Free Church) and the fundamentalists, despite their

differences, have been forced by developments in the larger culture into an identity crisis. Quebedeaux is correct when he suggests that fundamentalists live in a "cultural time warp" that gives rise to the identity crisis. The fundamentalists have sought to maintain values and beliefs that are no longer readily accepted in American society, and the problems of fundamentalism have also become, if to a lesser extent, the problems of conservative evangelicalism.

The concept of identity crisis is critical to understanding the conservative evangelical dilemma of socialization found specifically in the Free Church. Mol (1976:65) has argued, and I have adopted his approach, that social groups develop identities which involve "commonly held beliefs, patterns, and values." These group identities then seek to maintain themselves against any potential threat from hostile environments or disparaging members. The problem for all conservative evangelicals, and for Free Churchers in particular, is that the American social environment has become increasingly hostile, and as this has occurred the necessity of a defensive strategy has become more and more obvious. The strategy that has worked itself out as most important has to do with the conscious and direct control of the socialization process with regard to Free Church children. Overt attempts have been made to insure that only sanctioned "values,

patterns, and beliefs" are communicated as "true" to Free Church children. If the Free Churchers were able to control socialization completely, which is certainly questionable, then and only then, could a distinctly evangelical identity be maintained. If, however, it is not possible to limit or control the influence of other social perspectives, the long term health of Free Church evangelicalism is doubtful. The empirical issue, then, has to do with the nature of the values and beliefs of evangelical children. How are such values and beliefs related to the evangelical subculture and to the larger cultural environment of American society within which these values and beliefs must exist? I am particularly interested in the organized impact of various settings within the subculture, especially the family, the church, the denomination, and the private, evangelical Christian school.

In Chapter One, I have developed the use of "identity" as a concept and the difficulty of maintaining that identity for evangelicals within the American culture. In Chapter Two, I trace the historical development of fundamentalism and conservative evangelicalism, emphasizing the relationship of American evangelicalism to education. In so far as evangelical values were once shared by the general culture, the social environment for education and socialization was safe; but, by the Scope's Trial in the 1920s, the larger social environment had turned hostile.

During this period, the "fundamentalists" emerged as the most radical and separatist of all evangelical groups. Chapter Three covers the period after the 1920s during which fundamentalism becomes increasingly reactionary and isolated as the fundamentalists continued their attempts to limit the influence of other, more "liberal" social belief systems. The fundamentalists, however, because of extreme isolation in the name of defense, also became increasingly socially irrelevant. As a result, a segment of fundamentalism, which became known as "new" evangelicalism (conservative evangelicalism), broke off. These "new" evangelicals, opposed to total isolation, sought instead to save the nation from the destructive influences of "liberalism." But, they remained committed to the legitimacy of a conservative evangelical social identity.

Once the problem of identity has been established, I then turn to a model of religious organizational socialization in Chapter Four. The model suggests that the orthodoxy of evangelical Free Church parents, the conservatism of individual Free Church congregations and of the denomination itself, as well as the influence of other subcultural institutions like the private, evangelical Christian school, all complement each other to reproduce, in the children of Free Church homes, the religious, social, and political values of the conservative evangelical subculture. This model provides several hypotheses which

are tested and discussed in Chapter Five and Chapter Six. The data were collected in five Free Church congregations and are compared to data collected in three United Presbyterian churches.

The general conclusion is that the impact of these Evangelical Free Churches on the values and beliefs of their children is significant. Nevertheless, conservative evangelical orthodoxy is not absolutely insured in that its basic form is subtly altered to the extent it has contact with and is affected by the larger social and cultural environment. A conservative evangelical identity is capable of maintaining itself, but not in any "pure" sense which may have been characteristic of an earlier social era. In other words, while the Free Churchers enjoy some socialization success, that success is certainly limited by the realities of a larger, more powerful, and generally hostile social environment.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EVANGELICAL IDENTITY

Conservative evangelicals in general, and the members of the Evangelical Free Church in particular, live in a world that threatens their very existence, or at least so it seems. Powerful social forces question every value, every belief, and every evangelical action. This hostile social environment has provoked a crisis--an identity crisis. The concept of identity is very useful in this context. Mol (1976:65), for example, has argued that the development of an identity is perhaps the most important aspect of both human psychological and social development.

> Identity on the personal level is the stable niche that man occupies in a potentially chaotic environment which he is therefore prepared to vigorously defend. Similarly, on the social level, a stable aggregate of basic and commonly held beliefs, patterns, and values maintains itself over against the potential threat of its environment and its members.

But, the problem for conservative evangelicals is that what used to be a "stable niche" is no longer so stable, and the identity which was once so sure is now in crisis. Under such circumstances, as Mol has pointed out, we should expect some defense of whatever stability existed

or whatever stability remains. We should also expect that evangelicals and other groups like them will act, in their best interests, to restore whatever stability they had known, or whatever stability they felt had existed. Among the Free Churchers, a strategy of stability has worked its way out through the process of socialization.

Two general explanations of the evangelical crisis of identity exist. One explanation (which is addressed later) has to do with the invasion of immigrants into the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These immigrants brought with them a culture that differed in significant ways from that of the northern Europeans who controlled the society until that point. But another explanation has become the explanation of contemporary evangelicalism and it has to do with the evolution of thought, particularly in the historical-theological sciences, over the last 150 years. The specific problem was the development of the historical-critical method. Those who had used this method as the foundation of their view of reality had argued that all human events could be explained in human terms. No other explanatory approaches were necessary. For example, the Second World War had occurred in the context of certain social, political, and economic events that were conducive to war. These events were humanly produced and were brought about by human action, and as a result, no appeal to the

involvement of any divine being needed ever to be made. God simply had nothing to do with World War II. On the other hand, evangelicals believe that God has to do with everything. God does intervene in human affairs, and any attempt to understand human events without reference to God is fatally flawed.

Evangelicals have been, and are, sure that the historical-critical method, unrestrained, is, because of its implications, extremely dangerous, and their view has support. Wacker, for example, has argued that the golden era of evangelicalism, the nineteenth century, was brought to a quick and "untimely" end as a result of the use of historical criticism. He (1982:126) has noted:

> When we look at the foundation of biblical civilization in the 1880s and 1890s, it is apparent, I think, that the dynamite in the crevices was not the reconstruction of this or that particular doctrine. It was not the denial of the virgin birth of Jesus, nor the assertion of the future probation of the heathen. Nor indeed was it the development of the historical critical method itself. Rather, the dynamite that ultimately exploded the entire edifice was the assumption that the knowledge of divine things, like the knowledge of ordinary things, must be found squarely within the historical process or not at all.

As the perspective of human events embodied in the historical-critical method seeped down from the intellectual heights to the level of the larger culture, conservative evangelicals found themselves in the midst of a serious identity crisis. Their view of the world was no longer <u>the</u> view of the world, and as we will see, the "fundamentalists" reacted to the influence of the historical-

critical method by setting themselves apart. They set out to develop a distinct and separate culture complete with its own requisite institutions which provided them with the means by which they could survive, as much as possible without contact with the larger, infected culture. But other evangelicals, the "new" evangelicals, felt that separation, as a mechanism of identity protection, may not have been the best of all possible alternatives. These "new" evangelicals, many of whom came out of fundamentalism, eventually sought to restablish contact with the larger society, but their expressed intention remained, that of saving the society from itself. In any case, most recently, both the fundamentalists and the "new" evangelicals have diagnosed "humanism" (or "secular humanism") as the most serious manifestation of the historical-critical method. Both groups have also sought to avoid and limit its influence.

Social Science and the Historical Critical Method

To an evangelical, secular humanism is an extensive movement with many different themes and manifestations. Schaeffer (1981), the late and influential evangelical, had tried to trace the history of secular humanism through the thought of Julian and Aldous Huxley, George Bernard Shaw, Oliver Wendel Holmes, Jr., in particular, and to the "Marxists" in general. This was a limited list, of which

Schaeffer was well aware. Earlier he had tried to do a more extensive review by pushing the development of humanism back to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment in his book, How Then Shall We Live? (1976). Guiness (1975), a former associate of Schaeffer's, had argued that the development of humanism had begun with Galileo and Erasmus and then sought to trace the movement through French rationalism to English empirical philosophy. The one definitive characteristic that tied all these individuals and movements together was the use of the historical-critical method--which allegedly interpreted as much of reality as possible without any reference to the divine.

Whatever the details, the use of the historical method was directly related to the development of scientific thought in general. The interpreter of reality was offered a choice. Before the rise of the historical-critical method, historical events had to be interpreted by appeals to the divine. The provision of an alternative came only after certain developments in science, technology, philosophy, etc.; but once the alternative existed, the problem of choice became unavoidable. And it was the problem of choice that provided the key to understanding all modernity, but in particular, the evangelical identity crisis. As Berger (1980:25) has put it:

> In the premodern situations there is a world of religious certainty, occasionally ruptured by heretical deviations. By contrast, the modern situation is a world of religious uncertainty, occasionally staved

> off by more or less precarious constructions of religious affirmations. Indeed, one could put this change even more sharply: For premodern man, heresy is a possibility--usually a rather remote one; for modern man, heresy typically becomes a necessity. Or again, modernity creates a new situation in which picking and choosing becomes an imperative.
>
> Now, suddenly, heresy no longer stands out against a clear background of authoritative tradition. The background had become dim or even disappeared. As long as that background was still there, individuals had the possibility of not picking and choosing--they could simply surrender to the taken-for-granted consensus that surrounded them on all sides, and that is what most individuals did. But now, this possibility itself becomes dim or disappears: How can one surrender to a consensus that is socially unavailable? Any affirmation must first create the consensus, even if this can only be done in some small quasi-sectarian community. In other words, individuals must now pick and choose. Having done so, it is very difficult to forget the fact. There remains the memory of the deliberate construction of the community of consent, and with this a haunting sense of the constructedness of that which the community affirms. Inevitably, the affirmations will be fragile and this fragility will not be very far from consciousness.

Social science especially was "dangerous" because it provided so many clear alternative interpretations of social reality, all of which, in one way or another, were implications of the use of the historical-critical method. The Marxist alternative, for example, was most negatively imposing to evangelicals. For Marx, a religious interpretation of reality stood squarely in the way of revolutionary progress, and therefore it demanded subversion. It was, from his point of view, substantively meaningless. In Marx's definitive statement on the use of the historical-critical method, he (1977:164) noted:

> In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to

> heaven. . . . The phantoms formed in the human brain are also necessarily sublimates of their material life process, which is empirically verifiable and bound to material premises. Mortality, religion, metaphysics, and all the rest of ideology with their corresponding forms of consciousness thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development, but men developing their material production and their material intercourse. . . . Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life.

No evangelical could ever consider such a point of view as legitimate, yet the alternative now became available. The Marxist critique went to the heart of all transcendent religious belief and its orthodox Christian manifestation in particular, but evangelicals had invested their lives in another world view and they intended to protect it. They argued that their interpretation of reality was as "objective" as any other. Marx might maintain whatever he wished; but to the evangelical, Marx was the "subjectivist" since his thought was based on his own presuppositions. Evangelical thought, on the other hand, was based on the "objective Word of God."

Other social scientists like Marx were equally mistaken. In fact, were it not for Marx's more notorious political influence, there would be little doubt that Weber, not Marx, would be the object of evangelical outrage and wrath. Weber represented the application of historical-criticism pushed to its absolute extreme. He (1949:57) argued that <u>all</u> truth claims were bounded by the cultures within which they were expressed, and as a result:

> Only positive religions--or more precisely expressed, dogmatically bound sects--are able to confer on the content of cultural values the status of unconditionally valid ethical imperatives.

From the evangelical point of view, however, such critiques were best dismissed simply as refusals to acknowledge the "objective Word of God" as it was clearly expressed in the Bible.

To the evangelical, knowing the truth was neither difficult, nor complex. In fact, the truth was downright obvious. This intellectual approach was inhereted by evangelicals from the "Scottish Common Sense" philosopy of the eighteenth century philosopher, Thomas Reid (Marsden, 1970:47). Reid's perspective on morality, for example, argued that principles of morality existed that transcended all differences in culture, and all moral reasoning could be based on these principles. Differences in cultural and historical development, at least as they related to first principles, were irrelevant. All reasoning followed principles which could be clearly seen "which had been very unanimously fixed from the days of Aristotle" (Reid, 1975: 352). When disputes did exist between various views, ap-peals could be made to "another tribunal--that of common sense. . . ."

The principles were so clear and so understandable that Reid proceeded to point them out, almost without discussion, one right after another. Over and over again he explains that "these principles concerning virtue and

vice, in general, must appear self-evident to every man who hath taken pains to exercise this natural power of the mind" (Reid, 1975:353). The "golden rule" was the first of the principles, and from it:

> The whole system of moral conduct follows so easily, and with so little aid of reasoning, that every man of common understanding, who wishes to know his duty, may know that the path of duty is a plain path, which the upright in heart can rarely mistake. Such it must be since every man is bound to walk in it. There are some intricate cases in morals which admit of disputation; but these seldom occur in practice and when they do, the learned disputant has no great advantage; for the unlearned man, who uses the best means to know his duty, and acts according to his knowledge is inculpable in the sight of God and man (Reid, 1975:359).

The Bible, according to evangelicals, can be understood correctly by approaching it with the same kind of "common sense." The Bible speaks straightforwardly, and its claims to authority, verified by common sense, are obvious and true no matter what the historical or cultural circumstances. The fact that some may not see this has nothing to do with the Bible--it has instead to do with the willingness of the reader to know the truth and act upon it. Johnson (1976:140) has made this perfectly clear in the tradition of Reid when he has stated:

> We are not called. . .to engage in ferreting out the revealed truth from the nonrevealed, the eternal truths from the cultural vehicle after the manner of the neo-liberal. Rather we must <u>simply</u> <u>listen</u> to the message of each unit of Scripture.

The Bible, from Johnson's point of view, will simply interpet itself.

Even after the defense of the "Word of God" is offered by evangelicals, the ghosts of Marx, Weber, and many, many others remain to haunt the legitimacy of evangelical claims to "the" truth. As Berger (1980:73) has pointed out, all orthodoxy points back to the "Word of God" for authority and power. Not only do orthodox Christians do this but so do Muslims. In other words, there are too many claims to the authority of the Word of God. Berger (1980:79) has noted the implications of this fact.

> An individual to whom these conflicting claims to absolute authority are subjectively accessible. . . must ask himself, quite simply, why one should have this faith rather than that, why one should be a Christian rather than a Muslim, or the other way around. It does not help then to point to the intrinsic authority of either tradition, because each of them makes the same claim. . . . In other words, each tradition assert that it is founded on a--or, rather the--"Word of God" with which no man may argue.

To confront this problem, however, would mean a permanent identity crisis, and perhaps no social group could afford such a luxury. Instead, evangelicals continue to claim "the" truth of the Christian tradition, and precisely because it is "the" truth, it must also be the exclusive truth. The only issue for evangelicalism is how to protect what is most assuredly and indisputably known as "the" truth.

From the evangelical view, the attack on the authority of the Bible has very destructive implications for the authority of God Himself. The historical method has allegedly affected all society's institutions. The social

scientific view, for example, has totally disrupted the "plausibility structure" that was so necessary for appropriate social order and development. It is not that the evangelicals dispute the point that Berger (1980:16) has made, that any "plausibility structure" in a modern society is difficult to maintain; but rather, they have objected to raising the problem of plausibility in the first place. It is currently difficult to maintain any plausibility structure, but it should not be. The Bible points to the only reality and it can be readily understood. The society, because of its "sin," simply refuses to believe and there is a price to be paid for unbelief. In fact, the argument evangelicals have so often made points directly to the magnitude of the price. The problems of contemporary American society stem directly from offering too many alternative world views, most of the false.

The Problem of Order: Moody Monthly

Once the traditional plausibility structure had broken down in American society in the late nineteenth century, evangelicals were convinced that it would become increasingly difficult to maintain social and political order. Developments of the twentieth century, they thought, had already begun to confirm their worst fears. A pattern had been established that had, as they looked back, begun with the use of the historical-critical

method, continued with the disputes over the authority of the Bible (and over the evangelical world view in general), and ended with open social and political upheaval of which World War II in Europe (where historical-criticism had been first developed) was ample and disturbing evidence. Evangelicals took on the nation as their mission. To the extent that God's Word was forsaken, the nation would suffer. We can see this theme as it was sounded again and again in the late 1930s and early 1940s in the pages of important evangelical magazines like Moody Monthly.

Moody Monthly was and is a publication of the Moody Publishing House begun by Dwight L. Moody who was the most important evangelical revivalist of the late nineteenth century. The impact and influence of the magazine in the evangelical subculture is considerable. The magazine has always been concerned with the problems of American society, as was Moody himself. But in the late 1930s, in light of the Depression and pending world war, evangelical concerns took on a renewed urgency. Frazier (1939:15), for example, wrote of the "indiscipline of the age." He was deeply concerned with the concentration of power in the hands of the executive branch of the federal government, not because he was opposed to government, but because the Roosevelts were using their power to move the country toward massive social reforms which Frazier was

convinced would undermine the authority of values tied to a Christian world view--i.e., the Protestant work ethic and free enterprise. He (1939:15) noted that the industrial firms of the United States had "given us clear illustration of the desire to be released from subjection and authority," and he was critical of "self-capitalism" which he defined as individualistic attempts to gain riches by any means. It was not just industry, however, that desired release from subjection and authority. Frazier (1939:16) went on to argue that another type of disorder--"sit down strikes and violence"--were used by labor with equal disregard for important Christian values. He (1939:16) concluded:

> The indiscipline of the era is deep seated. It goes down beyond any possibility of healing through economic changes, through government and social adjustments, through international agreements and sanctions. It goes down to man's spirit of rebellion against the law of God.

The evangelicals of the period continually argued that the authority of God had been progressively undermined and that economic changes (based on any materialistic premise) would be ineffective in addressing most if not all the most pressing social and political problems facing the society. The social disorder that existed in this period could be ended in one way and in one way alone--a return to the authority of the God of the Bible. In another 1939 issue of Moody Monthly, Pemberton (1939: 63) asked whether the outcome was to be "Revival or

Revolution?" His question presupposed his response:

> If we had a worldwide revival of Christianity, we would solve unemployment. A national revival would revolutionize our politics and industry and a community revival would solve the problems of the slums and poverty.

The Problem of Order: Billy Graham

This Moody Monthly theme, that America's problems were somehow related to the breakdown of the social order brought about by the acceptance of a material rather than spiritual view of reality, was picked up by the most famous evangelical revivalist of our own contemporary era, Moody's successor, Billy Graham. In the 1950s, Graham's revival sermons were intended to "save souls." But, alongside the message of salvation stood another message--that America was the "bulwark" of free nations and yet in constant danger. If the economy would falter, perhaps the "bulwark" of freedom would fall if only because of its increasingly decrepit foundation--materialism. The spiritual basis of American life was dying and could be reproduced again only in a "spiritual awakening" or, in the last days, in the "second coming of Jesus Christ" (Graham, 1951:146).

Fifteen years later Graham's message was unchanged. In his book, World Aflame (1965), Graham simply expanded his message of potential destruction to include the entire world. Without God as the strong foundation for all of

reality, sin in its various forms, would take over. Law and order, as human creations, could not possibly, from Graham's point of view, stand the stress and strains of world politics.

In 1969, Graham (1969:260) wrote in Christianity Today about "three American illusions." The first had to do with the illusion of the permanence of peace. He argued that peace could not be permanent unless the hearts of men were changed by the action of God. The second illusion was "that economic utopia is the answer to man's deepest needs," and this illusion was precisely the type of thinking produced by materialistic philosopy. The second illusion led directly to the final illusion, which was that democracy could somehow survive in general by simply making social and political reforms without attention to its spiritual condition. Disputes in a democratic state could only be solved by appeals to "rightness" and "justice," but the "humanist" could not even define such terms. For the "humanist" all "ethical imperatives" were tied to history and culture and were, as a result, relative. In any political dispute, therefore, either side might turn to the use of open political power and coercion, and when the democratic process bent to the tyranny of such acts, democracy would become a sham.

As late as 1982, Graham reiterated these basic themes. He (1982:24) noted:

> The basic problem facing the world is not just social inequality, lack of education, or even physical hunger. We are finding out that highly educated and well-fed people have greed, hate, passion, and lusts that are not eliminated by any known process of education. The roots of sin in our hearts are extremely deep, and this is the basic cause of the world's problems. Only the fire of the Lord can burn these roots out.

The Problem of Order: The Institutions of American Society

Contemporary evangelicals are now generally convinced that the historical-critical approach to reality has further infected almost every aspect of American life. In terms of the state, the judicial system had been most greatly affected. Whitehead (1982:26), for example, sounded the themes struck by Graham:

> The Christian world view teaches a unified view of truth. Its principles deal in absolutes that do not vary according to circumstances, but should, in fact, govern the actions of man as he responds to constantly changing conditions.

Because of this, Whitehead (1982:49) has dismissed "sociologically" derived law as no law at all. "It presupposes that no absolutes exist upon which law or laws can be based." Sociological law simply leads to "majority rule" decision-making on ethical issues such as abortion, and (according to Whitehead) anything the majority feels is acceptable has become acceptable. As Whitehead (1982:52) has put it:

> Having rejected the Judeo-Christian heritage, the courts have replaced law with politics. The only absolute that remains in the system of sociological

> law is the insistence that there is no absolute. The Christian base has been eliminated because of its insistence on absolutes.

It was not just the problem of abortion that bothered Whitehead, but a whole series of other judicial problems as well. Throughout the course of his book he addressed the elimination of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools, the general concentration of power in the hands of the courts, the decline of the family in the development of the children's rights movement, the intrusion of the Internal Revenue Service into controversies between church and state, euthanasia, and "rational" suicide. In each case Whitehead (1982:190) has made the same point:

> With the rise of natural law and the assertion of man's autonomy, the higher law as revealed in the Bible has lost its influence. The destruction of the Bible has its roots in the eighteenth century. Aquinas had earlier opened the door to the argument that finally significant truth could be discovered outside the Bible. Luther spoke vehemently against the autonomy of reason, which he called a harlot, but by the eighteenth century it was argued that truth is at the disposal of man's reason alone. Biblical absolutes themselves were called into question.

Whitehead (1982:191) concluded, noting from his point of view the seriousness of the situation: "If man, as he has done, gives up the Judeo-Christian base to law in favor of a law based on the autonomy of nature, the consequence is that man becomes the means to a cruel end."

Brown (1977:26) has argued that judiciary disputes only scratch the surface when it comes to problems

associated with historical criticism, law and order, and government. For example, historical consciousness has infected the state's relationship to education as well.

> We have reached a paradoxical situation for a country with a Christian heritage where a majority of people still profess adherence to one form or another of Christianity. Although sessions of Congress and the Supreme Court are opened with a form of prayer, it is 'unconstitutional' to have any recognition of it in government schools.

Brown (1977:27) then poses and answers his own question: "What remains when all biblical or Christian elements are removed from our educational system? The answer is secular humanism." Brown also pushes beyond education, however. The government is not only a victim of secular humanism, it perpetuates it. As Brown (1977:80) has put it, "in the United States, particularly since World War II, government, at its various levels has been active in downgrading and pushing into the background traditional Christian values. . .". The government has done this, Brown has argued, by "enhancing" the power of the government over and against traditional voluntary organizations like the church for purposes associated with the public welfare. Because of this, the government has grown out of control, and an ever expanding government eventually becomes the end government (Brown, 1977:80).

Closely related to the effects of the historical-critical method on education were the effects of the approach to the family. Cole (1982:13) echoed the

evangelical themes of the past when he lamented the loss of "family" values, again, due to the impact of the secular. As Cole (1982:13) put it, "in the secular world, the traditional family is viewed as having been pragmatically useful in the past but expendable in the present." He went on to maintain that government intervention in order to "save" families actually destroyed them. This was particularly true with regard to government welfare policies. The best way to fight this, he (1982:13) argued, was with strong Christian families "built and maintained according to the norms set up in the Bible."

Getz (1972) was also concerned with "the Christian home in a changing world." He (1972:34) argued that the family was God-given and God-sanctified, and "successful" family living demanded the careful and precise application of "Biblical principles." Getz (1972:9) stated:

> There is only one perspective that will enable men and women to find answers to the perplexing problems facing them in their married and family life. It is the biblical perspective. Apart from God's laws and principles as revealed in Scripture, there is no safe way to determine ultimate and enduring answers.

Perhaps the final statement of this perspective should be the most direct. The Sanfords (1979) in their book Restoring the Christian Family argued straightforwardly:

> The end result of materialism has been the destruction of our society's understanding of what it is to have a spirit and a soul. Spiritual development is God's sole intent for creating the family. The family's

> greatest and first enemy, Satan's first tool in the destruction of the family, is materialism, a carefully created, mesmeric mindset which subtly instructs families in how to view life. The born anew must sift all their thinking according to the Word. Throughout this book we'll be shaking out the rotten fruit of materialism from the tree of family living.

From the evangelical point of view, it is so obvious that the application of the historical-critical method has led to the decline of American society that stating this relationship has become routine. This belief mediates the evangelical crisis of identity. The evangelical plausibility structure may be under attack; but, when the majority of Americans paid it homage, the society was better off. For evangelicals, this is, evidence enough of the validitiy of their claims about the nature of reality. The destructive power of materialism and the historical-critical method ranges far and wide. In general, it destroys order, in particular, government, education, and family life. The wide dispersion of historical consciousness, in turn, makes it almost impossible to protect evangelical children from its influence. Certainly no larger, society-wide, institutional network can be relied upon. But the children must be protected and have to be taught the faith as a basis for protecting themselves. The identity of a people is at stake. The question is whether or not evangelicals are up to the task they have set before themselves. Will they be able to communicate the faith adequately in an environment so hostile to their basic

beliefs and values?

CHAPTER III

THE DECLINE OF EVANGELICAL VALUES IN AMERICAN LIFE

In 1978, Page and Clelland explained a textbook controversy in Kanawha County, West Virginia, as an incident in the "politics of lifestyle concern." The controversy involved a group of religious fundamentalists who organized to oppose the use of several particular textbooks in the local public school. They found these textbooks to be offensive, and in several heated exchanges with school officials, the fundamentalists attempted to persuade the local school board that their concerns were legitimate.

Page and Clelland (1978) were convinced, after considerable investigation, that the fundamentalists were trying to protect the integrity of their style of life. If the values of the fundamentalists were subjected to the constant criticism of schoolteachers backed up by the seemingly authoratative print of the textbooks, their impressionable children may have been led to question their parent's perspectives and their related lifestyles. The larger social environment was already too hostile.

Television, magazines, popular books, school teachers, college professors, and political officials all too often provided the children of fundamentalist parents with perspectives and information that contained material destructive of important fundamentalist values. But the local scene could be affected and, as a result--almost as a desperate last-chance attempt to rescue the public school --the fundamentalists organized opposition to the use of several nocuous textbooks.

The incident in Kanawha County was only one among many. All over the United States, conservative religious groups had been organizing to defend their values and lifestyle, and perhaps equally important was the fact that they had been doing so for a long time even though they had seemed to lose more than they had been able to win. From the abolitionist movements of the mid-nineteenth century, to the Scopes Trial of the 1920s, to Kanawha County, fundamentalists and even conservative evangelicals found themselves in the center of controversies involving the protection of their values and their way of life.

From the evangelical point of view, the world since the nineteenth century had become an increasingly dangerous place. They believed they once controlled the culture, or at least evangelical values were considered important by almost everyone; but now in Kanawha county they found themselves on the outside.

Handy (1976:76) argued that, as early as the first "Great Awakening" (1720-1725), evangelicalism had exercised an important influence on the American value system. Orthodox theology, which was widely shared, promoted "the personal appropriation of religious experience as a throbbing living force." It supported the saving of souls by the bringing of sinners "to the conviction of sin and into a dependence on the God who alone could save," and this gospel was an important concern throughout the entire society (Handy, 1977:111). Because of this evangelical influence, evangelicals had come to believe that America was somehow uniquely theirs. They have also had some support in this belief. Marty, for example, (1976:84) has pointed out that evangelicals have a <u>right</u> to be possessive of America, since "they built so much of it." Marty (1976:84) continued: "As long ago as the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century. . . evangelical revivals were initiation rights into the larger culture, not exit ceremonies from it."

<u>The Golden Era</u>

The golden era of evangelical dominance was no doubt the mid-nineteenth century. McLoughlin (1961:1) has gone so far as to argue:

> The story of American Evangelicalism is the story of America itself in the years 1800 to 1900, for it was Evangelical religion which made Americans the most religious people in the world, molded them into a

> unified, pietistic, perfectionist nation and spurred them on to those heights of social reform, missionary endeavor, and imperialistic expansion which constitute the moving forces of our history in that century.

He (1968:2) went on to point out that evangelicalism was not only important to the "common" man in rural America, but it was also important to those in politics, education, industry, and almost every other aspect and level of American life.

Handy (1976:62) has also referred to the period of 1800 to 1900 as a most significant period during which those of the evangelical faith "crusaded for an American Protestant Commonwealth." As Handy (1976:173) put it:

> In calling persons to commit themselves to Christian faith and service, revivalism aroused great enthusiasm and released much energy that was then put into use in efforts to extend Christian influence in society. 'Saved for service' was a popular evangelical emphasis.

The holy war for "the victory of Christian civilization" was fought on two related fronts. Life on the frontier was in need of being civilized. "Barbarism" had to be ended, but alongside this crusade stood the problem of the new immigrants from Germany and Ireland (Handy, 1976:175). These new American citizens needed first to be controlled and then civilized. The evangelicals also associated the new immigrants with "Romanism," which they generally feared. Romanism represented a dangerous threat to "true" religion and "free government" (Handy, 1976: 176). American society was to be a "Christian" society in

evangelical terms, and through the efforts of dedicated revivalists evangelicalism did make extensive inroads into all aspects of American culture. As Handy (1976:196) has put it:

> The middle years of the nineteenth century were in many respects more of a 'Protestant Age' than the colonial period with its estabblished churches. This was the time in which the Protestant denominations which had embraced most fully the system of revival grew to massive size and influence.

Marty noted that "the first half-century of national life saw the development of evangelicalism as a kind of national church or national religion." He (1970: 67) equated the evangelical influence in America during this period with the creation of an "empire." A whole series of voluntary organizations were developed to serve and control the nation, and control it they did. The evangelical clergy (and almost all the nineteenth century Protestant clergy were evangelical--the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, etc.) "celebrated" the "New United States," and "so close was the bond between evangelicalism and the nation, so deep the union, that a basic attack on American institutions would have meant an attack on Protestant Christianity itself" (Marty, 1970:89).

Smith (1957:37) pointed out that many Europeans who traveled in the United States as late as 1865 were impressed by the power of the "evangelical" clergy and laity. They "were particularly astonished at the vast sums given for church buildings, religious benevolence, and charity"

(Smith, 1957:37). Those who were evangelical "agreed unanimously that the ideals of evangelical Protestantism seemed to dominate the national culture" (Smith, 1957:37). Frank has captured the evangelical mood of the period. Evangelicals were proud of themselves. They had come a long way and they had no intention of relinquishing or sharing their influence. As Frank (1984:11) put it:

> As American evangelicals surveyed their world in the mid-nineteenth century, they found themselves perched atop one of history's great success stories. They and their fellow citizens comprised the rag-tag and restless castoffs of a cultural advanced and settled European continent, many arriving penniless and illiterate on these shores. Much of their new homeland was less than a lifetime away from uninhabited forests, peopled by foreboding primitives. By the skin of their teeth, and the luck of distracting hostilities elsewhere they had won their independence, only to confront their own geographical, class, political, and religious quarrels that had bade to tear them into thirteen separate entities. They had chosen a system of government which no one predicted could work. They inherited an economy tuned to the needs of the British Empire and not to the requirements of balance and independence. But here they were, as the middle decades of the nineteenth century approached, thriving in almost every respect, proudly putting the "old world" to shame, mocking the predictions of their hasty demise, astounding foreign visitors with their energy and the returns they were enjoying on investments of labor and hope.

The evangelical "empire"--the "biblical civilization"--seemed almost indestructible. After all, whose side was God on? Then, almost as quickly as it had come, the domiance of evangelicalism began to falter. Despite the confidence of the mid-nineteenth century evangelical, something had gone wrong by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was not an obvious blow.

Whatever it was, it was a subversive force, and in any case those who had been on top found themselves, in a fairly short period of time, much closer to the bottom. Frank (1984:42) made this point when he noted:

> By 1900, the evangelicals of America, on the whole, were not at ease. Less than a half-century before, they had been "at ease in Zion." Now, in the space of a person's lifetime, their Zion lay in ruins. Like Job, they knew trouble had come. Their plight found expression in the mouth of their hero of the moment, the revivalist Dwight L. Moody: 'I look on this world as a wrecked vessel.' In these few short words, he measured the distance evangelicals had come since their halcyon days.

Evangelicals have never been quite sure about what exactly did happen. The immigrants were there to blame, and there had been considerable mob violence and labor unrest during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In fact, Hofstadter (1955) had made this thesis part of his overall assessment of the general historical development of American society. He (1955) argued that evangelicals had undergone a major status devaluation, during this period, and they reacted by organizing themselves as part of both the Populist and Progressive movements. Populism was a rural, provincial, and largerly Protestant (evangelical), nativist phenomenon which demanded agrarian reforms and opposed big business through anti-monopoly legislation. Progressivism, according to Hofstadter, was Populism's later, more middle-class variant which continued to support agrarian reforms and expanded and intellectualized its interests to other social, political, and economic

issues.

Hoftstadter's thesis was basically as follows: First, American democracy to 1880 was not only rural but "Yankee" and Protestant in its basic notions. With the rapid development of American industry and the consequential demand for labor, the nation took in large numbers of immigrants. As Hofstadter (1955:8) explained:

> The rise of industry. . .brought with it what contempories thought of as an 'immigrant invasion,' a massive 40 year migration of Europeans, chiefly peasants whose religions, traditions, languages, and sheer numbers made easy assimilation impossible.

Second, the successive waves of immigrants sparked a series of clashes "between the needs of the immigrants and the sentiments of the natives." This can be seen, for example, in two different perspectives of "political ethics." On the one hand, many of the indigenous Yankee Protestants had a political tradition which was a product of Progressive middle-class affluence. They could afford, so to speak, to believe that:

> Political life ought to be run. . .in accordance with general principles and abstract laws apart from and superior to personalized needs. . .in an effort to moralize the lives of individuals, while economic life should be intimately related to the stimulation and development of individual character (Hofstadter, 1955: 9).

On the other hand, the relative poverty of the new immigrant, often Catholic and from Ireland, Germany, or Italy, argued:

> The political life of the individual should arise out of family needs. . .and a strong personal loyalty

> above allegiance to abstract codes or morals (Hofstadter, 1955:9).

Third, from the perspective of the native, certain political moves of both a defensive and offensive nature were neccesary. These manipulations of the state were important to insure the continued dominance of the status quo which leaned decidedly in the favor of the Yankee Protestant. To the extent that the new immigrant represented large industry and the political machine of the major American city, the natives were extremely cautious with regard to these two developments and in turn they made them, according to Hofstadter, the focus of their reforming activity. The reforms were not limited to the state but the state was often used to enable and support direct involvement in the lives of the immigrants. As Hofstadter (1955:5) pointed out:

> The general theme was the effort to restore a type of economic individualism and political democracy that was widely believed to have existed earlier in America and to have been destroyed by the great corporation and the corrupt political machine; and with that restoration to bring back a kind of morality and civic purity that was also believed to have been lost.

Fourth, given this historical setting, Hofstadter went on to argue his major thesis, which was that Populists and particularly the Progressives were reformists, not because of economic deprivations or because of economic insecurities but because:

> They were victims of an upheaval in status that took place in the United States during the closing decades of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth

> centuries. Progressivism, in short, was to a very considerable extent led by men who suffered from the events of their time not through a shrinkage in their means but through the changed patterns in the distribution of deference and power (Hofstadter, 1955:135).

Gusfield (1963) reinforces Hofstadter in this view of the problems of evangelicals in this period. Whatever had gone wrong had something to do with the immigrants and their values or at least the influence of their values. Gusfield's primary interest was the Temperance Movement. He argued that the rural, native American Protestant of the nineteenth century respected the temperance ideal (Gusfield, 1963:4). The cultural milieu of an evangelical America honored "self-control, industriousness, and impulse renunciation" and any attack on the legitimacy of these ideals was an attack on God's truth. Nevertheless, various social changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, all of which were in one way or another associated by evangelicalism with immigration, provoked the controversy surrounding the use of alcohol. "The same behavior which once brought rewards and self-assurance to the abstainer. . .now more often brought contempt and rejection" (Gusfield, 1963:4). The end result of this debate over values was a national political power struggle over the legitimate use of alcohol. From Gusfield's (1963:5) point of view, the explanation for what happened--at least with regard to temperance--was quite simple:

> As his own claims to social respect and honor are diminished, the sober, abstaining citizen seeks for public acts through which he may reaffirm the dominance and prestige of his style of life. Converting the sinner to virtue is one way; law is another. Even if the law is not enforced or enforcable, the symbolic import of its passage is important to the reformer. It settles the controversies between those who represent clashing cultures. The public support of one conception of morality at the expense of another enhances the prestige and the self-esteem of the victors and degrades the culture of the losers.

The problem, however, at least from the evangelical point of view, was that these problems were not settled once and for all. Despite short term victories, there were long term losses, and by the 1920s there were almost no victories at all. While many of the older mainline Protestant denominations (Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian) had by 1900 begun to accomodate to modern theology, their more isolated segments and the newer evangelical arrivals did not. The problems for unaccomodated evangelicals in American culture remained, and this fact can be seen, perhaps most clearly by tracing the development of public schooling in American society. The problems of education concerned evangelicals deeply. The schools were so close to home, and while they could isolate themselves from the declining society in many ways, it seemed most difficult and painful when it came to schooling. But, their children and their way of life was at stake. If nothing else was saved the school <u>had</u> to be. So evangelicals battled to maintain some control of the school.

Evangelicals and Education

Because the nineteenth century had been dominated by evangelical values, the state, the school, the church, the workplace, and the local community complemented each other. The various aspects of social life seemed to work together to reinforce each other by teaching the same religious, social, and political values. Doubtless there was dissent, but generally the public school was a safe and trusted place. It was so safe there was no need for Protestant parochial schools. This was particularly true in New England where the town-wide school system (the "district" system) had first emerged (Rian, 1949:17). The success of the public system brought its increasing acceptance in the West and South so that even where Protestant parochial schools had existed, they disappeared. Parochial education provided no special services and fulfilled no unique purpose, so far as the Protestants were concerned.

There were, nevertheless, in some geographic regions, Protestant parochial schools. In Pennsylvania, statewide school districts were established in 1835 when the State legislature appropriated $75,000 in aid to assist in the operation of these new schools, but the act met with considerable opposition from several religious groups. The Friends, the Lutherans, the Mennonites, and the German Reformed Church, none of which support strict

conservative evangelicalism, believed that "along with public schools supported and controlled by the state would come a secularization of life and a separation of the people from the influence of the church" (Rian, 1949:30). But this was not a popularly held view, and this was certainly not an opinion held by later evangelicals. The evangelicals had enough influence over the state to feel more than comfortable with state-supported schooling. Between 1846 and 1861, thirty-six new parochial schools were begun by the Presbyterians in New Jersey, but with the full advent of the public school system, Presbyterians in overwhelming numbers lost interest in and abandoned their own schools. By 1880, distinctly Presbyterian schools did not exist in New Jersey (Rian, 1949:30). Only those religious groups separated from evangelicalism by ethnicity or religious tradition thought it necessary to oppose a state-supported public educational system.

The proponents of the public school system argued that it was the best of all possible alternatives. Even though the state was involved, there was little doubt that the public school would continue to reflect the values of the local community. Church has gone so far as to suggest that the ideal of community control put to rest any concern hesitant evangelicals might have had about whether or not a public system would be safe. Church (1976:10) argued that:

> The district school was an extreme example of community control: the citizens of the district levied their own taxes, a committee of citizens appointed the schoolmaster, set the length of the school year, maintained the school house, and was the final authority in conflicts between masters, children, and the parents. . . .

Church (1976:22) continued:

> The district school was supposed to socialize the district's children to the community as it was, generally ignoring the world beyond the community. . . . The schools sought to socialize children to a changeless community in which ties were tight, in which power relationships were clearly drawn. Socialization to the values of the community was nearly automatic in the district school.

In trying to understand the problems of public education in the 1970s, Cremin has pointed out that public school is just one aspect of a much larger community. In the past, as opposed to the present, the various aspects of the community worked together, so that:

> What we have traditionally thought of as the extraordinary influence of the nineteenth century common school (especially in small town America west of the Alleghenies, where it reached a kind of apotheosis) derived not so much from the common school per se, as a configuration of education of which the common school was only one element. Ordinarily including the white Protestant family, the white Protestant church, the white Protestant Sunday school, along with the common school, it was a configuration in which the values and presuppositions of several component institutions happened to be mutually supportive (Cremin, 1976:35).

Further evidence of the confidence of evangelicals in their hold over the local community, if not over the entire nation, was that they would encourage Horace Mann, who had broken with the evangelicals on significant doctrinal issues, to pursue the idea and institutionalization

of public education in the first place. Certainly in the long run, as some more separatist groups like Mennonites had predicted, this proved to be a mistake, but Mann had come from a conservative background, steeped in the evangelical tradition, and he had broken less with the spirit of this heritage, which involved the creation of God's Kingdom on earth, than simply secularized it. He too was interested in creating the most civilized of civilizations. The common school from the beginning was intended not simply to produce an educated citizen, but also to create a better or at least more ordered society, and while Mann may not have been totally orthodox, it is beyond doubt that many of his claims for public education impressed evangelicals. For example, Mann had argued:

> Nine-tenths of the crimes in the penal code would become obsolete, the long catalogue of human ills would be abridged, man would walk more safely by day. . . [and] all rational hopes respecting the future would be brightened . . .[by public education] (Neuhaus, 1974:73).

The evangelicals intended to create just such a society--a "biblical civilization"--and while Mann's intentions were more abstractly tied to a "good" and more "perfect" society, the two views were compatible enough. Mann was convinced that "education was to inspire the love of truth as the supreme good and to clarify the vision of the intellect to discern it" (Rian, 1949:37). Evangelicals did not dispute this. They were simply positive and absolutely convinced that the "truth," rightly understood, was

their "truth." They were also convinced by virtue of their social position, that they could force everyone to accept their view of the truth, and certainly their influence seemed to stretch far and wide. Tyack and Hansot (1982:115) have argued, for example, that the major issue surrounding the hiring of Ellwood P. Cubberly as the superintendent of education in San Diego in 1896 did not have to do with his educational credentials, but rather with whether or not he met the standards of Christian orthodoxy necessary for a person handed such important responsibilities.

Mann had always harbored a "non-sectarian" view of the schools, however. He did consider the "sectarian" preaching of the Bible to be in and of itself divisive and he eventually gave his wholehearted support to legislation that made sectarian books illegal in Massachusetts public schools (Rian, 1949:42). Evangelicals could hardly believe such legislation would be considered, much less pass, but they knew this was an amazing turn of events. Evangelicals knew almost immediately that "trouble had come in Zion." By 1900, the question of the legitimacy of the Bible in the public school had reached down into the evangelical streets of the nation. The public school was so important precisely because it had been so Christian. The public school, along with the other various voluntary organizations evangelicals had created, like the YMCA, was

an important and potent instrument for the control and change of new immigrants and it was also key in transmitting the values of evangelical culture from one generation to the next. The public school could save the nation, but not by limiting the role of the Bible. The nation was headed for trouble and the attack on the Bible in the public school was the clearest evidence of the seriousness of the potential decline and impending danger of the days to come.

The development of the "liberal" tradition of education, in the image of Mann and later Dewey, maintained that "genuinely educative schooling must be rooted in the experience of the child" (Morshead, 1975:665). In other words, Mann argued that education had to be adapted to the experience of the child rather than adapting the child to the experience of education. Then and only then, could education be relevant enough to provide the kind of personal freedom for which Mann hoped. At the same time, one subculture was not to be embraced but many. Freedom came by "unlocking, to the greatest possible extent, all the rich and varied human virtues our culture can provide" (Morshead, 1975:666).

On the other hand, evangelicals had argued for a considerably more conservative approach. The purpose of the school was not to bring about "personal freedom" but to socialize children, and adults as well, in the

evangelical values of thrift, hard work, perserverance, etc.--all values which had been important in the rise of America to worldwide power and prestige. The public school need not waste its time promoting the prevailing and trendy values of some intellectual elite. Too much was at stake for that. Instead public education should be seen as the "cultural backbone of the society, responsible for conserving and transmitting that knowledge and those values which constituted the essential moral and intellectual marrow of mankind's social heritage" (Morshead, 1975: 667). In any case, questioning the legitimacy of the Bible to evangelicals, was going in the wrong direction. But by the 1920s, it was clear that the evangelicals had lost the power and prestige in American society necessary to stop the drift from sectarianism. The school down the street which once could be trusted without hesitation was becoming a dangerous and foreign place.

The Early Twenties

In the 1920s "Biblical civilization" was in obvious trouble. Conservative evangelicalism came under overt and collective attack. Those concerned more with reform (the "Social Gospel") than doctrine, simply left evangelicalism. Those concerned with neither felt their numbers and confidence swell. But evangelicals showed no inclination toward peaceful surrender. They had had everything and

they harbored no intention of giving up any more than they had to without a fight. They intensified their battle for the authority of their social values.

While all evangelical groups were intent on keeping some significant level of social influence, the "fundamentalists" emerged as the most radical and intransigent faction. They distinquished themselves as a viable alternative to a more socially accomodating evangelicalism or even the simple revivalism of an earlier period.

It was the fundamentalists who were convinced that the enemy was "modernism" and the social and political implications of modernism. This thought was relatively new because it shifted attention away from immigrants and industrial development to more philosophical notions. In the process of this shift, the fundamentalists and many in the more conservative wings of evangelicalism became increasingly conservative on any issue having to do with society, politics, and theology. They withdrew, even as they became more militant.

The absolute social and political conservatism of fundamentalism disturbed many. Marsden (1980:29) had argued, for example, that nineteenth century evangelicalism could have, given the right occasion and circumstances, supported "liberal" causes. In fact, conservative and radical beliefs often stood side by side, as in the platform of the 1874 National Christian Association. On

the one hand, the platform argued for the recognition of Christianity as the official state religion; but on the other, it demanded that the American Indian be treated with justice. The platform argued for both Sabbath and prohibition laws but turned to support the preservation of civil equality for all American citizens by by the extension of Articles 13, 14, and 15, of the Constitution. Finally, the platform also supported legislation against land and business monopolies, as well as the abolition of the electoral college. But, the fundamentalists rejected all but the most conservative tenents of this earlier evangelicalism.

Marsden (1980:36) also argued that D. L. Moody played a significant role in this change. Moody was quite successful in bringing about the wide acceptance of the doctrine of premillennialism, but as this occurred, any emphasis on social reform became unimportant. Marsden (1980:31) has noted: "no longer was the goal to build a 'perfect society,' at best it was to restrain evil until the Lord returned." Later, he (1980:32) went on to say:

> The abolition of selected sins of the flesh (theater-going, disregard for the Sabbath, Sunday newspapers, atheistic teaching including evolution, greed, avarice, jealousy, envy, self-seeking, irritability, etc.) was the principle moral concern for those whose hopes for a Christian America had been crushed by changes in the modern world.

It is not that these personal concerns were totally new, but rather it is that they had become the primary if

not the sole preoccupation of fundamentalists. The thought or the idea that American social problems might in some way be tied to the form of its political or economic institutions was seldom considered by conservative evangelicals after Moody.

The fundamentalists tried to come up with an adapted strategy for confronting American society. They felt themselves to be on the outside instead of the inside; and as they worked out a new strategy, it emphasized separation. It was a limited separation, however. It was the kind of separation that maintained enough contact to reassert itself if the right time should come. As Marsden (1980:38) put it:

> The separation from the world that was demanded was not radically outward as in the Anabaptist tradition, but rather an inward separation marked by outward signs of a life free from specific vices. Despite the hopeless corruption of the world there was no demand to abandon most of the standards of the respectable middle class way of life. It was to these standards, in fact, that the people were to be converted.

The problem with separation in the Anabaptist tradition was that it was so total. The Anabaptists consciously turned down the advantages provided by hard work. The Anabaptists walked away from power and social control, but fundamentalists had no intention of limiting their access to or use of social power. The fundamentalists longed for social influence and they planned to use it if ever again they came upon it (Frank, 1984).

The "fundamentalist" label was appropriate only for those who reaffirmed the "fundamentals of the faith." The fundamentals were most clearly presented in a series of twelve books and pamphlets called "The Fundamentals," which were written by various Bible teachers and evangelists and published between 1915 and 1920 by two brothers, Lyman and Milton Stewart, who had made a million dollars in oil in California (Marsden, 1980:118). About a third of the articles attacked German "higher criticism" as a method of Biblical study; another third elaborated on traditional theological questions; and the final third ad-addressed various topics from socialism to evolution. According to Marsden, overt political causes were "studiously avoided."

> The crucial issue seems rather to have been perceived as that of the authority of God in Scripture in relation to the authority of modern science, particularly science in the form of higher criticism of Scripture itself (Marsden, 1980:120).

In no way, however, could one consider these works to be without social and political implication. They signaled a new direction. They bristled with a new agenda of defeating the enemy--philosophical movements of historical consciousness--which to the fundamentalists denied God's authority in the universe by tying everything known as "truth" to simple material developments in history and culture. The "Fundamentals" sounded the call to arms

against any thought that undermined order--order based on the belief that God spoke clearly in the pages of the Bible and that what He said transcended both history and culture.

One of the most prolific writers and influential pastors of the period was William Bell Riley. Riley was a fundamentalist minister of a Baptist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Riley, like all concerned evangelicals of the 1920s, was most afraid of the new developments in education. His topic was often evolution, but it was also clear that more was at stake. The foreward to his book on evolution was evidence of this. He (1926:5) argued:

> The greatest menance to Christianity, and to American democracy is the modernist professor; and second only to this ministry of evil is the modernist pulpit. At the close of a recent service a shabbily dressed man hung in the front hallway of my church until all the others were out of the way; then approaching he said, 'Preacher if you do not stop the preaching of the I.W.W.s in the streets of this city the time will surely come where there will be no churches left and no country that a man can live in.' To this I necessarily replied, 'America is a free country and I know of no way by which the I.W.W. preaching can be ended.' But the public schools alike are dependent for personal patronage upon the tax payers, millions of whom are the best citizens of America. This book is addressed particularly to this class, and is intended as a 'Call to Arms!' If we silently and indolently endorse the destructive doctrines to which this volume calls attention we will deserve the fate that is certain to befall both church and state. The munitions of war for the Christian citizen are his voice and his vote. He who does not employ both to preserve the democracy of America and the integrity of her true churches is a traitor to both country and Christ.

The issues for Riley ran from education (the "modernist" professor), to socialism (I.W.W.), to the danger of both to the freedom of religion, and then back to education (particularly evolution). It is questionable to argue, as does Marsden (1980:159), that fundamentalist concerns were primarily doctrinal and not political. Certainly Riley makes no such distinction. In fact, it is precisely his point that religion is related directly to politics so that the I.W.W. represented a political force that signaled the potential end of fundamentalist religious hegemony. Marsden (1980:92) himself had earlier argued: "By the 1920s the really unifying factor in fundamentalist political and social thought was the overwhelming predominance of political conservatism."

The Evolution Controversy in the 1920s

The evolution controversy took on tremendous significance among fundamentalists mainly because it symbolized so much more. Others, besides Riley, took up the "call to arms." T.T. Martin (1923), in his most militant fashion, authored a book called Hell and the High School. He (1969: 239) developed an approach taken by fundamentalists over and over again. The fundamentalists believed that it was totally unjustified for the state to tax individuals who opposed the teaching of evolution in the public schools to maintain the schools. He referred to the

teaching of evolution as "poison," but he went on to say, with even more emphasis, that the "ramming" of poison down the throats of the children. . .

> is nothing compared with the damning of their souls with the teachings of evolution that robs them of a revelation from God and a real Redeemer. Have we, while asleep, been dragged back under 'taxation without representation' (Martin, 1969:239)?

The most important defender of the faith during this period was William Jennings Bryan, who eventually became the prosecutor of John Thomas Scopes in the famous Scopes Trial. Bryan had run for President on the Democratic ticket three times (1896, 1900, and 1908) and had lost three times. He was, to say the least, a puzzling character. There seems to be much to the opinion that he was a political opportunist, although never in any sophisticated or underhanded way. He simply chose issues and took politicals positions in direct relationship to his assessment of their political expediency (Hofstadter, 1948:186ff.). He came to national prominence with his "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention in 1896, and that speech solidified his nomination for the Presidency. Despite his popularity and his reported political opportunism, however, he was never able to capture the White House.

In any case, Bryan's failures in politics turned to successes in religion. Gatewood's (1969) work on this period of Bryan's life, and his relationship to the Scopes

Trial, provides us with considerable evidence that Bryan's major concerns were always religious, or at least had always revolved around the failure of evangelicals to maintain control over the nation. He had visions of the glories of the 1880s but was living in the midst of the losses of the 1920s.

Gatewood has made it quite clear that all fundamentalists, for whom Bryan became the chief spokesman, were convinced that they were not "infringing" upon the rights of the evolutionists, but were instead trying to gain equal protection for the rights of the "majority" of American taxpayers. The public schools were their creation, and because the schools were so important and so influential in the lives of their children, and because the schools in fact were their "children," the schools should bend to conform to the will of this original "moral majority." As Gatewood (1969:221) has put it:

> The taxpayers. . .by their calculations were overwhelmingly orthodox Christians opposed to the teachings of evolution as detrimental to the religious faith of their children. In all sincerity, therefore, the fundamentalists could view the anti-evolution crusade as a democratic effort, a mighty struggle for 'religious liberty,' which expressed the highest form of patriotism.

Bryan continually returned to the theme of taxes. The public schools were tax-based institutions and as a result under the control of those who paid the taxes. It was as simple as that. Bryan (1969:229) argued : "'If it is contended that an instructor has the right to teach

anything he likes, I reply that the taxpayers must decide what shall be taught. The hand that writes the paycheck rules the school."

The Scopes Trial took place from July 10-21, 1925. According to Gatewood, the whole affair was a setup. F.E. Robinson, the chairmain of the local school board in Dayton, Tennessee, and George M. Pappelyea, the manager of the Cumberland Coal and Iron Company, for whatever reason, opposed the anti-evolution law which had been passed under fundamentalist pressure by the state legislature. They intended to sponsor a test case on the constitutionality of the law, and the American Civil Liberties Union provided financial backing. The problem was finding a teacher who would be willing to violate the law and then go to trial. Eventually, John Scopes ended up as the defendent. Gatewood (1969:332) noted that Scopes was actually a chemistry and algebra teacher, but due to the illness of the regular biology teacher, he found himself the instructor in biology for two weeks. It was during this short period that he assigned work from George Hunter's book, Civic Biology, which endorsed Darwin's theory. Gatewood (1969:332) contended, strangely enough, that:

> Scopes was uncertain whether he had explicitly violated the anti-evolutionary law, but he was nonetheless willing to become the defendent in a case to test the constitutionality of a legislative enactment contrary to his basic values.

By all accounts, the trial was a circus. The ACLU brought in Clarence Darrow, a sophisticated criminal lawyer from Chicago, to defend Scopes. Darrow personally disliked Bryan and Bryan was quick to return the sentiment. The judge, John T. Raulston, was a sympathetic fundamentalist and he refused to let Darrow call twelve expert "scientific" witnesses. This was perhaps a mistake because it forced Darrow to develop a different strategy. He eventually called Bryan to the witness stand, but Bryan made the fatal mistake of conceding that he did not take everything in the Bible literally and therefore had no particular reason for taking the Genesis story of creation as literal fact. The case finally went to the jury, which deliberated all of ten minutes, and they returned a verdict of guilty.

The jury decision was, for all practical purposes, irrelevant. Darrow had long before anticipated as much and had already made plans for an appeal. Much more important was the damage done to Bryan in particular and the cause of fundamentalism in general. Gatewood (1969:334) described the trial as having. . .

> A sobering effect upon many Americans who, disturbed by the moral and intellectual drift of the era, were repelled by the ludicrous spectacle. Rather than bringing solace, it had raised serious questions about attempting legislative and legal solutions to religious and moral problems. Whether justifiable or not the impression that fundamentalism was allied with bigotry, ignorance, and intolerance was enhanced by the millions of words of newsprint and radio broadcasts emanating from Dayton.

It was generally agreed that fundamentalistism had lost anything it might have hoped to gain by the Scopes Trial. They had taken their stand in Dayton but instead of victory and a return to the ways of old, fundamentalism had suffered a significant, if not fatal defeat.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARY EVANGELICALISM AND THE EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH

Shortly after the Scopes Trial, American evangelicalism underwent a collective depression (Gatewood, 1969: 334). In particular, the national media wrote an epitaph for the fundamentalists. The most conservative religious element in American society was in trouble, but despite the bad "press" fundamentalism managed to survive. The fundamentalists withdrew and began to set up an alternative institutional network--a "biblical civilization" in exile--to serve their needs. They were convinced they had no other choice.

It was not long, however, until some members of the fundamentalist subculture began to worry about whether or not they had withdrawn too much. Many of the fundamentalists remained convinced that society continued to need them and that they continued to be its only real hope. As a result, some of the fundamentalists decided to leave the most extreme elements of fundamentalism and move back to-

ward the larger society. This breaking away, as limited as it was, still produced considerable conflict between the fundamentalists and those who eventually became known as the "new" evangelicals. I intend to trace the development of this conflict and the relationship of the Evangelical Free Church to it, and, once again, education and socialization remain primary concerns.

Among the conservative evangelicals and fundamentalists, there had always been some groups that had been isolated. Most often such groups were immigrant groups that had come out of "declining" situations in Europe. One of these groups was the Free Church, which was made up of Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian pietists. These immigrants had seen religious "liberalism" and the "secularization" of culture in their homelands, and the separation and independence that had become increasingly a part of American fundamentalism had already been a part of their tradition. Thompson (1969:14), one of the Free Church historians, argued proudly, for example, that the Free Churchers had been able to subvert any "ecclesiastical" attempts, even those promoted by the state-supported churches, to dominate or control their movement. They were convinced that it was always appropriate to react to organized religious domination, in this particular case, state-Lutheranism, with the same sort of intensity they felt had initially characterized Luther's reaction to

Catholicism.

The Free Churchers considered themselves a "gathered" church which was made up of "believers only." These Scandinavian pietists were convinced that a "gathered" church was the only possible "pure" church (Norton, 1959:25). But, this notion of a separated church as the only church was itself a European idea too, but it was not a concept of the church necessarily shared by nineteenth century, conservative evangelicalism. Nineteenth century evangelicalism had hoped that the entire nation would accept an evangelical approach to religion as "the" religion of the state, but now, in the early twentieth century, the American denominations, along with the rest of American culture, could no longer be trusted to embrace an evangelical view of the world, and therefore, as in Europe, separation became a necessity. The Free Churchers had already committed themselves to separation, and in the late 1920s, in their new American homeland, they simply found brothers and sisters among the indigenous fundamentalists and later, among the somewhat less conservative "new" evangelicals.

The Norwegian-Danish Free Church

The modern Evangelical Free Church (The Evangelical Free Church of America) is the product of a merger of two Scandinavian groups that grew up together in the United

States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The history of these groups is directly tied to and integrated with the history of the larger fundamentalist and evangelical movements that surrounded them. The Free Churchers were Scandinavian immigrants, but they too, like the American evangelicals, were "men and women saved in revivals," and these revived people provided the basis for the Evangelical Free Church of America (Thompson, 1969:15).

These immigrants, who had come to the United States for various reasons, not the least of which was religious freedom, started Bible studies that eventually formed into local Scandinavian congregations of evangelicals. The first such congregation was in Boston, Massachusetts in 1884, but other congregations were also organized in Muskegon, Michigan, Chicago, and in Hoboken, New Jersey. But, as Urang (1959:69) put it: "these churches in the East and Middle-west were lonely outposts, usually with a very loose internal organization and with practically no ties with other similar churches." It is doubtful that these congregations knew the others existed, and their extreme religious conservativeness which isolated these congregations from other Scandinavian groups in the United States (the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Augustana Lutheran Synod, or even the Swedish Covenant church) simply reinforced their separatist tendencies.

In 1889, however, the situation changed as the result of a paper called "The Evangelistin," edited by R.A. Jernberg. The paper was written in Norwegian and passed from one Norwegian community to another; within two years of the founding of the paper, a meeting was called in Chicago for the purpose of discussing a larger association of particularly the Midwestern churches (Thompson, 1969:17). Later, the Eastern churches also came together, and both meetings did in fact produce associations. In 1905, another meeting was called to discuss the merger of the Eastern and Midwestern factions, but an agreement about the form of such an association could not be reached. In 1909, a second attempt was made and the Evangelical Free Church Association came into being.

It took four years, from 1905 to 1909, for the Free Churchers to work out the problems of organization. It was difficult for them, because of their fear of state-church Lutheranism, to organize at any level other than the congregation. The purity of any particular congregation was always at stake. The initial compromise was a loose association of churches, but even this ground met with considerable resistance. Urang (1959:72) has noted, for example, that at the first meeting in 1905 to discuss the mere possibility of organization, a rule had to be adopted stating that:

> In order to vote in the conference a person had to receive a vote of confidence from at least one half of

> the members present. Evidently there were several 'free brothers' who liked to 'crash' the meetings in order to vote against all organization.

In an equally dissenting fashion, Jernberg objected to any adoption of an explicit statement of faith. Even though a statement of faith would seem to be necessary to insure the purity of the faith, Jernberg, from experience, felt such a statement worked against the "free churchers." He believed that the appropriateness of any creed needed to be left to the congregation, because only the congregation could be trusted to preserve the integrity of faith, but even in the context of the congregation, Jernberg felt uncomfortable with such creeds. Urang (1959:88) has quoted Jernberg as saying:

> We have existed for 25 years without a confession of faith, and why should we have need of it now? We are attacked on every side, and putting our faith in writing will give our opponents a chance for definite charges. It is a step backwards. We have tried all these years to set people free from popery, and now we are going back into it ourselves.

Nevertheless, the pressure for organization overpowered the pressure opposing it, and the "free brothers" lost their anti-organizational fight.

Part of the reason the opposition forces went unheeded had to do with the other major interest of the Scandinavian pietists. Not only did they believe in freedom from state and ecclesiastical controls, but they also believed in evangelism which included the preaching of the "gospel" to all the world. In fact, at least from the

point of view of the Evangelical Free Church, evangelism was more important than the tradition of dissent; but certainly there was considerable tension between dissent, which demanded separation, and evangelism, which demanded interaction with the larger culture. Because of this, the Free Churchers become a prototype. They understood the major problem of evangelicalism after the 1920s. On the one hand, stood the separatist fundamentalists, deeply concerned and worried about the purity of faith, choosing to separate to protect it. On the other hand, emerged the more liberal, "new" evangelicals, who were conservative but not radically separatist. They intended to preserve the purity of the faith by converting the world to it, even if it meant--and to these evangelicals it did--saving the world one soul at a time. Some religious groups may have wished to totally withdraw in the name of purity, but the Free Churchers planned--and proved so by their organization--to restore the world to purity by evangelization. They had no wish to involve the state in such an endeavor because of their experience. People could not, in any case, be forced into belief; but that did not mean that people could not be converted, and it was in this way that the world could be saved. The world <u>could</u> be saved bit by bit, through the personal conversion of one individual after another; so as early as 1898, a fund was begun, even before any association officially existed, to promote

missions (Urang, 1959:74).

The absolute importance of missions to those who favored the Free Church Association was quite clear. Those who stood in the way were strongly condemned, and the issue was framed with denominationalism, popery, separation, and the purity of the faith on one side, and evangelism on the other. About those who opposed evangelism, Urang (1959:73) had commented:

> The fear of denominationalism was so strong that the churches even hesitated about promoting of the work of evangelism collectively. There were naturally a few extremists whose gospel consisted more of anti-denominationalism than of the message of salvation in Christ.

The Swedish Free Church

The history of the Swedish Free Church closely resembled that of the Norwegian-Danish branch. In both groups unification movements were begun by papers. In the Swedish Free Church the paper was the "Chicago-Bladet" which was established in 1877 by John Martenson (Thompson, 1969:20). The paper sponsored a Bible conference in 1884 in Boone, Iowa, where "initial steps were taken to form an association, or fellowship of churches, which eventually became the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America (Thompson, 1969:21). The "Chicago-Bladet" later came under the directorship of Dr. John Princell, who in turn became the most important person in the Association. Princell was a former Lutheran clergyman who had

reportedly been "excommunicated from the Augustana Lutheran Synod because of his refusal to administer the Lord's supper to [alleged] unbelievers and admit them to church membership in his church" (Thompson, 1969:21).

In 1884, the Association had 21 ministers and 27 churches, but the ministers frequently travelled from one church to another. According to Thompson (1969:21), the ministers also seldom agreed beyond the necessity of a "salvation experience." Doctrinal debates were frequent, heated, and varied. As a result, the major aim of any collective church action always centered around evangelism--the one thing every one agreed on--and the evangelistic work paid off--by 1914 there were 113 ministers and 137 churches. By 1934 membership had climbed to 8139 and in 1949, 13500.

It was not until 1946 that a conference was held to consider a possible merger of the Norwegian-Danish Free Church and the Swedish Free Church. By this time the Free Churchers had cast their lot with the ranks of the "new" evangelicals and had abandoned their blatantly fundamentalistic and separatist tendencies. Each Free Church group had a school of theology and the two schools were merged, along with the respective newspapers. Not until 1950, however, did the two groups make final a merger of the two associations to become the Evangelical Free Church of America. In 1984, the Evangelical Free Church of

America included some 900 churches with a total membership of about 143,000.

The Larger Culture and The Early Commitment to Separation

Long before the split between the "new" conservative evangelicals (primarily interested in evangelism) and the fundamentalists (separatists in the name of the purity of the faith), these two groups, along with many Free Churchers were convinced they could no longer participate in the larger American culture or its in institutions as if it were still Christian. The Scopes Trial had proven the culture was in desperate shape, and once this opinion became generally shared, the fundamentalists (then including those who later became the "new" evangelicals) decided to move out of the mainstream of American religious life. They set about it with a fervor, trying first to meet their educational needs and concerns. One example Carpenter (1980:66) cited was the Bible institute.

> The Bible institute became the major coordinating agency of the movement by the 1930s, as popular fundamentalist alienation toward old-line denominations reached new heights. True, most fundamentalists had not left their older denominations, but after the controversies over evolutionary theory and theological liberalism in the 1920s, they were more aware than before of the intellectual attitudes engendered by church-related colleges and seminaries. While the Bible institutes had been founded to train lay and paraministerial workers such as Sunday school superintendents and foreign missionaries, now they faced demands for the education of pastors and for other services that the denominations had formerly provided.
>
> Since the Bible institutes had already branched out into activities directly connected with

> inresidence instruction, they were well equipped to meet such demands. Some of the schools had extension departments such as those of the Philadelphia School of the Bible or the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago. These agencies organized week-long summer and other shorter Bible conferences, supplied staff evangelists for revival meetings and provided churches with guest preachers. Many schools ran publishing and/or distributing ventures, including the Bible Institute of Los Angeles' BIOLA Bookroom, and the mammoth Bible Institute Colportage Association at Moody.

According to Falwell (et al., 1981:11), by 1930, there were over fifty Bible schools. These institutions seemed to grow in direct proportion to fundamentalist distrust of the more "legitimate" institutions of the society and there was no question that "these new schools became substitutes for the denominational schools that had digressed into liberalism and Darwinism" (Falwell, et al., 1981:11).

Carpenter (1980:67) also pointed out that new magazines provided the fundamentalists with literature and editorial opinion, and the Bible conferences organized by Moody Bible Institute became major summer vacation events. Other Bible institutes like Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School in Minneapolis, Minnesota, also grew in size and influence. Carpenter (1980:67) has noted that William Bell Riley, the founder of the Northwestern School, "held a virtual fundamentalist bishopric." Riley's school had educated 75 pastors in the state of Minnesota and his continued influence over these men after they had left his school enabled Riley to dictate church

policies in at least these 75 churches. Riley called on these pastors to support a "major network" of lifestyle oriented campaigns.

As late as the 1940s, the fundamentalists had also begun to develop a new resource. They had increasingly been denied access to radio time on the major networks so they began to set up their own stations with perhaps as many as 400 evangelical programs airing on 80 different station outlets (Carpenter, 1980:70).

Certainly the Free Church was influenced by the Bible institute movement. The influence of Dwight L. Moody and Moody Bible Institute was particularly significant. Hale (1979:302) has argued that the doctrines of the Evangelical Free Church can best be understood in the context of British and American millenarianism, particularly the millenarianism associated with John Nelson Darby. Evangelist Fredrik Franson, who was a "Darbyite," had learned his millenarianism from Moody in Chicago, before Franson's revival tours in the Scandinavian counties in the 1880s. Many of Franson's converts came to the United States and in turn became involved with the early Free Church Associations.

The Evangelical Free Church is and was fully millenarian. According to Hale (1979:302), this was not the case with the Swedish Covenant movement because the members of the Swedish Covenant Church did not have similar

contact with Moody. In fact, between 1915 and 1925, theological training for Free Church pastors took place at Moody Bible Institute under the auspices of the Swedish department which was set up and administered by Princell. As Hale (1979:304) has put it:

> It is not too much to say that the Evangelical Free Church owes much of its theology and revival methods to Moody and his followers in Chicago. Both Darbyite millenarianism and Anglo-American forms of evangelization were passed from Moody and his co-workers to Swedes in Chicago such as Franson and Princell, who in turn spread them among other Scandinavians in Europe and the United States.

The Evangelical Free Church borrowed not only Moody's doctrine and his evangelization techniques, but his social outlook as well. Hale (1979:306) pointed out that the "Evangelical Free were clearly more enthusiastic about Americanization than were the Covenanters." And, he (1979:306) went on to say:

> Strictly speaking, their [the early leaders of the Evangelical Free Church] millenarianism did not harmonize well with their frequent praise of American institutions, but this incongruity did not prevent them from proclaiming the imminent return of Christ and the end of the world while extolling American civilization as the summit of history.

Hale (1979:309) concluded:

> In terms of revivalism, Christology, the ideal of the pure visible church, eschatology, and reliance on the Bible, both [the Free Churchers and the Covenanters] were by 1900 what they are today--segments of the intricate mosaic of conservative Protestantism in America.

Olson, the first President of the combined Free Church groups, has made it quite clear, within this

context, just how socially conservative the Free Church was. Certainly they fell well within the realm of separatist fundamentalism in America. Olson (1981:38) has quoted a long section from a conference document of Boone, Iowa, in 1884, that illustrates this point.

> As members of God's commonwealth in this land, we wish, as did Israel of old, prosperity to the land wherein we dwell, and pledge ourselves to seek its best. To that end, we do hereby oppose all lasciviousness and crime, knowing that sin is the ruin of any nation. Especially do we express our abhorance of such barbaric and degenerating practices as drunkenness and polgamy, which practices cause great hindrance to the furtherance of the Gospel and the salvation of people. On the other hand, we do pledge ourselves to further and cooperate in every effort put forth to quell such iniquities in every honorable purpose and plan. We are also convinced, especially in regard to combating the liquor evil, that its presentation as a feature without associating it with other social and political questions, will find the best support in the community, states, and nation, such as a total prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxiicants. This goal we earnestly pray God soon may grant us in His mercy.

In any case, it became clear that despite the failures so evident at the time of the Scopes Trial, which many felt signaled the end of a type of national evangelical hegemony, the fundamentalist movement did not simply fade away. Instead, the fundamentalists shifted their efforts toward developing pure institutions and resigned themselves to outsider status and separation. They were successful in developing an alternative institutional network that allowed them the control over their existences that they did not feel they had at the national level. If they could not control the state, they decided to try as

much as possible, to live apart from it. If they were unable to control the universities, they would set up their own schools. If they could not control the denominations, they would support congregational movements like the Free Church; and if the occasion would ever come again, the fundamentalists tried to remain ready to exercise a role of national prominence. After all, they were still convinced that a position of national influence in the larger society was rightfully theirs.

The Split Between the Fundamentalists and the "New" Evangelicals

Almost as soon as the fundamentalists began to find some solace in their self-imposed exile, some of the less conservative among them split ranks. There was a growing fear, at least among this group of fundamentalistists, that they had become too isolated. The fundamentalists were split into small congregational groups that were, if for no other reason than their size and isolation, socially irrelevant. As a result, on April 7, 1942, a group of fundamentalists came together in St. Louis, in an attempt to unite various fundamentalist factions in a national "association" of evangelicals (Shelley, 1967:69). The tone of the meeting was set by Harold J. Ockenga, pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, who emphatically opposed total separation from, and an overly critical approach to, American society. His goal, instead, was a

more "positive" witness for conservative evangelicals (Shelley, 1969:81).

In May of 1943, a constitutional convention was held for the new "National Association of Evangelicals." Various evangelical and fundamentalists groups sent delegates. These groups included the Baptists, the Presbyterians, independent fundamentalists groups, Holiness Wesleyan Methodists, Free Methodists, Assemblies of God, some pentecostals, Southern Baptists, Southern Presbyterians, Missouri Synod Lutherans, Mennonite Brethren, and the Scandinavians from the Evangelical Free Churches and the Evangelical Covenant Churches (Carpenter, 1983:258). Not all of these groups immediately embraced the Association. The Southern Baptists, who because of their numbers could have controlled the organization, decided not to join. The Evangelical Covenant Churches did not join. The Christian Reformed Church joined and then left (Carpenter, 1983:283). These groups believed the National Association of Evangelicals remained too fundamentalistic, or in the specific case of the Southern Baptists, <u>too northern</u> and "Yankee." The National Association of Evangelicals <u>was</u> conservative. There was much shared opposition to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, or as Shelley (1969:80) has put it: "a dissatisfaction with other expressions of Christian unity." These evangelicals and fundamentalists in no way wished to be represented by, or

tied to, the Federal Council. A St. Louis conference resolution had read:

> We realize that in many areas of Christian endeavor the organizations which now purport to be representatives of Protestant Christianity have departed from the faith of Jesus Christ (Shelley, 1969:80).

But, on the other hand, Carl McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches, which represented the most conservative of the fundamentalists, was also rejected. On two different occasions, McIntire made appeals in behalf of his group to those considering the National Association of Evangelicals and both times his appeals failed (Shelley, 1969:81). As Shelley (1969:81) has put it: They, the delegates to the National Association of Evangelicals' convention, did not feel that "the American Council of Christian Churches would properly express the ideals they shared for a positive Christian witness." Shelley (1969: 81) continued to say that: The zeal for truth had too often trampled Christian unity under foot," but this time the delegates to the convention agreed that a "positive" Christian witness was more important than doctrinal purity. As a result, the National Association of Evangelicals was founded and it organized a large number of churches and conservative American Christians. Quebedeaux (1978:43) has argued that the National Association of Evangelicals represents over 30,000 churches and 3.5 million Christians, including the members of the Evangelical Free Church of America.

The goals of the National Association of Evangelicals were clearly established from the beginning. The Association was interested in evangelical causes having to do with the relationship of evangelicals to government, the national and local use of radio, public relations, the preservation of the separation of church and state, Christian education, and the guarantee of freedom in both home and foreign missionary endeavors. It was obvious that the Association was in no way interested in absolute social separation. Instead, its member bodies sought to reexert some measure of social influence and support for a national course consistent with their view of the world.

By the 1950s, it was quite clear to many of these old fundamentalists-turned-("new")-evangelicals that they could again test their power in the national arena through organizations like the National Association of Evagelicals. This time, however, they chose to abandon overt political causes in favor of the exclusive support of personal evangelism. Key to their new hope for influence was the emergence of William Franklin Graham, Jr., who became the most prominent of evangelical spokesmen by virtue of the fact that he was the best at personal evangelism. Billy Graham's story is a history of contemporary "new" evangelicalism. Graham found himself in the very center of the controversies and heated disputes between the old fundamentalists and the "new" conservative evangelicals.

Graham grew up in fundamentalism, but he became convinced its time was past. The isolation and reaction that it represented doomed fundamentalism to inevitable social obscurity. Instead, a new approach was necessary, and a new group of evangelicals, many of whom had come out of the old fundamentalism, sought to reassert themselves at the national level. Graham was their centerpiece.

Graham is both a product of, and evidence for, the strength of the old fundamentalist subculture during the 1930s and 1940s. He was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1918, and he grew up in an Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church. But, in 1934, he found himself in the revival meetings of a "renowned, firey, Southern evangelist" named Mordecai Fowler Ham. Ham, who as Pollock (1966:5) has put it, "tended to 'skin the ministers'. . . and cared not at all that Charlotte's most powerful clergy opposed him, or that newspapers attacked him," convinced Graham that he was a sinner and in need of salvation.

In 1936, Graham became involved with another evangelist, Jimmie Johnson, and through his influence Graham decided to attend Bob Jones College, then in Cleveland, Tennessee (Pollock, 1966:10). Bob Jones represented one of the most strident forms of fundamentalism, and even at this early stage Graham seemed unable to tolerate it, and he left Bob Jones College after his first semester. In 1937, he entered Florida Bible Institute near Tampa

(Pollock, 1966:12) and in 1939, he joined the Southern Baptist Convention. In 1940, at age 22, Graham moved north and entered Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, but shortly after left Wheaton, and took a pastorate in nearby Western Springs, Illinois. It was during this time that Graham heard a radio sermon by Torrey Johnson, who founded Youth For Christ International, and Graham eventually became the first full-time organizer and evangelist for Youth For Christ. It was in this capacity that Graham officially began his career as an evangelist (Pollock, 1966:33).

In 1945, however, Graham's evangelistic career was briefly interupted when William Bell Riley sought him out and convinced Graham to become, following Riley's death, the President of Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School in Minneapolis. Graham was reluctant to take the position believing that his role was one of mass evangelism. Yet, perhaps even more significant was Graham's concern with the national reputation of the fundamentalism that Riley represented. As Pollock (1966:42) put it: Graham "was not sure he wished to be so closely identified with Midwest 'fundamentalism' because of the unfortunate connotation of the word." Riley <u>was</u> Midwest fundamentalism and Graham knew such as association between himself and Riley would link him directly with fundamentalism. Graham was in a position he found very uncomfortable.

Pollock (1966:42) candidly observed that Graham "believed in the 'fundamentals of the faith'," including the Bible as divinely inspired, the virgin birth, miracles, the atonement, the necessity of being "born again", etc., but despite this, the fundamentalists movement carried with it social and political baggage that Graham was not at all sure he wished to carry. Graham had grown up with fundamentalism, but Pollock (1966:43), in editorial comment, argued that Graham's reluctance to closely identify with Riley was in a direct relationship to the fundamentalist tendency to "prolong the unnecessary nineteenth century conflict between science and religion." The fundamentalists ". . .mistrusted scholarship, and too often could not find it in themselves to be charitable toward those who disagreed."

Graham, rather, wished to consider himself in a larger religious context. He thought of himself as the heir of Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Whitefield, Spurgeon, and Moody, none of whom had ever used or heard the term "fundamentalism." Graham did not wish to separate himself, through an identification with fundamentalism, from any opportunity to "preach the Gospel." But, it was precisely this tendency of Graham--that he indiscriminately associated with anyone wishing to listen--that most upset the fundamentalists. Separation, from the fundamentalists' point of view, was, given the contemporary situation, a

prerequisite necessity for insuring the purity of the Gospel. It had been so since the end of the nineteenth century. The Scopes Trial had simply made it unavoidably clear that any attempt to walk the line between the authority of faith and association with the world ended in the undoing of faith. To go back to the "world" on its terms, even in the name of preaching the Gospel, was a major mistake. Yet Pollock (1966:43), defending Graham, attacked the fundamentalist position, by noting that one or two on Riley's board of directors at the Northwestern School, were mistaken in their view of Graham, because to them "the defense of the faith appeared more important than the propagation of the Gospel."

In 1949, Riley died and Graham at age 31 took over the Presidency of the Northwestern Missionary and Bible School. Within the same year, however, he resigned and went on to preach an evangelistic crusade in Los Angeles. He drew huge crowds and national news coverage from Time, Newsweek, and the major daily newspapers throughout the United States. In another campaign--sponsored by Harold Ockenga--which took place later in 1949, in Boston, Graham did equally well, and on the foundation of this strong beginning, Graham continued to have major successes in the 1950s. By 1954, Graham had gathered enough influence to be a primary force in the founding of the magazine Christianity Today--the most influential and somewhat

intellectual voice of the "new" evangelicals. Graham, Ockenga, and Carl F.H. Henry of Fuller Theological Seminary in California, forged a coalition with the expressed intention of playing down their evangelical roots in the cause of wider social appeal. They used Christianity Today, with Carl F.H. Henry as the editor, for precisely that purpose, and their efforts did not go unnoticed. Pollock (1966:172) has made it clear that Christianity Today "is disliked by extreme fundamentalists," because to them the magazine is evidence that Graham, and the other "new" evangelicals, have willingly chosen to make unwarranted compromises with the "declining culture" of American society.

The publication of Christianity Today as a serious magazine addressing important issues in the larger society was part of Graham's search for social legitimacy on behalf of himself and evangelicals. The specter of social legitmacy, or the lack of it, had haunted Graham personally since the beginning of his ministry. Many of the theologians and clergy who identified with the major denominations and educational institutions of the United States questioned Graham's credibility. But more significant were the undisguised feelings of the fundamentalists. The more Graham sought wider social acceptance, the more the fundamentalists took offense. Graham had never been at home with the most radical factions of

fundamentalism, yet he was a product of the pervasiveness of separatistic fundamentalism. Graham had, nevertheless, abandoned fundamentalism, and so the fundamentalists set about disavowing him. The dynamic of this division had directly to do with Graham's attempt to influence the culture around him. The fundamentalists had tried to do so, but they had been rejected. Still sensitive to the rejection, they were convinced that the only way left to be socially acceptable was to "compromise the purity" of faith, which of course they would never do!

Graham wanted to make an impact upon American culture and so sincerely wished for a return to the values of nineteenth-century evangelicalism that he concentrated all his effort on the one technique he felt to be most effective--personal evangelism. But, even personal evangelism, he came to realize, demanded a certain amount of "wordliness." If the people of the world were to be evangelized, they had to be addressed in their own terms. If this appeared to the fundamentalists as compromise, and to many it did, so be it. In any case, the debate set up a series of charges and counter-charges. The fundamentalists attacked Graham mercilessly, and he and his allies condemned the fundamentalists by arguing that they were simply socially irrelevant. Once the fundamentalists might have managed some "genuine scholarship" and "positive statements;" but they had become increasingly negative and

defensive--"a reactionary movement" with a narrow theological focus which was, in turn, inevitably obscure in a modern society (Erickson, 1968:25). Erickson (1968:29) argued straightforwardly that fundamentalism "came to have little effect upon society, and to be rather little considered as a live option, particularly because of its withdrawal."

Carl F.H. Henry and particularly Harold Ockenga, both long-time friends of Graham, had argued as early as 1947 that fundamentalism could not win America. Fundamentalism, from their point of view, was not the defense of nineteeth-century American values; it was the suicide of nineteeth-century American values. Erickson (1968:33), championing these new evangelicals, noted:

> These men resolved to take up the presentation of the evangelical gospel using the finest of arguments and the most winsome of considerations. They were determined, first, that they would obtain adequate academic preparation in their respective fields, so that the discussion could be carried on with full awareness of the current issues. Further, they would not speak in areas where they were not prepared. The effort of William Jennings Bryan and others to debate biological evolution, a field in which they were scarcely experts, seemed to the new evangelicals to be a serious mistake.

On the other side, the fundamentalists developed a rebuttal of personal attacks on Graham and his friends. Jerry Falwell had made it a point to collect an anthology of these attacks. For example, Falwell (et al., 1981:130) quoted Charles Woodbridge, then of Bob Jones University, as referring to Graham as "the greatest divider of the

Church of Christ in the twentieth century." Falwell (et al., 1981: 130) also provided a list of criticisms of Graham by a Dr. Smith, editor of the Bible Baptist Tribune. He criticized Graham:

> For praising the Roman Catholic Church. . . , for refusing a revival unless all the modernists in town were invited to publically cooperate. . . , for having no real enemies but the Christian people who are responsible for his conversion, for his education, and for the opportunity that came to him to be what he is . . . , for refusing to stand up like a man and defend or apologize for statements he had made in all parts of the world . . . , for all the encouragement he has given to the creation of the one-world church. . . , and for saying. . . you can accept the Bible's account of the Garden of Eden literally or figuratively.

Ironically, as Falwell's popularity has increased, he too has come under fundamentalist scrutiny. He has become, from the point of view of many fundamentalists, too political--and the political approach had utterly failed in the past. Falwell, at least to some, is becoming a "new" evangelical. Certainly he is seeking social respect and influence. His interest, for example, in academic accreditation for his Liberty Baptist College has not gone unnoticed. In an anonymous article in the Bible Presbyterian Review (1982), the author argued that "divine approval is the only Christian criteria" [standard] of accreditation and "secular approval can add nothing, but may subtract from it." The author (1982) continued,

> It is folly to suppose that human accreditation will insure consistency of doctrine and practice. Approval by an association of theological schools with not a single theological standard would end all doubts about Falwell's future course.

Falwell, however, is still a side light. Graham is the preoccupation. Again, an anonymous author in the Bible Presbyterian Review (1982) heavily criticized Graham for visiting the Soviet Union. The author (1982) noted:

> Billy has changed since our student days a Wheaton back in the 1940s. He used to be hot against sin; now he is not quite sure just what or where it is. Already 15 years ago he decided international atheism was just politics. Apparently he couldn't lick it so he's joining.

Also intensely critical of Graham is Bob Jones, Jr. An article in Christianity Today quoted Jones extensively. He (1966:692) contended that Graham "is doing more harm to the cause of Jesus Christ than any living man." The problem with Graham, according to Jones, has to do with his friendships and associations.

> Graham sups not only with publicans and sinners but also with Roman Catholics, the leaders of the National and World Council of Churches; cooperates with churches that do not believe in biblical inerrancy and other basic doctrines; and refers converts to these modernist churches.

As far as the "new" evangelicals in general are concerned, the tone is just as harsh and the volume of the criticism just as loud. Woodbridge (1969:15) maintained that:

> The Bible from the beginning to the end teaches believers to practice separation from all forms of evil. . . .This is known as Biblical separation. It is at the heart of orthodoxy. The problem with the 'new evangelicalism' is that it is exerting trememdous pressure to forget the Biblical principle of separation, to join hands with the enemies of the Lord, and to minimize the holy distance which separates God's people from unbelievers.

Dollar also has framed the debate in terms of separation. He (1973:279) argued:

> Fundamentalists have been unanimous in the belief that there is not Biblical justification for fellowship with, or support of, modernists or liberals who deny the essential authority of the Word of God. And there has been a growing conviction that no truly born again believer should remain inside any group or denomination which tolerates known critics of the Bible or apostates from the faith.

Despite the concern that fundamentalists have had with the "new" evangelicals, there is little doubt that both groups share the same basic desires for and fears about American society. The fundamentalists are preoccupied with limiting the influence of the larger society so they have resorted to separation. They are deeply afraid of the actual and potential impact of the "world" on their faith. The "new" evangelicals have been considerably less concerned with contact with the "world" but they share the fundamentalists' fear about its direction. Instead of total separation, however, they have sought to <u>influence</u> the world--to change it and make it more Christian and therefore more tolerable. Both the fundamentalists and the "new" evangelicals long for a time when their ways can again be American ways. In the meantime the fundamentalists have embraced total separation.

The Evangelical Free Church, in the midst of this battle, has repeatedly, if at times with hesitation, cast its fortune with the "new" evangelicals. The Free Church has actively supported and pursued its membership with

the National Association of Evangelicals. The Free Church has also enthusiastically supported the ministry of Billy Graham, but most significant has been the development by the Free Church of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School which, in the "new" evangelical subculture, is nationally recognized and universally respected. Trinity is more conservative than Fuller Theological Seminary which Quebedeaux (1978:84) has argued is "the foremost center of theological education and scholarship in the evangelical world," but Fuller "is also the leading center of learning for the evangelical left." Trinity, on the other hand, still holds to a position of total Biblical inerrancy, and because of this, again according to Quebedeaux (1978:32), "Trinity has been regarded by many evangelicals as the best, most conservative, nondispensational (but premillennial) alternative to Fuller."

Trinity's association with Christianity Today is also firmly established. Carl F.H. Henry, a former editor of Christianity Today, is a regular visiting professor at Trinity. Kenneth S. Kantzer, former Dean of Trinity Divinity School and Chancellor of the Evangelical Free Church college, Trinity College, has also served as editor of Christianity Today. In other words, the Evangelical Free Church is tightly tied to and united with the "new" evangelical movement.

The Free Churchers, like the "new" evangelicals, have also abandoned, unlike the fundamentalists, total separation. It is not that the Free Churchers do not live in a separate subcultural environment, complete with its own language and institutional arrangements, etc.; but as "new" evangelicals, they wish to be active in and exert an influence over the larger American culture. Trinity Evangelical Divinity school is an overt attempt to walk the line between the "purity" of faith and fraternity with the "world." But, the "new" evangelicals and the Free Churchers know they must be careful. The ability of the larger American culture to subvert the values of those who seek to control its power is well established. This subversion is a fact about which the "new" evangelicals are constantly reminded by the fundamentalists. The children are in particular danger. Until evangelical values reassert their rightful influence, the children must be protected. On this point, the "new" evangelicals and the fundamentalists agree--the future of American society rests with the success of evangelicals with <u>their</u> own children.

<u>The Christian School Movement</u>

The fundamentalists and even the "new" evangelicals were convinced by the late 1960s and early 1970s that the spiritual environment of the country had grown even worse.

There was progress on some fronts, e.g., Billy Graham's appeal in the larger culture continued to grow, as did conservative churches and evangelical colleges and seminaries, and evangelicals had managed some political successes. However, in other areas, things had grown worse. Local control of the public school system, for example, had continued to erode and evangelicals renewed their attacts on the system. In fact, the public school returned with a vengeance as the focus of evangelical social concern. Falwell (1980) was key in singling out the public school. He (1980:205) argued:

> Until about 30 years ago, the public schools in America were providing the necessary support for our boys and girls. Christian education and the precepts of the Bible still permeated the curriculum of the public schools. The Bible was read and prayer was offered in each and every school across our nation, but our public schools no longer teach Christian ethics, which educated our children and young people intellectually, physically, and emotionally, and spiritually. The Bible states 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.' I believe that the decay in our public school system suffered an enormous acceleration when prayer and Bible reading were taken out of the classroom by the United States Supreme Court. Our public school system is now permeated with humanism. The human mind has been deceived and the result is that our schools are in serious trouble.

LaHaye (1983) in his book The Battle for the Public Schools: Humanism's Threat to Our Children, makes his distaste and distrust of the public schools quite clear. He (1983:13) declared:

> Secular educators no longer make learning their primary objective. Instead our public schools have become conduits to the minds of our youth, training them to be anti-God, anti-moral, anti-family, anti-free

enterprise, and anti-American.

His solution, offered in (1983:9) autobiographical form, is equally simple:

> In 1965, I founded the Christian High School of San Diego, now the largest Protestant Christian high school in the country. In 1975, it became a school system offering to 2,500 kindergarten through 12th grade students in 10 different locations a Christian alternative to the public schools' indoctrination in atheistic humanism. In 1970, I founded the Christian Heritage College, with Dr. Henry Morris and the current President of the institution, Dr. Arthur L. Peters, to help train elementary and secondary teachers who are not afflicted with humanistic philosophy for the growing Christian school movement.

Later, LaHaye (1983:239) offered a final evangelical epitaph for the public schools--"I am now convinced that the public schools are unfit to educate the children of Christian families."

In a recent article in Christianity Today, Baer resurrected the 1920s debate on science and evolution. He (1984:2) noted that many Christian parents have objected to the teaching of evolution in the public school, not simply because they dispute the scientific evidence but because "evolution is taught as the cornerstone of a religious-philosophical world view rather than scientific theory and the conceptual basis of modern biology." He was convinced that there had been a well documented shift away from a theistic framework to a humanistic basis for thought. He (1984:4) maintained that "traditionally, both public and private schools in America were thoroughly religious in orientation. 'Christian' values and beliefs

pervaded elementary and secondary education." But Bible reading and prayer were then banned and the result has been a declining system unsuitable for the education of evangelical children.

Barton and Whitehead (1980) have also sounded these themes. They argued that the public schools should be a simple extension of the family and church. The institutional network surrounding the children ought to be, at least to a certain degree, mutually reinforcing. The actual situation, however, in Americn society, made such institutional cooperation practically impossible for evangelicals. As Barton and Whitehead (1980:56) put it:

> Public education has been captured by the humanists as a result of authority lost in the church and home. If the school is not an extension of these two fundamental institutions, then it is nonbiblical and under judgment. This means that in order to recapture the educational system, the home and church must again become the guiding influences in public education.

In the meantime, the Christian school provided an important and viable evangelical alternative when and where it was needed most.

As early as 1974, Towns (1974:133) had argued that America was moving into a "post-Christian era." In the center of this movement was the public school. Towns (1974:133) maintained that theologians agreed that Christian principles had less. . .

> Effect now than in the past. Some have noted the United States has evolved to the post-Christian era. Americans live beyond the consciousness of God. Humanistic-secular values replaced the Protestant/

Puritan ethic.

He (1974:133) went on to say that this process has both been the product of, and was reflected in, the public schools.

> Public school educators openly attack any vestigial remains of Christianity, such as cleanliness, self-respect, unity, discipline, orderliness, or academic excellence. Little do they realize the American ethic is under attack.

In a magazine published by the National Union of Christian Schools, called The Christian Home and School, the same basic lines of reasoning surfaced again and again. First, the culture was becoming progressively worse. It was rejecting Christian values and the Protestant ethic. Second, this worsening situation was reflected in all American life, but its prominence in the public school (as a socializing agent) was especially disconcerting because of its direct effect on culture. Therefore, the Christian evangelical school was a necessary alternative for the protection of children. Cummings (1976:6) wrote, for example, that "when the Supreme Court ruled out Bible reading and prayer in the public schools, the last vestige of God was removed from the classrooms of our nation's public schools." The Court's rejection of God left the parents of evangelical children without the necessary tools to continue to combat secular humanism, the decline of discipline, sexual permissiveness and sex education, etc. (Cummings, 1976:6).

Another magazine, The Christian Teacher, published by the National Association of Christian Schools, contained similar material. Smith (1975:7) wrote, for example, in one of the more direct statements of the position, "if I had my life as a pastor to live over again, I would warn my people constantly about the danger of the. . .public school system." Because the society was so secular, it was no suprise that the school system was secular as well, but:

> As a result of this, virtually all religion of any kind has been removed from our schools along with the original concept of the American. . . philosophy of life. The backlash of this humanistic approach to education has resulted in a society of young people many of whom seem to feel that religion, patriotism, discipline, and morality are nasty words.

The actual number of Christian schools and the number of children that attend them is difficult to determine. In 1974, Giles (et al., 1974:493) maintained that there were approximately one-third to half a million children in evangelical "Christian schools." Clotfelter (1976) noted that while enrollment in Catholic schools declined between 1960 and 1970, non-Catholic enrollment doubled from his estimates of 0.7 million to 1.4 million. Clotfelter's figures were confirmed by Nordin and Turner (1980:391) who pointed out:

> The most rapidly growing segment of American elementary and secondary education is that of private Protestant fundamentalists schools. . . . Between 1965 and 1975 the number of students enrolled in such schools increased from 615,548 to 1,433,000 or 134.4% according to an estimate by the Bureau of the Census.

These numbers probably underestimate the actual number in Christian schools. Many evangelical Christian schools are associated with independent churches and there is no overarching agency which could or would coordinate the collection of enrollment figures. For example, as Nordin and Turner (1980:392) have pointed out after surveying the "fundamentalists" schools in Wisconsin and Kentucky, 50-70% did not belong to any of the four major national "Christian" school organizations. Furthermore, fundamentalist schools in several states have initiated and pursued lawsuits to stop or at least limit the collection of enrollment data, because they feel the state simply has no right to know anything about their religious activities (Nordin and Turner, 1980: 391).

Two different approaches have been taken to explain the existence of such schools. The approaches, however, are not exclusive. The first concentrates primarily on issues of race. Clotfelter (1976:30) has argued that these "private schools have played an important role where public school desegregation has been most complete." Blumenfeld (1972:76) has claimed that "the strongest encouragement to the private school movement in the South came from the Supreme Court, which in its decision of October 30, 1969, ordered the massive integration of schools." Nevin and Bills (1976:vi), who have developed the race perspective most fully, have argued:

> The academies can be seen as an attempt to return to the state of affairs that had developed, quite comfortably for the majority before the country began to undergo its great period of change and self-doubt. The schools established are closely patterned on the public schools which the parents of the present students remember--white, authoritarian, with a strong emphasis on the 3R's and usually healthy doses of religion and the pledge of allegiance thrown in.

On the other hand is the perspective that race, while clearly evident as an issue in some cases, is rather a small aspect of a larger and more complex phenomenon. These schools, the perspective argues, were products of the same type of conflict that produced the evolution controversy in the 1920s. For example, Hargrove (1979: 188) contended that the impetus for private "Christian day schools" came first as early as 1946 in California as a response of conservative, Protestant, Southerners and Midwesterners who had immigrated to California only to find a more liberal, secular, and pluralistic lifestyle than that to which they were accustomed. Then later, but out of this same concern for lifestyle, which was clearly evident among these people all along, came the segregationist academies in the South. That movement has, in turn however, been recoopted by more basic concerns. It has. . .

> Spread along with the rise of militantly evangelical or fundamentalist churches as a protest against the growing secularity of the culture and a perception of the inability of public education to inculcate values important to these families (Hargrove, 1979: 188).

This perspective has received additional empirical support from the study by Nordin and Turner (1980). The

study, which involved parents who sent their children to private evangelical schools in Madison and Lousiville, concluded that:

> Although the two cities surveyed are geographically distinct and have differing cultural backgrounds, fundamentalist parents in both gave the same reasons for withdrawing their children from the public schools. Most frequently they alleged poor academic quality of public education, a perceived lack of discipline in the public schools and the fact that the public schools were believed to be promoting a philosophy of secular humanism that these parents found inimical to their religious beliefs (Nordin and Turner, 1980:392).

In a case study of a Christian school in northeastern Illinois, I (1979) conducted a survey of parents who had sent their children to the school. Indexes were developed to measure religious, political, and racial attitudes, as well as attitudes about the public school. A comparative sample of public school parents was also selected. The parents of Christian-school students were significantly more orthodox than the public-school parents. They were also more politically conservative, and they had a more negative view of the public school. There is little doubt that these attitudes explain, at least in part, why the children of these parents attend private Christian schools.

From an evangelical point of view, the overall quality of American life has declined dramatically since the golden era of evangelical dominance in the middle and late nineteenth century. Evangelicals believed they were in control of the society and under their control it was

a safe place to work, live, and raise families. Every one of America's social institutions supported and reinforced their values. But then, something happened. The evangelicals were not at all sure what it was, but they knew things were different. At first they blamed the immigrants and the anti-evangelical values they had brought with them from Europe. By the 1920s the enemy was the "modernism" associated with biblical criticism and science. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the enemy has become "secular humanism." In any case, as the culture changed, a certain amount of isolation was demanded. The fundamentalists developed alternative institutions, and pushed toward separation, while the "new" evangelicals tried to reassert some social influence. Yet, both the fundamentalists and the "new" evangelicals found it necessary to protect their children from the influence of the larger culture, and the Free Churchers have participated in this effort by trying to protect <u>their</u> doctrinal beliefs and <u>their</u> related lifestyle through their children.

<u>The Protection of the Free Church Faith</u>

In the late nineteenth century, the Free Churcher R.A. Jernberg, objected to any official statement of Free Church faith; but by 1935, despite considerable controversy, four articles of faith were generally agreed upon (Urang, 1959: 114). By 1978, considerably more had been

settled. The Free Churchers had established exactly what they believed and they intended to pass it on to their children to protect both themselves and their children. The Free Churchers wanted their children to believe in the absolute authority and infallibility of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the divinity of Jesus, the ministry of the Holy Spirit, the depravity of man, the saving grace of Jesus Christ, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the universality of the church of believers, the belief that local church membership was dependent upon membership in the "true" church, the right of the local church to govern its own affairs, the "personal and pre-millennial and imminent coming" of Jesus Christ, and the bodily resurrection of the dead. These articles now define Free Church faith and are held in considerable esteem despite a tradition that had previously left many of these matters to the "free conscience" of the believer.

The Free Church also became extremely interested in the lifestyles of its youth. The Free Church opposed any involvement that would hinder "Christian growth." Olson (1981:54ff.) introduced a whole series of questions for Free Church youth that can and should be interpeted as an attempt to gain control of social behavior, in addition to religious belief. He (1981:54) asked under the general heading of "recreation:" (1) Is the recreational activity harmful to the body?; (2) Does the recreation produce too

strong of friendships with unbelievers?; (3) Does the recreation involve a loss of self control?; (4) Does the recreation ignore its effects on others?; (5) Does the recreation promote evil?; (6) Does the recreation involve spending money foolishly?

Olson (1981:55) also raised questions about the extent of any activity: (1) Does the frequency of involvement dull the conscience so that it is impossible to remain critical about the activity?; (2) Does the activity demand some sort of rationalization so that one can feel less guilty about being involved with it?; (3) Does the activity take up too much time?; (4) Does the activity impinge on interest in spiritual matters?

Finally, Olson (1981:57) mentioned several issues that the Free Church is opposed to that "hardly" need to be mentioned because of their obvious deviation from Christian standards. These activities included abortion, drug abuse, homosexuality, lesbianism, cohabitation without marriage, divorce, and remarriage after divorce.

In general, the Free Church has set for itself the goal of achieving spiritual "maturity in Christ" among its youth. This spiritual maturity can be achieved according to V.E. Olson (1966:23) through a seven-step process:

1. This process is to be inaugurated by Christian parents as they implant the doctines of God so deeply in the hearts and minds of their children that they shall never escape them.
2. This process shall further be supplemented by Christian friends, teachers, and pastors of the

local churches.
3. Youth are required by God to obey and respond to the spiritual instruction of their parents.
4. The texts will be the Bible first and foremost, augmented by the lives and examples of parents and teachers.
5. Children and youth are expected by God to direct all their own personal efforts and energies toward the goal of spiritual maturity in Christ.
6. The experimental laboratory and classroom in which this process shall take place is the world in which we live.
7. This process can and should begin early in life and culminate only in death.

Despite the expressed intention of "spiritual maturity in Christ," questions remain about the ability of the Free Churchers as "new" evangelicals to socialize their youth to conservative social and theological standards. In the past evangelicals have lost as many battles as they have won, yet the Free Churchers remain intent on influencing not only their children but through their children the entire nation. To influence the nation they have to abandon the total separation of fundamentalism. But perhaps, as the fundamentalist have suggested, total separation maybe necessary to insure the adequate socialization of young people. The questions then, for the Free Church and groups like them, are simple. How much contact can a group maintain with opposition forces without being significantly affected by the opposition? Can a group with such a loose organizational structure, with independent congregations linked only by their own consent to a twelve-part statement of faith, maintain any distinct identity? By virtue of their own past experiences it is

clear that the enemies of the faith in the larger culture are many. Nevertheless, the future of the Free Church is staked squarely on the successful socialization of its children and youth.

In the following chapter I have set up a model of religious organizational socialization which in turn generates testable hypotheses. The model is based on socialization research conducted in Lutheran and Catholic settings. The question is, if socialization is so critical to the maintenance of identity, what factors contribute to its success or failure? The research indicates that religious socialization is most effective when the <u>various</u> socialization settings <u>complement</u> each other. Then, and only then, can the values and beliefs of a religious subculture be adequately communicated to the children.

CHAPTER V

A MODEL OF RELIGIOUS ORGRANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION

Evangelicals are deeply concerned about their ability to influence and direct the lives of their children. They have increasingly come to believe that they can best do so through a configuration of institutions which mutually reinforce each other. I refer to this socialization strategy as "religious organizational socialization," which has to do with the impact of various institutional settings and configurations on the socialization process.

The perspective that a mutually reinforcing institutional network is important for socialization is relatively new. This is true primarily because the institutional network that existed in American society before the 1920s was naturally reinforcing. The public school, for example, began as an extension of the church and home, and therefore it reflected the values and lifestyles of the local community (Church, 1976:10). In this setting, the school "worked."

Eventually, however, as the nation grew and changed, public education was called upon to mediate the

transition of large numbers of new immigrants to "American" citizen status. Public education found itself as the most significant factor in the "melting pot" theory of American life (cf. Weiss, 1982). The problem with this was the clear evidence that education was unable, at least by itself, to do what so many had hoped it could do--lead to the absolute integration of American society through the propagation of a single value system.

Once it became clear that public education could not insure a single American values system, educational theorists began to reconsider, perhaps more realistically, the role of public education in American society. Why was public education so "successful" in its ability to socialize children to the values of a local community when it simply failed with national agendas? The answer seemed to be that what was "natural" for the local community before the immigrant invasion of the late 19th century--the school functioned to reinforce the home and the church--was not so "natural" after it. The new customs of the immigrants did not complement the old but often offered rival and competing socialization plans to their constituencies. Every one of society's institutions, not just the public school, was involved in education, and this realization--that public education was only one of several social institutions that provided education, often in competition with each other--demanded a change in the

expections for public education. As Cremin (1976:22) put it:

> The important fact is that family life does educate, religious life does educate, and organized work does educate; and what is more the education of all three realms is as intentional as the education of the school however different in kind and quality.

It became obvious, in other words, that the process of socialization was a very complex phenomonon in any society where the various social institutions existed in conflict with one another.

I intend to argue that socialization strategies are most effective when they are products of institutional cooperation. What is learned in school may or may not be reinforced by the community, or the church, or the home, or work. In other words, we can best understand the socialization process by examining how the different socialization configurations interact, and they should work best when they reinforce each other. I intend, throughout the remainder of this chapter, to review research which points toward a view of socialization that emphasizes institutional cooperation. I also intend, through a review of the literature, to develop a model of religious organizational socialization that will, in turn, generate testable hypotheses. By using this strategy the most important aspects of the model of religious organizational socialization can be isolated.

The Use of the Concept in Research: Formal Religious Schooling

Studies of religious organizational socialization have been limited, for the most part, to formal religious schooling. There have been countless studies on belief, commitment, and religiosity, etc., but very few on the specific attempts of religious organizations to socialize their adherents. This seems somewhat unusual to the extent that religious organizations in the United States are voluntary organizations, competing with one another for the commitment of both adults and children. This type of competition was evident even in the definition Mead (1977: 71) offered for a denomination. A denomination is. . .

> A voluntary association of like-hearted and like-minded individuals who are united on the basis of common beliefs for the purposes of accomplishing tangible and defined objectives. One of the primary objectives is the propagation of its point of view, which in some sense it holds to be 'true.'

Mead (1977:75) went on to argue that the American denomination tends to have a "sectarian tendency" and "seeks to justify its peculiar interpretations and practices as more closely conforming to those of the early Church as pictured in the New Testament than the views and policies of its rivals."

American religious groups rival each other and act in an open market of expression; yet there remains little expressed concern with the assessment of their abilities to influence those within their spheres. A series of

studies were completed in the early 1930s by The Institute on Religious Studies at Yale. These studies, under the directorship of Hugh Hartshorne, for the most part involved fairly optimistic appraisals of "modern" teaching methods and their probable effects in educating religious youth (Hartshorne and Lotz, 1832; Hartshorne, 1933). An earlier study by Hartshorne and May (1930) had attempted to isolate important factors influencing the development of religious values, but all these studies were limited and were the products of Hartshorne's personal "ecumenical" hopes.

There are three major contemporary studies which look at a different aspect of religious socialization: a National Opinion Research Center (NORC) report on Catholic parochial education by Greeley and Rossi (1966), a doctoral dissertation on "fundamentalists" schools by Erickson (1962), and a report on Lutheran parochial education by Johnstone (1966).

Greeley and Rossi (1966:vii) wished to answer the following questions: (1) Were the people who attended Catholic schools better Catholics than those who did not?; (2) Did the Catholic school system set its students apart from other Americans and create barriers to their cooperation with Protestants and Jews?; (3) What role did Catholic education play in preparing individuals for achieving economic success? These questions expressed certain

pragmatic concerns. For example, Ryan (1964) had argued that parochial schools were divisive, and Greeley and Rossi were interested in establishing or refuting the claim. The question of divisiveness, then, simply lead to a further interest in how well Catholics were able to come to terms with the world outside the Catholic church. Also, Greeley and Rossi were interested in the effects of Catholic education on economic success, in another attempt to shed more light on the old Weberian thesis.

The Greeley and Rossi study involved two different samples: an adult group of American Catholics who in 1963 were 23 to 57 years of age, and an adolescent group of Catholic high school students who were the children of those in the adult sample. The entire sample was selected using a national sampling frame developed at NORC. As a result, inferences were made to the entire national population of Catholics.

The major independent variable was the amount of Catholic schooling. The adolescent sample was divided into four groupings including: (1) those who had attended Catholic schools for all their schooling; (2) those who had attended Catholic schools for some of their schooling and were attending Catholic schools at the time of the survey; (3) those who had attended Catholic schools, but were not attending during the time of the survey; and (4) those who had never attended Catholic schools. Similar

distinctions were made for the adult groupings.

The dependent variables were a series of indices based on a number of questionnaire items. The major indices included a sacramental index, the church-as-teacher index, an ethical orthodoxy index, and an organizational membership index. The control variables included age, size of hometown, region of the country, father's education and occupational background, mother's education, the respondent's occupation and education, the estimated religiousness of the parents, and the availability of Catholic schooling. The dependent variable was then cross-tabulated with the independent variables and gamma associations calculated. Tests of significance were also applied. Relevant controls were used when appropriate and the adjusted results reported.

In terms of the religious consequences of Catholic education, Greeley and Rossi (1966:73) found that it improved church attendance and was positively correlated with loyalty to the "ecclesiastical system." Catholic education also dramatically increased religious knowledge, and as a result of these findings, Greeley and Rossi concluded that Catholic education had a significant impact on some adolescents, at least in the short run. They also felt, however, that the relationships needed some clarification. Two control variables, parental relgiousness and ethnicity, appeared to be important factors.

Greeley and Rossi (1966:85) suggested two possible explanations for the role of parental religiousness in understanding the relationship of Catholic education to religious attitudes and behavior. First, it could be that:

> The apparent effect of Catholic schooling is in reality the result of the family environment in which the child grew up: devout Catholic families send their children to Catholic schools and the children are devout not because of their schools but because of the family.

A second possible explanation is that:

> The religiousness of the family reinforces the impact of the school and it is only among those from highly religious families that one can expect the school to have much influence.

By dividing the variable of parental religiousness into categories of high, higher-middle, lower-middle, and low religiousness, and then correlating these categories with the indices of religious behavior, the zero-order coefficients increase in the high parental religiousness category and then drop off significantly in the higher-middle, the lower-middle, and the low categories. As a result, Greeley and Rossi (1966:85) assert:

> The conclusion seems inescapable: Catholic schools had an impact only on those who came from families in which one parent received communion every week. There success is almost limited to these families, but among such families, it is quite impressive.

They (1966:87) continued to note:

> Unless religious devotion in the home reaches a certain level, value oriented schooling will have little or no effect on adult behavior; but once the religiousness of the home reaches a critical point, the additional effect of the school will grow very rapidly.

Greeley and Rossi were considerably less confident about their explanation of the impact of ethnicity on religious behavior. They speculated that the Irish and the Germans were affected most because they were more strongly influenced by authorities in the home and school. The Italians and the Poles were much less affected by religious education (cf. Greeley and Gockel, 1971:279).

Another major issue of interest was the impact of religious schooling on social unity. Greeley and Rossi (1966:115) developed an index of divisiveness including such items as having only Catholic friends, neighbors, or co-workers; having intolerant cultural attitudes in reference to blacks and Jews; and having a certain level of social consciousness with regard to social welfare. Briefly, Greeley and Rossi (1966:116) found no trace of a divisive effect in Catholic education. In fact, the youngest Catholic school graduates appeared more tolerant than their public school counterparts.

Greeley and Rossi (1966:101) summarized the major contributions of their study as follows:

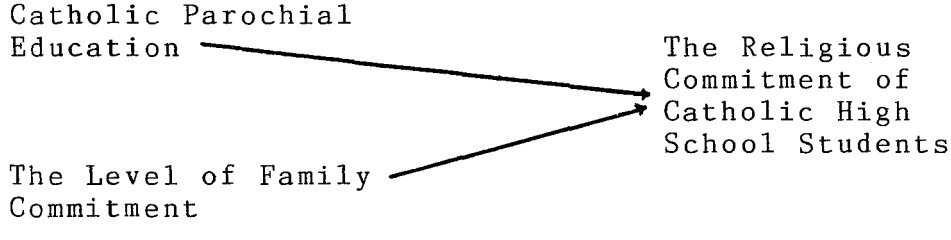
> Something of a pattern begins to emerge: religious education does indeed have an impact on the adult lives of its students, but only when the social context of childhood or adulthood supports and emphasizes the values learned in the school. Religious education apparently works when there is constant reinforcement from outside the school.

If Cremin (1976) is correct in arguing that the public school is, was, or can be successful only when it

exists in an environment of mutually supportive institutions, then perhaps we should expect as much in the context of religious schooling. The findings of Greeley and Rossi have substantiated this perspective and have, in turn, also suggested an initial model of religious organizational socialization (Figure 1). "Successful" socialization seems to be the result of a cumulative process in which any particular aspect of socialization plays only a part in a larger organizational and socialization scheme. Greeley and Rossi (1966:189) made this quite clear when they concluded:

> Unless the work of the school is reinforced by other institutions of socialization, its effectiveness is very likely to be minimal in the long run. Americans have a strong and pious faith in the power of education to work wonders. . . .Such a faith in the power of religious education may be edifying but it is also naive. . . In other words, if religious schools can have a long term impact on those who are predisposed to acquire religious values, then this in itself is quite an accomplishment. For the schools to change the lives of those who are not so predisposed would be little short of miraculous.

FIGURE 1
A MODEL OF CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONAL SOCIALIZATION (Greeley and Rossi, 1966)



The second study of importance was by Johnstone (1966). The study was concerned with Lutheran high schooling in Detroit and St. Louis. It was also considerably less sophisticated than the study by Greeley and Rossi, based as it was on more limited resources. The intent of the study was to determine if Johnstone could "observe differences in attitudes, beliefs, and behavior when [he] compared people who have had the experience of a parochial school education with those who have not" (Johnstone, 1966:15).

The independent variable was the amount of parochial schooling. Johnstone concentrated in both the above cities, on high school students who belonged to the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. He divided those interviewed into five basic groupings from 100% parochial, to 65%-90% parochial, to 30%-60% parochial, to 1%-29% parochial, to 100% public. The responses of the students were then compared across these five basic educational categories.

The dependent variables were often single question variables that included church attendence, prayer and communion, biblical knowledge, Lutheran doctrine, and other consequential religious questions concerning issues having to do with policies of the church, the "conflict" between science and the Bible, etc. The only major control variable was the religiousness of the family. Three levels

of religiousness were specified, varying by the extent of religious behavior including "ideal," "modal," and "marginal" Lutheran families. Other controls were conspicuouly absent.

Johnstone made several important findings (or non-findings, as the case may be). For example, in terms of social and political attitudes, there was little variation between the various groupings of Lutheran youth (Johnstone, 1966:63). In terms of religious behaviors such as church attendance, Lutheran schooling had an effect only for those children from marginal Lutheran homes. This was also the case for a variety of other indicators, and Johnstone (1966:75) concluded that, in general, the influence of parochial education was a factor only for children from "marginal" Lutheran families. This finding is the exact opposite of the conclusion reached by Greeley and Rossi.

Erickson (1967) tried to make sense of this contradiction in his review of Johnstone's work. His argument seems to make sense. Greeley and Rossi, with an adult sample, could trace the long-term affects of Catholic education. In so doing they found that children from the most religious Catholic families were the only children affected over the long run. Johnstone was unable to trace the long-term effects of Lutheran education, so he had no way of determining if Lutheran education had delayed effects, or whether or not the effects that may have existed

may have turned around, so that those who were most affected over time turned out, not to be those from "marginal" families, but those from "ideal" families. Erickson (1967:429) concluded:

> The child from the marginal home seems impressionable while interacting with his peers and teachers in the parochial school, but he seldom chooses a spouse who is highly devout and in later years he abandons many of the patterns he adopted while in school. The lasting products of parochial education are found in the lives of individuals from committed homes--other persons are reformed only temporarily.

The Johnstone study suffered from a variety of problems. It is clear that the study would have benefited from the use of more control variables, and questions also existed about Johnstone's judgment in his selection of a level of statistical significance. Greeley and Gockel (1971:271) and Erickson (1967) argued that the .01 level of statistical significance was too stringent for Johnstone's study. Johnstone's dependent variables were often single items and as a result the .01 level "implies much more precision than his data actually contain" (Greeley and Gockel, 1971:272). In 15 separate instances, Johnstone claimed no significant differences between the groupings of Lutheran school children when the use of the .05 level of statistical significance would have led to opposite conclusions. The lack of important control variables, and the questions raised about the appropriate levels of statistical significance cast considerable doubt on the legitimacy of Johnstone's findings.

The third study of importance was by Erickson (1962) on "fundamentalist" schools in "urban" and "suburban" areas of the Midwest and West (Erickson, 1962:29). (The exact locations of the schools were not reported by Erickson.) The students included were sixth, seventh, and eight graders from fundamentalist churches, some of whom attended private "Christian" schools, while the others attended traditional public schools (Erickson, 1962:28).

Erickson's (1962:51) independent variable was "sectarian school status" with four divisions: in the public school--would not attend a sectarian school even if one were available; in the public school--would probably attend a sectarian school if one were available; in a sectarian school, but had attended less than four years; in a sectarian school, and had attended more than four years.

The dependent varible Erickson (1962:39) called "delta religiousness." Delta religiousness was the sum of scores achieved that estimated "the extent to which a subject conformed with certain important religious expectations of Fundametalists groups" (Erickson, 1962:39). The index included 17 items relating to mysticism, doctrine, piety, "separatistic" values and "separatistic" behavior (Erickson, 1962:44).

Erickson (1962:52) used a four-way analysis of variance to compare the mean religiousness scores across the four analytic groupings in question. He (1962:47ff.) also

noted three important control variables: parental religiousness, home congeniality, and church involvement. Other less significant controls included "social position," I.Q., sex, and grade in school.

Erickson made two major findings: the mean religiousness scores did not vary consistently, nor were they statistically significant, but there was an interaction between the religiousness scores and parental religiousness, home "congeniality," and church involvement (Erickson, 1962:68). On this basis, Erickson developed a theory which argued that "religious attitudes are acquired when a significant religious figure is available for the child's identification, and when the congeniality of the figure facilitates such identification" (Erickson, 1962:88).

The Erickson study had a problem with sampling and return rates, but this problem was, and is, extremely difficult to avoid especially when dealing with conservative religious organizations. The conclusion, however, was that other institutional environments eliminated or reduced the effects of parochial schools. Particularly relevant was the interaction, once again, between the home and school.

It can be generally concluded from these studies that adult and particularly adolescent religious behavior is influenced by the level of religious commitment in the family in interaction with religious education. The impact of socialization in the context of religious

organizations (e.g. the parochial school) is "a very complicated system of interactions, not a simple panacea which by itself will overcome all obstacles of family background, social class, and ethnic origin" (Greeley and Gockel, 1971:294). The primary interaction that takes place between the settings of the home and school may also be further influenced by other institutional factors such as the length of parochial schooling or the denominational affiliation of the adults and adolescents. These various interactions, conceptualized as products of different socialization settings, need to be elaborated to develop a comprehensive socialization model.

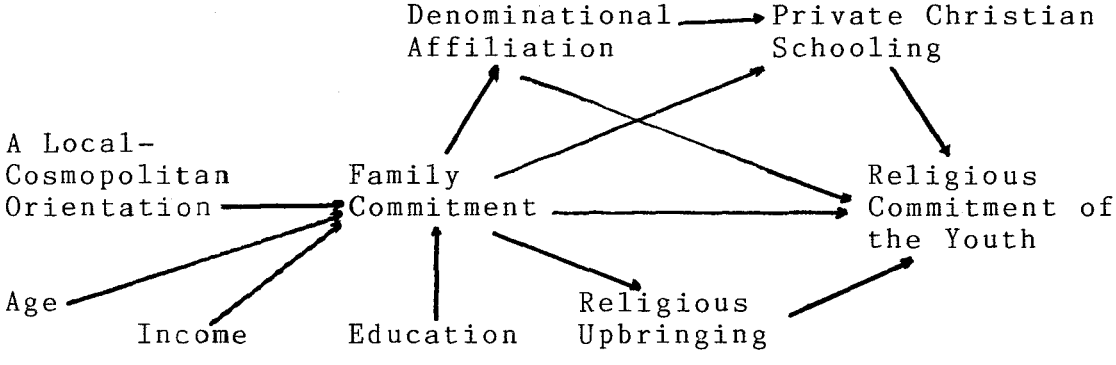
There is also a tendency, evident in these studies, for the important variables having to do with religious socialization to cumulate. This finding also needs to be studied in terms of its implications for religious organizational socialization. What if these variables, for whatever reason, do not complement each other, and therefore do not cumulate? If this is important, we need to specify exactly how it is important.

A Model for Understanding Religious Organizational Socialization

Following the direction of these parochial school studies, I have developed a model of religious organizational socialization. The model includes the religious commitment level of high school students as the

dependent variable. The independent variables include the denomination, the congregation, private Christian schooling, and the level of the religious commitment of the family. The commitment of the family, in turn, also becomes a dependent variable influenced by a "local-cosmopolitan" orientation in addition to several other variables including age, income, education, and religious upbringing (cf. Figure 2).

FIGURE 2
A MODEL OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION



Religious Commitment

My approach to religious commitment is based primarily on the work of Glock (1962). Glock distinquished five different dimensions of religious commitment. The first dimension is the "experiential," which has to do with subjective religious experience. These experiences are expected of the religiously committed; and though they might

vary from one religious group to another, "every religion places some value on subjective religious experience as a sign of individual religiosity" (Glock, 1962:S99). In the case of conservative evangelicals, the interest was in religious experiences which had to do with feelings of being loved by God, being in the presense of God during worship, etc.

The second dimension is the "ideological" dimension. The dimension has to do with "the expectation that religious person will hold to certain beliefs" (Glock, 1962:S99). Conservative evangelicals are very specific about the nature of such beliefs. Doctrinal "purity" is very important and as a result should be a significant aspect of conservative evangelical religious commitment. God is defined as a personal Being who demands a personal response to His offer of salvation through Jesus Christ His son. Christ is believed to be divine and a product of a virgin birth. The Bible is believed to be verbally inspired and "inerrant." These doctrines and others of an equally traditional and orthodox nature must be publicly confessed, and in turn form the basis of "true" religious commitment among conservative evangelicals.

The "ritualistic" dimension includes "specifically religious practices expected of religious adherents" (Glock, 1962:S99). I have modified this dimension to refer to what I call "devotional" practice. This seemed

appropriate in that "ritualism" is defined and understood narrowly by conservative evangelicals and is associated with religious practices that are rotely observed without thought of their symbolic meanings or implications. In fact, almost all "formalized" expressions of the faith are avoided. Only the sacrements of baptism and communion are recognized as significant and legitimate "ritualized" behaviors. Even written prayers, because they are too formal, are neglected. At the same time, one who did not pray regularly and preferabley at a fixed time, would probably not be designated as a "true" Christian. Such would also be the case for Bible reading, church attendance, and the public confession of faith, and as a result, the extent of one's participation in such activities certainly reflects a level of personal religious commitment in the evangelical community.

The "intellectual" dimension expects of the religious person a certain level of knowledge about the tenets of the faith and the Bible. Among evangelicals, knowledge of the Bible is most important and highly prized. The most committed individual is in turn capable of citing Bible verses from memory, knowing the details of Biblical history and often even the basics of Biblical interpretation.

The final dimension is the "consequential" dimension. It includes, according to Glock (1962:S99):

> The secular effects of religious belief, practice, experence, and knowledge on the individual. Included under the consequential dimension are all those religious prescriptions which specifiy what people ought to hold as a consequence of their religion.

For conservative evangelicals such consequential behavior is varied but includes conservative positions on most ethical, social, and political issues.

To the five dimensions noted above I have added a "cultural" integration index. The cultural integration index goes beyond church attendance to measure participation in the religious subculture of evangelicalism via the local church. Significant activities in the index include the holding of church office, the influence of the pastor on daily decision making, having a network of friendships that revolve around the church, etc. It is very important for the conservative evangelical to live as much of life as possible within the confines of the religious subculture. The intention of this index is to measure the extent to which this goal is achieved.

Glock and Stark (1970) operationalized each of these dimensions in terms of religious orthodoxy in the recent conservative Protestant tradition. They have made it possible to make rather basic distinctions between levels of conservative orthodoxy (fundamentalism) and theological and doctrinal liberalism. I have simply followed their lead in developing similar questions and indexes which measure the above dimensions of religious

commitment. I scored each of the questions so that they can be standardized, added together, and averaged to establish the general level of religious commitment for any particular individual.

Davidson (1975) has suggested there is a problem with Glock's dimensions. He divided the dimensions along the familiar liberal-conservative continuum and then argued that these dimensions could be seen as representing two or more different religious orientations--an "otherworldly" and a "thisworldly" orientation. Because of this, the level of commitment is not so much at issue as is the nature of commitment. Thus, in terms of the "ideological" dimension, for example, a "conservatively" committed individual may stress vertical beliefs in God, the afterlife, and the divinity of Christ, while a "liberally" committed individual may stress horizontal beliefs like loving one's neighbor, or doing good for others. This type of distinction does not violate the spirit of what Glock attempted to do; and if the point is that both "liberals" and "conservative" are, or may be, equally committed Christians who work out their faiths differently, the point is well taken. There are many different views in Christian circles about which aspects of faith and therefore commitment are most important. It was not Glock's intention to determine if any particular view of the "faith" was more appropriate than any other, but at the

same time, distinctions can be made about the "orthodoxy" of particular belief and commitment systems by comparing them to some "traditional" standard of Christian faith, and it is this approach I am taking with conservative evangelicalism.

In terms of religious commitment, then, I am interested in the level of religiousness among Free Church high school students. I am particularly interested in the effects of various institutional configurations on that commitment. If the institutional network is integrated, there should be a high level of commitment with consistency over and throughout the various dimensions of commitment including religious experience, ideology, ritualism (devotionalism), intellectual knowledge of the Bible, consequential beliefs, and cultural integration.

The Congregation and Religious Commitment

The importance of the congregation to religious commitment can be developed from a variety of sources. Lenski (1961:21) referred to two different types of personal involvement with congregations. On the one hand there was "associational" involvement which simply included attendance at corporate worship services, etc. On the other hand, however, there was "communal" involvement, which Lenski (1961:21) specified as "the degree to which the primary-type relations of an individual are limited to

a person of his own group"--in this case a congregation. Glock and Stark (1968:165) turned "Lenski's distinction toward the entire congregations, separating congregations with constituencies of religious "participants" from those representing religious "audiences."

On a different, but perhaps more important level, Perry (1980:225) pointed out how much influence the congregation can have over its own definition of values even in the case of the older, hierarchically governed, denominational structures. In other words, each congregation, no matter what its affiliation, has its own character that often goes well beyond being simply "communal" or "associational." Instead, individuals in the congregation may express similar perspectives on theology, doctrine, form of worship, social welfare, and politics, etc., so that the whole becomes more than the sum of its parts and takes on a life of its own. We can conclude from this that, if the individuals in a congregation tend toward participation and they share particular views of religious commitment and mission, then the congregation will exert a considerable amount of influence on its younger people.

The Denomination and Religious Commitment

The ties between the congregation and the denomination are difficult to clearly distinguish because of the obvious nature of their interaction. As Hargrove (1979:

264) pointed out, there are three major idealized forms of denominational organization and all have to relate, in one way or another, to the congregation. The "episcopal" form, characteristic of Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and Eastern orthodox churches "is a centralized pattern in which it is assumed that the divine charisma flows from the center through authorized channels" (Hargrove, (1979: 264). The congregation is served by a priest who has loyalty first and foremost to the hierarchy, and to the exercise of decision made by the hierarchy in the local congregation despite the congregational will. The "presbyterian" form of government is intended to give "equal weight" to the clergy and laity in local congregations. "Ministers. . .are expected to represent the interests of the wider church" (Hargrove, 1979:264). Yet, at the same time, they are called and dismissed by the local congregation and are therefore responsible to the local body.

The "congregational" form of government is the product of a desire for local control. Local congregations are vested with the final authority to make decisions. As a result, the local churches may be extremely homogeneous if only because they operate without outside interference. We can conclude that in such a congregational context provincialism would be more pervasive and as a result the congregation would in turn be more likely to reinforce and reproduce itself. Beliefs surface from the bottom up in

the lives and experiences of the congregational members rather than being "imposed" from the top down. At the same time, however, the variations between and perhaps within congregations, in such a loosely organized context--without the guidance of a strong denominational structure--may seriously affect the substance and consistency of belief.

It is also clear from the work in the "free church" tradition that, even in these loose organization formats represented by congregationalism, power networks develop informally as individuals, who for whatever reason, battle for the control of the power that still exists in such organizations (Harrison, 1959). On the other hand, any particular congregation may or may not be more or less "in line" with the larger denomination. Yet, it is clear, that if any particular congregation is not in line, it is extremely difficult for any denomination to influence the nature of an adolescent's religious commitment. The denominational curricula go unused, their various other materials undistributed, and their points not made or countered in any number of ways. This is particularly true and often the case when the denomination is more "liberal" than the congregation. It may be that the members of a congregation and the denominational officials are worlds apart. As Takayama (1980:307) has put it:

> Churches are oriented toward fulfillment of supra-empirical and universalistic values. Yet, local

> congregations in denominations, as concrete functioning structures, can be viewed as predominantly 'solidary' or communal organizations. . . They are oriented toward harmony, not toward issues. They seek to avoid internal conflict.

The Christian School and Religious Commitment

Literature on the relationship of the school to religious commitment has been thoroughly reviewed. Religious schooling should have little or no effect on religious commitment unless it is part of a larger institutional network including the family and the congregation. We may also expect some interaction between the congregation and the school.

The Family and Religious Commitment

The most important variable in the model may well be the family. Parents seem to minimize or maximize the effects of the other institutional settings in general. The school studies have pointed this out most clearly (Greeley and Rossi, 1966; Johnstone, 1966; Erickson, 1962), but other evidence exists as well. Stark (1972:501) listed "religious upbringing" with the religious subculture and other later life factors as the best set of predictors of religious involvement. Davidson (1977:480) reviewed and supported Stark's findings. Davidson and Knudsen (1977: 164) argued that, in terms of commitment, the parents' religious activity exerted the most influence. The more

active parents were in their respective religious subcultures, the more highly committed their children were." The significant impact of the family was also key in the research of Rosen (1955), Putney and Middleton (1961), and Weigert and Thomas (1970).

The Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation and the Family

I am also interested in testing the theoretical scheme developed by Roof (1972,1974,1976) on a local-cosmopolitan orientation and its relationship to the religious commitment of particularly the adults. As a result, I have included a local-cosmopolitan index patterned after indices used by Roof. I have done this because, if the religious commitment of the parents can be predicted, then the socialization model is complete. This does not mean that the institutional approach applied to the students is not relevant to the adults; in fact, Roof's (1976) work is simply the further development of an institutional approach based in Durkheim's work.

Roof (1976) has argued that religious commitment is only possible in a modern society within a local community of believers who function to reinforce and support beliefs and values which would not be "plausible" outside the community. The local community consists of:

> A complex system of friendship and kinship networks, informal and formal associations, as well as symbolic attachments, very much rooted in family life and the ongoing socialization process (Roof, 1976:197).

Roof tried to isolate the local orientation by tying it to several interests and behaviors which included the extent of involvement with a local community, a predominate interest in local community events, a preference for small cities and towns, and more conservative social and political beliefs. I have adopted this same basic approach.

Age, income, and education are control variables that may also be related to the level of parental religious commitment, and finally, I also have included an index of recall questions on the upbringing of the parents. The questions include considering oneself a "Christian" when growing up, as well as the spiritual atmosphere of the home, etc. The combination of these variables and indexes should increase the ability to predict the level of parental religious commitment which can then, in turn, be related back to the level of high school religious commitment. This model of religious organization socialization involves several testable hypotheses listed below which will be examined in the following chapters.

Hypotheses

1. The highest levels of religious commitment will be found among high school students from:

    a. churches with integrated value and belief systems;
    b. congregationally oriented denominations;
    c. private Christian schools; (The extent of time in a private Christian school will increase the level of religious commitment.
    d. homes where the parents are most orthodox.

2. The orthodoxy level of the parents will be associated with:

   a. a local-cosmopolitan orientation, so that more orthodox parents will exhibit more of a provincial orientation;
   b. a more religious upbringing;
   c. age, so that older parents will be more orthodox;
   d. income, so that poorer families will be more orthodox;
   e. education, so that less educated parents will be more orthodox.

3. The various institutional settings--the denomination, the church, the Christian school, and the family--will cumulate and positively interact to produce the most religiously committed high school students.

4. The various dimensions of religious commitment should be positively related to each other among orthodox groups to produce a type of integrated commitment which is more or less unaffected by outside or counter-cultural forces.

CHAPTER VI

THE DATA: THE SAMPLE AND THE INDEXES

Two different groups of high school students and their parents were surveyed. The first and largest group included the high school students of five Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA) congregations in Illinois and their parents. The second group included high school students who were attending United Presbyterian (U.P.C.) churches in the same cities and same approximate locations as the Free Church congregations. These two groups were chosen for analysis partly because of convenience, but also because they represent two different and distinct subcultures. Both groups are Protestant and composed primarily of white Anglo-Saxons of northern, European descent. They also represent the middle of American life, typically moderate or conservative both socially and politically, hard working, and suburban. Yet, these two groups have developed in different directions. The pietistic tendencies of an older, more orthodox Presbyterianism represented by 1920s "Princeton" school theology has been under attack for the past century. The attacks have been marked

by a series of denominational splits that have left the United Presbyterians among the least conservative of all Presbyterian groups (Hoge, 1977). On the other hand, the Evangelical Free Church had always been pietistic, but it has increasingly identified that pietism with social and political conservatism, particularly since the 1920s (Hale,1979). As a result of these similarities and differences, these two groups provide a basis for interesting comparisons.

There were sixty-seven Free Churches in Illinois at the time of sample selection and of that sixty-seven, five were chosen at random. The five congregations included two suburban Chicago congregations, Arlington Heights Evangelical Free Church (1147), and Faith Evangelical Free Church in Schaumburg (70). The other congregations were First Evangelical Free Church in Rockford (1350), Park Hills Evangelical Free Church in Freeport (522), and Homewood Evangelical Free Church in Moline (536). Of the Free Church congregations all agreed to participate even though the sample was reduced to four churches because Faith Evangelical Free Church in Schaumburg, a relatively new church, was without a single active high school student. The size of the high school groups varied considerably. The largest group, at Arlington Heights, included 94 students. In Rockford there were 55 students and in Freeport 29. In Moline there were 8. The total sample included

186 Free Church students (N=186).

The parent groups were considerably smaller because of the difficulties associated with surveying the parents. The only available method of dealing with the parents, primarily because of resources, was through the high school students. The survey was taken home to be filled out and returned the following Sunday. Because it was necessary to use this approach, the number of parent surveys returned was relatively low. There were 19 returned at Arlington Heights, 15 in Rockford, 8 in Freeport, and 8 in Moline. The total sample size for the Evangelical Free Church parents was 50 (N=50). The overall response rate for the Free Church parents was 27%.

United Presbyterian high school students were selected to provide a basis for comparison. A congregation was selected in each of the five cities where Free Churches had been chosen. The intent was to provide some control by geographic region by obtaining the participation of the congregation closest to the Free Church sites. Because of problems of cooperation, however, I was forced to select congregations on the simple basis of willingness to participate. In Freeport there were only two United Presbyterian churches, and neither wished to participate. In Rockford, the closest Presbyterian church had no high school group, so another further away was selected. As a result, the Presbyterian group was drawn from three

churches. In Arlington Heights the group consisted of 54 high school students from the First Presbyterian Church of Arlington Heights. In Rockford, where all the high school groups seemed small, the group consisted of five high school students from Third Presbyterian Church. In Moline, the group included five high school students from East Moline Presbyterian Church (N=64).

The parents of the Presbyterian youth were equally difficult to survey. None participated at Third Presbyterian in Rockford; four at East Moline Presbyterian Church; and 17 at the First Presbyterian Church of Arlington Heights (N=21). The overall response rate was 39%. The combined Free Church and Presbyterian student sample was N=250 with a combined parental response rate of 28%.

Because of the small size of some of these groups, and because it was impossible to obtain a random sample of Free Church or Presbyterian youth, and because of the low response rate for the parental groups, tests of statistical significance did not seem appropriate. No attempt has been made to generalize from these data to the larger Free Church of America, and the findings of the study should be viewed with caution given the nature of the sample. At the same time, I am simply trying to establish, by way of a comparative analysis of these respective groups, that <u>substantive</u> differences do exist between these particular Free Churchers and these particular Presybterians.

Because of the loose-knit nature of groups like the Free Church, it is almost impossible to generate a reliable sampling frame, and as a result, statistical techniques for establishing significant differences must give way to less precise methods. On the other hand, there is little reason to believe that these groups are not substantively representative of either the larger Free Church in America or the United Presbyterian Church.

The Indexes

There were two different surveys, one for the high school students and another for the parents (cf. Appendix A). Many of the questions were similar, however. The survey was divided into various sections each dealing with different aspects of religious commitment, patterned after the work of Glock (1962).

All the indexes were constructed along a liberal-conservative continuum. For example, for both of these groups, the Presbyterians and the Free Churchers, there were various possible positions on biblical authority. The most conservative position argued that "the Bible is God's Word without any type of error, at least in the original manuscripts." A less conservative position was that "the Bible was written by men, inspired by God, but it may contain errors of history or in matters relating to science." A considerably more liberal position was that

"the Bible is just another book." The first response was coded with the highest value (most conservative) and the last with the lowest (most liberal). Depending on the number of alternative responses for any particular question, the codes ran from 0 to as high as 5. The scores on each question were then standardized as z-scores, and then added together and finally averaged over the series of index items for a single index score. The individual index scores were finally added together to produce a composite score on an index of orthodox religious commitment. Missing cases were handled by assigning them the value of the mean for that particular question; with the z-score transformations, such cases had no effect on the values of the final index scores.

There were eight different indexes for the high school students. The indexes included an "ideological" index, a "devotional" index, an "experiential" index, an "intellectual" index, a "consequential" index, a "cultural integration" index, a "cosmopolitan" index, and the "orthodox religious commitment" index. For the adults the same basic indexes were created with the addition of a "religious youth" index.

The Ideological Index

The ideological index consisted of four questions for the high school students. The same questions were

also used for the parents with an additional question having to do with "grace" (cf. Table 1). The index was oriented toward an evangelical perspective and the responses ran from most conservative to most liberal.

A small, but insignificant percentage difference existed between the Free Church and Presbyterian students on the question of the nature of God--both groups generally believing that God was a "personal" and "caring" being, but throughout the rest of the index the Presbyterian students took more "liberal" positions. The Presbyterian students were less likely to refer to Jesus as "God living among men," even though a majority still took this orthodox position (only one Presbyterian student out of sixty responded that Jesus was just an "illusion"). The differences between these student groups were most pronounced on the questions of biblical inerrancy and the literalness of Heaven and Hell. For Free Churchers it is very important to take a totally inerrant view of Scripture and 83.1% of these Free Church students did. Combined with the 12.4% of Free Churchers who took a position of "limited" inerrancy, over 95% of Evangelical Free Church students accepted the "authority" of Scripture. This was also true for the Presbyterian students, but the percentages shifted significantly toward a perspective of "limited" inerrancy. Many of the Presbyterian students were not convinced the Bible could be trusted in matters

of history or science. They were also considerably less sure about the literalness of Heaven and Hell, so that in general, the Evangelical Free Church students were more orthodox on doctrinal issues throughout the ideological index than were their Presbyterian counterparts.

For the parents the differences between the Presbyterians and the Free Churchers were even more pronounced. The Presbyterians were less likely to view God as a "personal" being and more likely to see God more abstractly as "the Creator and Ruler of the universe." Ninety-six percent of the Free Churchers believed that Jesus was "God living among men" compared to only 77.3% of the Presbyterians. But, on the remaining questions in the index the differences between these two groups were even more clear. Ninety-two per cent of the Free Churchers took an absolute view of inerrancy compared to only 15.6% of the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterian parents were also much less sure about whether or not Heaven and Hell existed as literal places. Finally, the Presbyterian parents were more generous with the extention of God's "grace." Fifty percent of the Presbyterian parents responded that "grace was a gift" given to <u>all</u>, while 74.5% of the Free Churchers believed grace was given only to those who "consciously" accepted Jesus Christ as "personal" savior.

Several comments also need to be made about the relationship of the students to their parents on the

ideological index. The percentage of Free Church students who took an absolute view of inerrancy was somewhat less than the percentage of parents who took the same view. The percentage of Free Church students who responded that Heaven and Hell were literal places was also less than the percentage of parents who took the same view. The greatest difference throughout the index, however, was where one would expect it least. Only 79.5% of the Free Church students responded that Jesus was "God living among men" compared to 96% of their parents.

For the Presbyterians, it was clear that the order established by the Free Churchers was reversed--it was the parents who were generally more liberal throughout the index than their children. The Presbyterian parents took a less orthodox view of God, Scripture, and the literalness of Heaven and Hell. Only on the question of the divinity of Jesus were the Presbyterian parents more orthodox than their children. Overall, both the United Presbyterian students and their parents represented a more liberal approach to doctrine than either of the Free Church groups. It is not that these Presbyterians represented some sort of radical approach to Christian belief (since it was clear that throughout the ideological index they fell well within the parameters of traditional orthodoxy) but the Evangelical Free Church parents and their children were simply much more conservative.

The Devotional Index

The percentage of Free Church high school students that reported table prayers at all meals was considerably higher than the percentage for the Presbyterian students (cf. Table 2). Free Church students also had family devotions more often than did the Presbyterian students, but perhaps because many of the high school youth from First Presbyterian Church of Arlington Heights were involved in Sunday morning choir activities, the percentage of Presbyterian students (98.4%) who regularly attend church was actually higher than the percent for the Free Churchers (91.9%).

Important differences also existed between these two student groups in terms of the frequency of prayer, and Bible reading. In other words, on six out of the seven questions on the devotional index, the Presbyterian students responded that they were less active devotionally than were their Free Church counterparts. This finding reflects the fact that the Free Church subculture tends, almost exclusively at times, to define religious commitment in terms of devotional practice, and these students have incorporated this emphasis into their daily lives.

The differences that existed between the student groups were, again, even more pronounced when it came to the parents. The Free Church parents prayed more, felt that prayer was more important, read the Bible more, and

felt that Bible reading was more important than did the Presbyterian parents. It was quite clear that the Free Church parents took their devotional activity very seriously--more seriously than the Presbyterian parents, the Presbyterian students, or even the Free Church students.

These results were expected. Differences in the levels of devotionalism reflect two different subcultural environments which stress different aspects of religious commitment. In other words, as Davidson (1975) has suggested, what we see here is not necessarily a difference in the level of commitment, but rather a difference in kind. The larger evangelical subculture conceptualizes commitment in terms of Bible reading and prayer and we see such an emphasis in these Free Churchers. The devotionalism of particularly the Evangelical Free Church parents was, if not extreme, then certainly extensive. Ninety-eight percent attended church once a week or more; 96% responded that pray was "extremely" important to them; 94% read their Bibles regularly at least several times a week; and 98% said that Bible reading is at least "fairly" important in their lives. Perhaps because of the relatively extreme level of parental devotionalism among the Free Church parents, their children found it impossible to measure up.

The Experiential Index

Only small percentage differences existed between

the Free Church and Presbyterian high school students on the experiential index (cf. Table 3). Both groups felt involved with God in the context of worship at least some of the time, and both groups were convinced that God cared for them. Once again, however, it was the Free Church parents who deviated from the norm. Ninety-two percent claimed to be "involved" with God in worship, and a full 100% of the Free Church parents never doubted God's love. Because of this, the Free Church students, whose responses more closely resembled those of the Presbyterian parents, continued to find it difficult to match their parents' level of experiential commitment. It was not that the students had poor religious experiences, but the standards established by their parents were very, very high.

The Intellectual Index

The intellectual index was particularly tailored to evangelicals in that it was devoted exclusively to Biblical knowledge (cf. Table 4). In other words, the index was made up of questions any reasonably well informed and therefore committed high school student would be able to answer.

The Free Church students were more likely to give the correct responses throughout the intellectual index as expected. The Presbyterian parents, on the other hand, did better. This is the only index on which the

Presbyterian parents appear more orthodox than their children. At the same time, the pattern remained consistent with the Free Church parents. On two of the three index questions, there were large percentage differences between the Free Church parents and their children. The Free Church parents clearly established themselves as the most competent group when it came to biblical knowledge.

The Consequential Index

The consequential index raised specific issues of concern for evangelicals. Each of the questions was derived from current topical debate in evangelical circles and each of the questions could then be tied directly to a related doctrinal issue (cf. Table 5).

For the student groups opinion was largely split over whether or not good citizenship demanded faith in God, though the Presbyterian students were least convinced. Both the student groups also generally supported the seeking of "social justice," but when it came to the issue of remarriage after divorce the Free Church students were more conservative. Still, 68.6% of the Evangelical Free Church students, either saw nothing wrong with remarriage or were at least undecided about its moral implications. This is a very interesting finding in a subculture so opposed to divorce in general, as an attack on family values, and even more opposed to remarriage after divorce, as

a sin of adultery.

The Presbyterian students were also less opposed to supporting the Equal Rights Amendment than were the Free Church students, but again, more Free Church students than one would expect supported such an amendment. Thirty-five percent were not opposed and another 24% were undecided. I think this is, again, very significant in the context of evangelicalism where a godly wife is a submissive wife.

This trend--Presbyterian students representing more liberal positions on these social and political questions --continued on issues having to do with women in positions of authority in the church and on the issue of abortion. Nevertheless, 67.3% of the Free Church high school students were in favor of women taking some authority in the church. The "doctrine" of submission took a back seat, perhaps to the larger cultural trends in this regard. A significant number of Free Church students (33%) also "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed" that abortion was wrong under any circumstance. By Presbyterian standards this was low, but in the context of what one would expect, given "the right to life" movement and the interest in the propagation of "family" values, it was, to say the least, interesting that 33% would vacillate on the question of abortion.

A significant number of both student groups were unsure about the role of "humanists" in American culture.

Perhaps this is evidence that neither of the groups knew enough about "humanists" to be concerned. The "rhetoric" of some evangelical debates may filter down to the level of the children more slowly than one would think. The United Presbyterian students were more adamant in favoring free speech and opposing the right to ban library books, but over and over again, it was clear that it would be inappropriate to attribute, in every case, conservative social and political beliefs to these Free Church high school students. In general, on the consequential index, the Free Church students were conservative, but not extremely conservative. On the basis of widely advertised social and political platforms of groups like the "Moral Majority" and other like-minded organizations allying themselves with conservative religious groups, one would think that some sort of cultural hegemony existed. Certainly it is their goal, but it is nevertheless far from a total reality, even in contexts where such groups should be strongest, when it comes to the consequential effects of conservative religious beliefs.

In general, differences between the Presbyterian parents and the Free Church parents, unlike those between the students, were extreme. This was particularly true on issues having to do with divorce, women in positions of church authority, abortion, humanists, and the banning of library books. The pattern evident on the other indexes

exists on the consequential index--the United Presbyterian parents were the most liberal group, followed by their children, then the Free Church students, and then the Free Church parents. Nevertheless, as with the Free Church students, a significant minority of Free Church parents held out for more liberal perspectives. It was very interesting that even 26.5% of the Free Church parents agreed to the legitimacy of remarriage after divorce. It was significant that 32% of the Free Church parents favored the Equal Rights Amendment, and another 42% believed that it was not inappropriate for women to hold positions of authority in the church. Certainly in each case these views were minority views, but they were also indicative of the problems associated with overgeneralization when when it comes to the social and political consequences of conservative evangelical religious beliefs. I am not suggesting that these evangelicals were not conservative. They were, and this is quite clear if we compare their views to those of the Presbyterians. What I am suggesting is that there may be more variation than one would suppose in a subculture so preoccupied with the "truth," with authority, and the unity that is supposedly a product of having the truth.

One final point can be made in regard to the consequential index. The last two questions of the index were about different forms of censorship. One of the questions

had to do with government restrictions on "speaking out" on any issue. The other question had to do with "banning" library books. I assumed these questions followed logically--if one opposed censorship, one would do so in both contexts. This seemed to be the case for the Presbyterians. Both the United Presbyterian parents and their children generally opposed any form of censorship. The Free Church parents, however, saw the questions as addressing two different issues. Seventy-two percent "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that there should be little government restriction on speaking out on public issues, but 60% also believed in allowing a ban on library books. Why the Free Church parents went one way on the first question and another on the second is difficult to determine, but I think it can be related to a local-cosmopolitan orientation. For the Presbyterians both questions were about censorship in general, but for the Free Church parents the first question had to do with censorship on a <u>national</u> level, and the other had to do with protecting the <u>local</u> environment within which they live. Often evangelicals counterpose the right to "free speech" with the values of a community and the right to protect that community and its children, etc. The protection of the community becomes more than a right; it becomes a duty and an obligation and this obligation overpowers any more abstract appeals to the values of such things as "civil liberties."

The Cultural Integration Index: The Students

The cultural integration index designed for the students went beyond simple church attendence to measure the level of involvement in, and the influence of, activities directly associated with the subculture (cf. Table 6). The responses for both groups throughout the index were quite close. Slightly more Presbyterian high school students than Free Church students held church office, and more Presbyterian students had graduated from confirmation classes, but the percentage differences were small. Small percentage differences were also the case on the questions having to do with being a "Christian," the level of religious commitment, the importance of the pastor's influence, and the influence of being a "Christian" on their daily life decisions.

Many more Free Church students (46.5%) responded that their parents provided a "very spiritual atmosphere" than did the Presbyterian students (15.6%). This difference was not reflected in the overall level of cultural integration, however, since both groups seemed to be quite involved in their respective churches, but it was further evidence that these two groups differ in how they work out their religious commitment. It is very important for Free Church parents to provide a spiritual atmosphere for their children, and they seem to do so.

A second area of difference in the way these two groups were integrated with their respective religious cultures had to do with the way they conceptualized being a Christian. The vast majority of students in both groups claimed to be "Christian," but many of the United Presbyterian students did not refer to themselves as being "born again." The difference is subcultural. The phrase "born again" has become increasingly popular in evangelicalism, and as a result most evangelicals do not make a distinction between being "born again" and being a Christian. In fact, doing so would throw doubt on one's claim to salvation. This is obviously not the case with the Presbyterian students.

The cultural integration index was an important index for several reasons. It showed that the Presbyterian students were as active as the Free Church students in their churches. Overall, there may not have been as many Presbyterian students attending church (for the most part the Presbyterian youth groups were consistently smaller than the Free Church groups) but, those who did attend did so regularly and they were actively involved in their churches. They held church office. They attended confirmation classes, etc., and, given the fact that the Presbyterian students were less religiously orthodox on many of the previously reviewed indexes, one could reasonably argue that the differences we see here are not related to

the level of involvement of these United Presbyterian students. I am convinced the differences reflect and define these two different church settings. These two groups live out their religious lives differently. Not only are the demands for "orthodoxy" less in the Presbyterian churches, but there are also fewer orthodoxy demands in the family, in the school, and presumably the other institutional settings of their lives as well. At the same time there was considerable agreement between the Presbyterian students and their parents as to what the demands of commitment were. The Presbyterian students know what being religious means, and this is true despite the fact that their standards of religious commitment are less than those of the Free Churchers.

The Cultural Integration Index: The Parents

The cultural integration index for the parents also attempted to go beyond simple church attendance to measure the level of involvement in activities directly related to the subculture (cf. Table 7). Both the Presbyterian and Free Church parents were very close in their levels of cultural integration. The Free Church parents taught Sunday school classes on a more regular basis, but the Presbyterian parents were more actively involved on church boards and in other congregational organizations than were the Free Churchers. More Free Church parents attended

church-sponsored elementary and secondary schools than Presbyterian parents, and more Free Church parents attended Bible schools than did the Presbyterians. In both cases, however, the actual number of Free Churchers that had attended such schools was still relatively low. The number of Presbyterian parents that claimed to be "saved" was less than the percentage of Free Church parents, and this difference was reflected in an even greater difference in the number of Presbyterians claiming to be "born again" (60%). Almost all the Free Church parents responded that they were "born again" (96%).

The Cosmopolitan Index

As noted previously (Chapter 4) with particular regard to the parents, Roof (1976) had argued that there may be a relationship between a cosmopolitan-provincial orientation and the level of parental orthodoxy. To determine if this were the case with these Free Churchers, a cosmopolitan index was developed (cf. Table 8). The index closely resembled that used by Roof (1976). The students also responded on the index for purposes of comparison.

Throughout the index the Presbyterian parents appeared to be more cosmopolitan in their orientations to life. The Presbyterian parents read daily newspapers more often, and many more Presbyterian parents (47.6%) read news magazines than Free Church parents (16.0%). The Free

Church parents were also less likely to be interested in national or international news, and while large cities were generally unpopular, they were a little less offensive to the Presbyterian parents. It was clear that the Presbyterian parents were generally more cosmopolitan than the Free Churchers.

The differences between the student groups were less clear, however. The Presbyterian students reported reading daily newspapers more often than the Free Church students. The Presbyterian students were also slightly more interested in news-oriented and popularly-oriented magazines, but the percentage differences in both cases were small. Opinion on the priority of national and international news was split, as were the preferences for small or large cities. No major differences existed in the level of cosmopolitanism between these two student groups. Of all four of the groups, the Presbyterian parents were again the most liberally oriented.

The Parental Religious Youth Index

The Parental Religious Youth Index involved recall questions having to do with the religious upbringing of both parental groups (cf. Table 9). Because one would expect a religious upbringing to be carried to adulthood, it seemed to be another significant factor that needed to be taken into account in predicting the level of parental

religious commitment. However, many of the Free Churchers may have been more recently "converted" to evangelicalism. Simply being raised in a "Christian" home would not be enough for a Free Churcher. Instead, a personal religious conversion would be a necessary prerequisite to commitment, and because of this a religious upbringing, per se, may be of less importance in understanding the overall level of parental religious commitment for evangelicals.

There was little difference in the level of church activity between these two groups during elementary and secondary school. The Presbyterian parents were more likely to consider themselves committed, but the differences between the two groups were small. It may be that either the lack of a religious "salvation" experience in childhood, or the norm of piety associated with the evangelical view of religious commitment kept some of the Free Churchers from claiming they were Christians as young people. The evangelical view of salvation is very particularistic. If a person has not "accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as a personal savior," and "repented" of sin, that person is <u>not</u> "saved" and is not a "Christian." By these "born again" standards, 40% of these Presbyterian parents were not saved, and were not, therefore, Christians. It was this view of salvation, on the other hand, that may have prompted a full 20% of the Free Church parents to respond that they were not "Christians" as young people,

and from their point of view, their home environment had very little to do with anything. In any case, few major differences in religious upbringing existed between these two groups.

Other Background Variables

Five final background variables were also included in the survey of the parents. These variables included the level of parental education, the work status of both the husband and wife, the level of family income, and the gender and age of the survey respondent (cf. Table 10).

There was little difference between these two groups in either the age or gender of the survey respondents, but the Presbyterian parents were better educated and generally more wealthy than the Free Church parents. At least part of this difference in family income could perhaps be attributed to the fact that 45% of the Presbyterian wives work full time compared to only 16.7% of the Free Church wives. A good evangelical wife avoids career-oriented work because it goes against basic family values having to do with the raising of children, the submission of the wife to the husband, and the responsibility of the husband to provide and care for the needs of his wife and children.

Conclusions

It is fairly clear throughtout these indexes that the Free Church parents were most committed to orthodox religious values, and their standards of commitment were very high. On index after index the Free Church parents demonstrated consistently more conservative orthodox religious beliefs. Their sons and daughters were also close behind, and while there was little doubt that the Free Church students were quite conservative, they were not as conservative as their parents. They were not as devotional, or as experientially involved as their parents, and finally, they lagged behind in terms of biblical knowledge as well.

The most liberal group was the Presbyterian parents. Still well within the parameters of orthodoxy, by most standards, the Presbyterian parents were significantly less conservative in doctrinal belief, devotional behavior, and consequential beliefs of a social and political nature than were the Free Church parents. The United Presbyterian parents were also more cosmopolitan than the Free Churchers. The Presbyterian students were, if anything, slightly more conservative than their parents. The Presbyterian students were more conservative doctrinally, and to some extent, devotionally, and they were also very well integrated into their religious subculture. Finally, the Presbyterian students were less cosmopolitan than

their parents. Overall, the results were basically what one would expect. The Free Church parents were the most conservative, followed by their children, the Presbyterian students, and then the Presbyterian parents.

Of the hypotheses presented in Chapter 4, several can be addressed here:

1. The highest levels of religious commitment were found in the Free Church, which was congregationally organized. Certainly more liberal approaches to commitment have existed in congregationalist settings (e.g., the American Baptist Church); but for the most part, congregational groups like the Free Church were dissenting groups that longed for more control over their own lives. As they gained such control--to think about religion they way they wished, unhindered by larger denominational structures--the Free Churchers were able to develop a somewhat pervasive cultural environment for socialization. Religious issues have been thought about in the Free Church in one way, and everyone that associated with the congregation has been expected to share, at least to a great degree, such thoughts. This unanimity, developed within the congregation, has provided a strong foundadation for socialization.

In a way, however, there is an unusual combination of both freedom and absence of freedom. The congregation is free to think about religious issues in any way the

congregation wishes to think about them. In fact, congregationalism is based on such a principle--that the congregation should be free to govern itself in all matters from church polity to the determination of correct doctrine. But, such total freedom can potentially lead to chaos, and certainly such total freedom is not conducive to socialization. Therefore, within the congregation freedom has been abandoned for the sake of solidarity. No denominational structure has existed to hold these groups together or to pass on the traditions of the faith outside the context of the congregation itself, and because of this socialization has become and remains so important. A mutually reinforcing relationship between socialization and the church must exist. The church has to provide a strong basis of agreement about the important values of life and it is within such a context that socialization can take place most completely. In turn, once socialization to this way of life is complete, then the firmness of the foundation from which socialization occurred in the first place is continually reassured. Socialization to an evangelical way of thinking, in the context of congregationalism, is absolutely necessary, for there is nothing else that can serve to hold groups (such as the Free Church) together. Socialization processes and results, therefore, are extremely critical in congregational settings, and the Free Churchers have certainly met with some

success in the socialization of their children, and presumably in the maintance of their religious subculture. At the same time, there may be cause for concern. While the Free Church adolescents were religiously committed, their commitment was not nearly as extensive or total as that of their parents. The variation throughout the consequential index was sufficient evidence of this fact.

2. There was a fairly strong relationship between the orthodoxy of the parents and their children. On index after index the perspectives of the students were much like those of their parents. Yet, as noted above, it was interesting that the Free Church children were less conservative than their parents, while the Presbyterian students were more conservative than their parents.

3. The least orthodox group, the United Presbyterian parents, were also the most cosmopolitan group. This seems to be evidence for Roof's (1976) theory that a cosmopolitan orientation, can be tied to religious "liberalism," and provincialism to "orthodoxy."

4. A religious upbringing seemed to be unrelated to parental orthodoxy in this study. This is probably due to the fact that the commitment level of the home while these parents were growing up was recalled and framed in their own terms without any comparative measures. In any case, the Presbyterian parents reported as much religion in their homes as did the Free Church parents.

Chapter VII

A CAUSAL ANALYSIS

I have argued that various institutional settings affect the level of adolescent religious commitment and so developed a model of religious organizational socialization (cf. Figure 2). The model is based on the premise that various institutional settings affect the level of religious commitment so that adolescents who come from homes with committed parents, attend churches that are conservative and orthodox, and are formally educated in "Christian" schools will be more religiously committed than adolescents without such religious backgrounds. The model also suggests that parents who are religiously committed will be committed because of a strong religious upbringing and a provincial lifestyle, which may be affected by relatively low incomes and relatively limited educational experiences. I intend to examine and test both the appropriateness and effectiveness of this model in predicting the level of adolescent religious commitment.

The major dependent variable was the level of the students' religious commitment, which was measured using an index of orthodox religious commitment. The index was

a composite of several indexes discussed more fully in Chapter Five. In developing the indexes, I have followed the work done initially by Glock (1962) in arguing that religious commitment consists of five different aspects of religious belief and/or behavior including ideological beliefs (doctrine), devotional behavior (ritual), experiential behavior, intellectual knowledge of religious doctrines, beliefs, and practices, and consequential beliefs. To these indexes I have also added a cultural integration index.

The questions on each of the indexes followed a liberal-conservative continuum. The most conservative response was coded with the lowest score and the most liberal response with the highest score. All the codes were standardized using z-scores and then the z-scores were added together and averaged over all the responses on any particular index. Finally, the scores on each of the six indexes were added together to obtain a single orthodox religious commitment score for each respondent. Two other indexes were also included as independent variables in the analysis. A religious upbringing index (cf. Chapter Five) was coded with the most spiritual environments receiving the lowest scores and then the index was again standardized using z-scores. This standardization procedure was used as well for the cosmopolitan index (cf. Chapter Five), with the most provincial responses being

coded with the lowest scores. Missing responses were assigned z-scores of zero. The means and the standard deviations for each of the four major groups--the Free Church parents and their children, and the Presbyterian parents and their children--are included in Table 11.

Orthodox Religious Commitment: The Combined Groups

The model of religious organizational socialization suggested that a high level of religious commitment for the parents should be directly tied to a religious upbringing, a low income, a low educational level, and a provincial lifestyle orientation. All the correlation coefficients between the level of parental religious commitment and these variables were quite low, however (cf. Figure 3). Neither a religious upbringing or a low level of education had much effect on the level of parental religious commitment. This was at least somewhat surprising. It seemed reasonable to expect that a religious upbringing would produce a higher level of religious commitment in the adults. At the same time the index itself may have been less relevant for the evangelicals. Without a "salvation experience," there is no religious commitment. While a "spiritual" home may prompt such a religious experience, many of these evangelical parents may have been "converted" later in life. If this were the case, a "spiritual" home atmosphere for evangelicals may have had

little to do with the eventual level of parental religious commitment. In any case, the index of religious upbringing was not substantively related to the level of parental religious commitment.

It was also somewhat surprising that education was unrelated to the level of parental religious commitment. It would seem that education would have a liberalizing effect--a cosmopolitanizing effect on religion--which would make the level of education important as a negative factor in determining the level of religious commitment. Yet, the whole theory of directly tying a cosmopolitan world view to the level of religious commitment may be suspect or at least more complicated when it comes to the evangelicals that dominate this sample. The correlation coefficient between education and the cosmopolitan index was positive, but very low (.13), and then as one would expect, the correlation coefficient between education and religious commitment was negative, but it too was very low (-.07). In general, neither the level of education nor the level of cosmopolitanism was substantively related to the level of religious commitment for these adults.

Of all the variables thought to be important in understanding the level of parental religious commitment, only income was related to any extent, and why income was the exception is difficult to determine. In any case the model of religious commitment for the adults left much

unexplained. None of the major variables in the model was highly correlated with the level of parental religious commitment. A religious upbringing, a significant level of education, a high income, or even a cosmopolitan orientation were more or less irrelevant in understanding the overall level of religious commitment for these adults.

In terms of the level of adolescent religious commitment, the model hypothesized relationships between four important institutional settings and the level of adolescent religious commitment. Denominational affiliation with the Free Church was dichotomized and then correlated with the level of religious commitment, and it was clear that attending a Free Church was positively associated with the level of a students' religious commitment. There was also a positive and moderate association between an adolescents' level of religious commitment and the level of parental religious commitment. Private Christian schooling was of considerably less effect. In other words, the students in these two different religious settings--these Free Church and United Presbyterian students --were more likely to be religiously committed if they attended a Free Church and if their parents were religiously committed. It was also hypothesized that there would be a certain level of interaction between these two different institutional settings. More orthodox religiously committed parents would attend Free Churches than

Presbyterian Churches and this was, in fact, the case; but there was also evidence to suggest that the denominational setting was, in and of itself, more important to the level of adolescent religious commitment than the level of parental religious commitment, per se.

After the most important variables in the model of religious commitment were established, the model was simplified by eliminating those variables that had little or no association with either the level of parental or adolescent religious commitment, and then path coefficient were calculated (cf. Figure 3). The path coefficients suggested that being a member of the Free Church combines with a certain level of parental religious commitment to produce a high level of adolescent religious commitment. What is most important is that Free Church membership and parental commitment work together to produce a higher level of adolescent religious commitment than the parents can produce by themselves. In fact, the parental effects may well be indirect, rather than direct. Much of the socialization literature reviewed in Chapter Four strongly suggested that the most important factor in determining the level of adolescent religious commitment was the level of parental commitment. But, throughout this literature little attention has been paid to the effects of the denominational environment in conjuction with parental commitment. This theme, that the denominational setting of

adolescent religious commitment is one of the most important factors in understanding such commitment, can and will be developed in a variety of ways throughout the rest of this chapter.

Orthodox Religious Commitment: The Presbyterians

One way of better understanding the impact of the denomination on adolescent religious commitment is to examine the correlation matrix and path diagrams within the context of each of these two different denominational settings (cf. Figure 4). Two variables for the Presbyterian churches were moderately associated with the level of parental religious commitment--income and a cosmopolitan orientation. The strongest association was between the cosmopolitan index and the level of religious commitment for the parents. While the cosmopolitan orientation was not important in the general model, it was clear that, among the Presbyterian parents alone, a cosmopolitan orientation toward life lowered their level of religious commitment. Perhaps the fact that many Presbyterians were more often "liberal" in their approach to religious commitment in general can best be understood, as Roof (1976) has suggested, in the context of a more cosmopolitan view of the world. This cosmopolitan view of the world was not offset by the denomination, but it seems more likely that the belief and behavior system associated with these

Presbyterian churches, was directly associated with, if not derived from, a more cosmopolitan view of the world. Those who were more provincial in their orientations were simply holdouts in terms of orthodoxy, as well. At the same time, the impact of income on the level of parental religious commitment was more substantial than the impact of the cosmopolitan orientation, but the correlation coefficient between income and the level of parental religious commitment was much smaller. Because of the relative sizes of the correlation coefficients, it seemed reasonable to argue that, whatever the impact of income, a cosmopolitan orientation toward life was more important in understanding the level of religious commitment among the parents. Where cosmopolitan world views did exist, higher levels of religious commitment did not.

Adolescent religious commitment in the context of these Presbyterian churches was most consistently associated with the level of their parents' religious commitment. In fact, it does not go too far to suggest that in these Presbyterian churches the parents were the only important factor in understanding the level of adolescent religious commitment. Few of these Presbyterian parents send their children to private Christian schools; and even though there was a low positive association between attending such schools and the level of adolescent religious commitment, it was quite clear that the Presbyterian

parents alone had the most effect on their children and the level of their orthodox religious commitment.

The path coefficients suggested that the most orthodox and committed Presbyterian students came from homes where incomes were relatively low and parental religious commitment was relatively high. The impact of the parents may be most significant in less orthodox religious settings like the United Presbyterian Church. In these Presbyterian churches whatever support that existed for orthodoxy was less a product of the churches (or, in more general terms--the denominational environment) than it was of the homes of orthodox Presbyterian parents. In other words, if Presbyterian parents are interested in assuring the religious orthodoxy of their children, they must take it upon themselves. The church, whatever help they may be, may play, at best, a less significant role.

Orthodox Religious Commitment: The Free Church

The level of parental religious commitment in the Free Church was unrelated to any of the major independent variables in the model of religious commitment (cf. Figure 5). All the correlation coefficients were low, and it was clear that the levels of income, education, cosmopolitanism, and a religious upbringing did not vary consistently with the levels of parental religious commitment. The "liberalizing" effects of income, education, and a

cosmopolitan orientation were all substantively irrelevant when it came to predicting the levels of parental commitment among the Free Churchers.

While it is difficult to determine exactly why the model of parental religious commitment broke down so totally in the Free Church context, I am convinced the breakdown had to do with the pervasiveness of the evangelical subculture. The type of commitment that has existed in the Free Church can be so pervasive that it overpowers the effects of almost every other possible social influence. The influence of Free Churchers' incomes would be, for the most part, subject to the influence of their commitment, instead of the commitment being subject to the influence of their incomes. In other words, for many Free Churchers, money would be made and spent with the dictates of the subculture in mind so that relatively large amounts of money, for example, may be given to the church, or other evangelical causes. This would also be true with regard to Free Churchers' approach to education so that educational experiences are filtered through and judgments made about the legitimacy and truth of such experiences within the parameters of the religious subculture. This does not mean that these Free Church parents are unaffected by the larger culture, but what it does mean is that they are so often well protected that, as we will see, the influences of the larger culture are not direct but indirect.

The model of religious commitment did poorly in predicting not only the level of religious commitment for the Free Church adults, but it failed as well precisely where one would expect it to work best, in predicting the level of adolescent religious commitment in the Free Church. The analysis of the percentaged survey results in Chapter Five made it quite clear that the Free Church parents were considerably more orthodox than the Presbyterian parents or the Presbyterian students. The Free Church parents were also generally more orthodox than their own children, but the Free Church students were still very orthodox. Because we know that both the Free Church parents and their children were orthodox, it becomes very important to explain the absence of a strong relationship between the level of parental religious orthodoxy and the level of adolescent religious orthodoxy.

There are at least two possible explanations. The first has to do with the range of orthodoxy in general among the Free Churchers. The range of orthodoxy for the parents was certainly limited and this was also true, if to a lesser degree, for the students (cf. Table 11). Both groups were very religious, and perhaps because of this lack of variation there was simply nothing to predict in the Free Church. Yet, at the same time, the standard deviation on the religious orthodoxy index showed a fair amount of variation particularly for the students, so that

it is likely that this explanation--that there was nothing to predict--is not the best explanation.

Instead, it seems that there was in fact no consistent relationship between the level of religious orthodoxy of the Free Church parents and their children. The level of religious commitment in any particular Free Church family is not necessarily shared from parent to child so that an orthodox parent may not necessarily assure an orthodox child. This makes most sense in the context of what I have argued in terms of the denomination (and this explanation is also born out in the scattergram of the level of adolescent religious commitment in relation to the level of parental religious commitment). In the Presbyterian churches the denomination did play a less significant role in religious socialization, but in the Free Churches this was not the case. Instead, the Free Churches played a direct role and therefore were, and presumably continue to be, of considerable importance in the religious socialization of adolescents.

I think it is reasonable to suggest that the Free Churches simply make up for or add to, on a case by case basis, the ability or inability of the Free Church parents to pass on their orthodox religious views. The combined path model strongly suggests that the denomination did have more of an impact on adolescent religious commitment than did the level of parental commitment in and of

itself, but not in the Presbyterian context. It was very true, however, in the Free Church congregations. The churches provide an environment within which both the parents and the adolescents can more easily exist that contributes in significant ways to the level of religious commitment.

The Orthodox Religious Commitment Index: The Free Church Students

Because the orthodox religious commitment index was based on the average of several indexes, another strategy can be used to examine the religious commitment of the Free Churchers. The issue turns, in effect, from the prediction of religious commitment to the nature of religious commitment itself. Since many of the Free Church students and their parents were very committed, it seems reasonable to ask about the nature of that commitment. The question can be addressed by reviewing, through a regression analysis, the relative contribution of each of the individual indexes on the composite index. If the amount of fit and the amount of variation explained is allowed to determine the entry of the variables into the regression equation, a certain priority of variable significance is set.

Using the procedure described above, it was clear that the cultural integration index was the single most significant factor influencing the level of orthodoxy of these Free Church students (cf. Table 12). By itself, the

cultural integration index accounted for 70% of the variation in the index of orthodox religious commitment. The most orthodox among these Free Church students were very involved in their churches' various programs and activities. They conceived of salvation in evangelical terms as being "born again," and they took into account being a "Christian," along with the advice of their pastors, as they encountered the decisions of everyday life. The most orthodox Free Church students conceived of the Christian faith--as being involved with the church, as being "born again," and as living a life that demonstrated the effects of that salvation.

No doubt, the parents of these students were important in influencing their children to conceive of faith in this way, if only indirectly. Certainly a similar view of the Christian "faith" was shared between them. Nevertheless, the interaction between these students and the church was of great importance. The church provides, in the evangelical community, an environment within which faith could be acted out, and this environment for acting out the faith is so important because it is by such a process, that faith for these students becomes "real." Religious commitment, within the Free Church, is approached as a lifestyle and the "style" of such a life is tied directly to, and influenced by, the activities of the church. In other words, the Christian life was most "real" to the

most orthodox of these students as it was lived out, in simple church attendance, in being an officer in the churches' youth group, in attending the pastor's instruction classes, and then, in taking all these activities and what was learned from them into account as daily, lifestyle decisions were made. This church activity, combined with whatever parental influence that exists, produced orthodox religious commitment among these Free Church students.

The second most important factor in terms of impact on the index of religious commitment was the devotional index. The devotional index was also moderately correlated with the cultural integration index, and these two indexes, no doubt, account for at least some of the same variation. Various religious activities were addressed by the devotional index, but two specific devotional activities, private prayer (and realization of its importance) and Bible reading (and realization of its importance), correlated very highly with the overall index. Many Evangelical Free Church students conceptualized commitment most exclusively as personal devotion. A person who reads his/her Bible and prays regularly is believed to be most committed. This message then, very much a part of evangelicalism, was well learned and understood by many of these Evangelical Free Church students.

The third most important factor in the index of orthodox commitment was the consequential dimension. The

most orthodox Free Church students also conceived of "faith" in terms of its ethical "consequences." Those who did, however, were not necessarily those who were either well integrated into the religious subculture or involved in devotional activities. Neither the cultural integration index nor the devotional index was strongly correlated with the consequential index, leading one to reasonably argue that the consequential dimension measures a different type of variation. In any case, many of these Free Church students viewed the faith in terms of conservative social and political beliefs on such issues as abortion, divorce, and allowing women positions of authority in the church.

The dimensions of religious commitment that were considerably less important, if only because they were so much agreed upon (given the lack of variation on these issues), included the intellectual dimension, the ideological dimension, and the experiential dimension. In fact, 93% of the variation in the index of religious commitment could be accounted for without any appeal to these three dimensions, which seems very important. The experiential index was, for all practical purposes, irrelevant, and the remaining two indexes--the intellectual index and the ideological index--emphasize a very different aspect of religious commitment than that associated with integration into the subculture, devotionalism, or conservative social

and political beliefs. Doctrinal beliefs and intellectual knowledge about the Bible were widely shared. The standard deviations on the indexes were low when compared to those on the other indexes. This suggests that variations in orthodoxy and the general level of religious commitment must be understood, not in terms of doctrine, but in some other way. In other words, it is clear that doctrinal consistency is not enough so the socialization of these students also heavily stresses a religious "lifestyle" orientation. As a result, the orthodox students were, at least in the ways they have learned, "doers of the Word." These Free Church adolescents know religious commitment means being involved with the church, having their "devotions"--spending time daily "in the Word," and reading and praying privately. These are the behaviors that define a lifestyle that matters, and this lifestyle has been learned in the context of churches that preach and teach at least as much, if not more, about living their piety than they do about doctrine or the historical traditions of the Christian faith. It is in the context of these Free churches that a "piety lifestyle" becomes (perhaps because it is assumed that doctrinal beliefs are widely shared) the most important focus of socialization. At the same time, no matter what the reason for it, this emphasis on lifestyle should not be unexpected. Certainly, as we have seen, the Free Church has always emphasized the

appropriateness of a lifestyle of piety, and it has, at the same time, been opposed to doctrinal creeds and any sort of church "tradition," that might reflect either state imposition or anything else even remotely resembling Roman Catholicism. Yet such creeds have been developed but they have been embraced less for their importance as creeds than because they provided a minimal foundation for collective piety.

Differences between the orthodoxy levels of these students are best understood as differences in piety. Doctrinal beliefs are widely shared so socialization strategies perhaps naturally turn to lifestyle, but, putting the emphasis of religious socialization on piety also has certain benefits one of which has to do with making the faith more emotionally "real" and important to adolescents in a culture that is generally hostile to religious belief. Evangelicals have asked their children to accept religious beliefs that were much more credible in the nineteenth than in the twentieth century, and because of this, commitment to such beliefs has had to be presented in such a way that things no longer believeable could be more easily believed. Evangelicals have approached this problem, no doubt unconsciously, by emphasizing a "lifestyle." This lifestyle of piety (certainly the product of "right" belief) is in turn presented in a very positive light which includes not only the benefits of attaining

Heaven and avoiding Hell, but worldly success as well. The Christian is to live an orderly and "good" life, and such a life pays off both in personal terms--success in marriage, the raising of children, and business, etc., and in terms of the larger society--social order conducive to both democracy and free enterprise, etc. The committed evangelical Christian is to embrace the correct doctrines not for the sake of the doctrines themselves but as a basis for acting. Evangelicals have believed that they are a "good" people, and the "goodness" pays off (or at least should pay off) in a personal life, and at best in a society, full of both peace and affluence.

At the same time, this matter of putting the emphasis of religious commitment on personal religious rituals has turned out to be a tricky business. This is perhaps at least partially why evangelicals have been so preoccupied with "living the Christian life," but yet, despite this preoccupation, they have also been well aware of the fact that debates about the nature of "the" most appropriate Christian behaviors were far from settled. Even the limited variations we have seen here among the Free Church youth in terms of the consequential dimension, for example, suggest as much (cf. Chapter Five). But, then again, what else should be expected? These are "free" churches. No one is afforded the luxury of being guided by an accepted "tradition," and the nineteenth century

evangelical identity that did exist has long been under wide cultural attack. Now, the crisis of identity is even more acute. Both evangelicals and fundamentalists find themselves in increasingly strange "pietistic" positions trying to maintain an identity by out-"Christianizing" not only the culture but each other as well with "Christian" schools, "Christian" music, "Christian" television, "Christian" magazines, "Christian" books, "Christian" vacations at "Christian" camps, etc., all the while not being quite sure what this being "Christian" means. The evangelical "Christian" identity has had to be continually defined and redefined, in spite of the emphasis on piety.

What all this means is quite simple--the socialization of these young people to personal piety has been only partially effective as a socialization technique. Religious practices do make the faith relevant--being a good Christian may well pay off--but the stress on religious activity alone is often undermined by the larger culture; and further, the lack of any religious tradition to guide religious activity deprives the socialization process, over the long run, of enduring form if not vital substance. Perhaps the twentieth century has subverted the "evangelical" faith by allowing it to be relevant only to the extent that evangelicals can convince their children of the legitimacy of, and the rewards of, certain religious, lifestyle-oriented practices. The question that

remains is whether or not evangelicals can be successful in doing so over the long run.

A second related approach to understanding the evangelical problem of socialization and lifestyle simply pushes the above analysis further. Hunter (1983:73) has argued that "modernity" has forced contemporary evangelicals to accommodate in various ways, one of which has included "the rationalization and codification of evangelical spirituality." This process has had to do with the rationalization of all of life (Weber), but in this particular case "accommodation" has had most to do with the reduction of faith to "standardized prescriptions" presented in the form of "how to" materials which have become so prevalent in American evangelicalism. The "salvation experience," for example, has been reduced to four simple steps, which include (1) the recognition of God's love as evidenced by Christ's death and resurrection; (2) repentance for sin; (3) the "receiving" of Jesus Christ as "personal" savior; and (4) the confession of Christ publicly (Hunter, 1983:75). To be "saved," one simply has to walk through these four steps which demand no more than personal consent and an act of the will. Such a view of salvation is certainly different from that once held even by some of this country's most pietistic groups such as the Puritans. Hunter (1983:74) has argued that, while the Puritans were most "rational" in their approach to

vocation and education, there still existed in Puritan thought and life "a simple, almost irrational quality" that pervaded "the Puritan understanding of the more mundane activities of everyday life, the spiritual, and the sublime." In terms of socialization, becoming a "Christian" was a matter of following a parental example in the "art" of Christian living, while hoping for the "grace" of God rather than conceding to certain widely held and promoted "rational edicts" (Hunter, 1983:74).

Contemporary evangelicalism is full not so much of exemplars as rationalized lifestyle strategies. Several authors noted by Hunter (1983:77ff.) offer such strategies which heavily emphasize such activities as daily "Bible" reading and "how to" approaches for remembering and acting in God's love, trusting the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and praying on a regular basis. One who lives such a life by adopting such strategies is supposed to distill the "essence" of spirituality. Hunter (1983:83) has made the point that "it is nearly universally agreed within Evangelicalism that there are at least three activities essential for spiritual growth: Bible reading, prayer, and giving public testimony to one's faith." It is not coincidence, therefore, that two of these three activities turn up in the present context as part of the "essence" of adolescent religious commitment in these Evangelical Free Churches. Hunter (1983:83) continued by noting that:

> the behavioral dimensions of spirituality (e.g., the amount of time a person spends reading the Bible, praying, tithing, witnessing, and orienting his life around God's will) all provide empirical indexes by which the carnal Christian and the spiritual Christian are elucidated in the Evangelical world view.

By these "empirical" indexes of piety, not in terms of doctrinal beliefs or even intellectual knowledge of the Bible, the ledger books of spirituality are kept. Spirituality is judged in much the same way one would judge a business employee--in terms of overt performance. It is clear that the evangelical approach to socialization has chosen to organize itself around religious behavior, which is precisely where its effectiveness is most disputed; and as a result, a particular view of religious commitment has emerged. Religious commitment means being a devotional person; it means being actively involved in the life of the church; and it means being opposed to any activity that might somehow jeopardize the conservative status quo of American society (which simply assures that "good" evangelical behavior will continue to return its dividends of personal peace and affluence).

As suggested earlier, Hunter was convinced that this practice-oriented, pietistic approach to religious commitment was a direct product of the attempt to package the evangelical message and the lifestyle itself and to market it to a mass audience. The American economy is oriented toward mass production and mass marketing, and such an ethos was simply adopted by evangelicalism. To

mass market anything, however, it has to be reduced to a form that can be easily produced, reproduced, and then easily sold. Hunter has proposed this is exactly what has occurred with the "Gospel," which has always been a sort of evangelical product.

The point is, however, that this process of reduction and distribution evident in the evangelical emphasis on behavior is not without implication. In other words, the adaption of business techniques to religious purposes has had certain effects. The quality of the faith has been difficult to maintain. The formulas used to mass market "spirituality" which emphasize, almost exclusively, a devotional lifestyle do not necessarily communicate any substantive basis for religious commitment. Over the long run, the stress on lifestyle alone effectively abandons any substantive concern for doctrine (which cannot be seen apart from the marketing of faith) and introduces a process which actually leaves religious commitment more open to subversion. Every evangelical thinks, feels, and acts the same at one level, (e.g. the Evangelical Free Church students mirror, though not with the same intensity, their parents); but on another level they live this lifestyle with more variation for themselves and for the benefits of of "right" living rather than in terms of some larger transcendent "principle," and if the piety, for one reason or another wears thin, it is easily abandoned. This

live this lifestyle with more variation for themselves and for the benefits of "right" living rather than in terms of some larger transcendent "principle," and if the piety, for one reason or another wears thin, it is easily abandoned. This interpretation makes sense out of the fact that 68% of the Free Church adolescents were "undecided," "agreed," or even "strongly agreed" that remarriage after divorce was morally appropriate, compared to only 39% of their parents. What is perhaps most ironic about this, is the strong possibility of misplaced emphasis. Evangelicals, as we have seen, have been well aware of their cultural despisers, but they have been quick to point at historical criticism and secular humanism when in actuality it may have been their "style of evangelicalism" all along. The push to evangelize the masses has resulted in the development of modern evangelization techniques, which were, in turn, modeled after the marketing practices of American business, and it is this approach to evangelism--selling the faith in terms of its "lifestyle" profitability--that has done more to trivialize and therefore undermine the message than any other more obvious cultural foe.

In spite of all this the socialization of these Evangelical Free Church students has, in general, been quite effective. Most of the Free Church adolescents were considerably more orthodox than their Presbyterian counterparts. The orthodox Free Churchers were active church

members. They were active in prayer and in Bible reading, and in their social and political conservatism. They were not as orthodox as their parents, and this may be a source for future concern, but then again, their parents were very, very orthodox. The Free Church students have a particular kind of orthodoxy however. It is an orthodoxy that shares agreement on doctrine, but goes on to demand a specific lifestyle and a specific set of religious "practices." It is a "rationalized" orthodoxy, and such an orthodoxy, as Hunter (1983:100) has pointed out ". . .has the effect of harnessing the ecstatic, taming the unpredictable, and pacifying the 'unruly' qualities of the Evangelical faith." What remains of the evangelical faith is objectifiable behavior--a style of piety--which has the function of being most easily passed from one generation to the next. On the other hand, such objectivity also means that "the faith," when it does not work, can be more easily disputed, disproved, and abandoned.

The Orthodox Religious Commitment Index: The Free Church Parents

Two different approaches to religious commitment were taken by the Free Church parents (cf. Table 13). The devotional index and the cultural integration index, together (the two indexes were, once again, moderately correlated) accounted for a significant amount of the variation in the orthodox religious commitment index. These

two indexes were not, however, correlated with the consequential index which had by far the most powerful effect on the level of orthodox religious commitment. The ideological index (doctrine) had some impact on the level of orthodox religious commitment, but it was irrelevent in predicting the level of religious commitment. The variation accounted for by the index could better be accounted for by either the devotional or the consequential indexes.

The most interesting aspect of all of this, however, has to do with the remarkable lack of variation in any of the indexes. The consequential dimension may have the most significant effect on the level of orthodoxy--the emphasis again falling on piety--and the devotional index may be the most powerful predictor of the level of religious commitment; but in general, these Free Church parents shared each other's behaviors and beliefs throughout the indexes. Free Church parents, like their children, are significantly involved in the activities of their churches and they, like their children, take religious devotion seriously. The major difference between many of these orthodox Free Church parents and their children has to with the power of the consequential dimension on the level of orthodox religious commitment. Doctrinal beliefs among these evangelical parents are widely shared. What little variation that exists in the level of commitment had to do with the level of social and political

conservatism. Distinctions can, once again, be made in terms of lifestyle--those who are most religiously committed conceive of that commitment as being directly related to social and political conservatism. Believing the "right" things--maintaining the appropriate doctrinal positions--is important, but "right" doctrine must also produce "right" action in sponsoring "appropriate" Christian behavior and an "appropriate" style of Christian piety.

The Orthodox Religious Commitment Index: The Presbyterian Students

The general level of orthodox religious commitment among the Presbyterian students was considerably lower than the level for the Free Church adolescents, and there was considerably more variation within the indexes (cf. Table 14). Being integrated into the life of the church was strongly associated with, and had a substantial impact on the level of adolescent religious commitment. I would argue, however, that the nature of the relationship of church involvement to religious commitment is different for these Presbyterian students. I think it is reasonable to suggest, given the impact of the Presbyterian parents on the level of adolescent orthodoxy, that involvement with the church was the product of these students' relationship to their parents. In other words, the orthodox Presbyterian students come to the church already committed

and their commitment means, as a logical consequence, being further involved with the church. For the Free Church students, the process worked itself out the other way around. Being involved in the church promotes a higher level of religious commitment instead of being its response.

The consequential index also had a significant impact on the level of orthodox religious commitment. This was true in the Presbyterian denominational context that was considerably more liberal on social, political, and ethical issues than was the Free Church. It is reasonable to argue then, that the relationship of the level of religious orthodoxy to such conservative consequential positions is not the product of the influence of church but the home environment instead. Finally, the devotional index had less of an effect on the level of orthodoxy among these Presbyterian students than it did in the Free Church setting. Perhaps Bible reading and prayer received considerably less support from either the home or church in this Presbyterian context.

The Orthodox Religious Commitment Index: The Presbyterian Parents

The Presbyterian parents were, by far, the least orthodox group. Those among them, however, who were orthodox conceived of that orthodoxy primarily in the terms we have come throughout this review to expect of orthodoxy

--devotional activities or consequential beliefs (cf. Table 15). In other words, being religiously committed worked its way out in (1) church attendance and in Bible reading and prayer; in (2) taking conservative positions on social, political, and ethical issues having to do with the faith. Doctrine, religious experience, Biblical knowledge, integration into the religious culture, and religious experience were much less important. In a way, all this is ironic. In the Presbyterian setting where orthodoxy was harder to come by, those who were orthodox managed to have at least some impact on the orthodoxy of their children. Perhaps these Presbyterian churches offered their adolescents a clearer contrast between orthodoxy and its absence. Maybe the Presbyterian students with parents who were orthodox were able to see in the religious commitment of their parents something different, something to be emulated and admired, and then appropriated for themselves. On the other hand, in the Free Churches were almost all the parents were "devout," the parental effect is more indirect.

Summary of Hypotheses and Their Results

1. Private Christian schooling was of very limited effect in increasing the level of orthodoxy of these students. It was not a critical variable in the socialization of religiously orthodox adolescents.

2. The most critical factor in the religious

socialization of the Presbyterian high school students was the level of their parents' religious commitment. In the Presbyterian context, the level of orthodox commitment in the home had more effects on the religious orthodoxy of the adolescents than did any other institutional setting. On the other hand, the most critical factor in the religious socialization of Free Church students involved an environment of religious piety provided by the parents through the church.

3. While there was a notable difference between the Presbyterian and Free Church groups on the cosmopolitan index, the level of cosmopolitanism was only related to religious commitment in the context of the Presbyterian churches. Cosmopolitanism was unrelated to orthodoxy (or the lack of it) in the Free Church.

4. Having been brought up in a religious home had little effect on the level of parental religious commitment in either the Presbyterian or Free Church settings.

5. The level of income was related to the level of orthodox religious commitment on the part of the parents. As income went up, orthodoxy went down, particularly in the case of the Presybterians.

6. The level of parental education was not related to the level of parental religious commitment among either the Presbyterians or the Free Churchers.

7. The age of the survey respondents was not re-

lated to the level of parental religious commitment.

8. There was a positive interaction between denominational affiliation and the level of parental religious commitment. Specifically, parents who attended Free Churches tended to be more orthodox. This interaction effect, however, tends to be much less important in understanding or predicting the level of adolscent religious commitment.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Evangelical Free Church parents do, in fact, live in a world that threatens their very existence. Modern society questions their every value and belief, and the plausibility structure they worked so hard to develop and implored the nation to adopt is no longer so widely supported or shared. Because of these facts evangelicals have sought to maintain themselves and their view of the world--to maintain their identity--through the formation of a pervasive culture that is, in one way or another, set apart for its own protection. Fundamentalists have taken this idea of separation literally and, therefore, also furthest. They separate even from themselves in a never ending search for a "faith" that is "pure." Conservative "new" evangelicals approach this cultural separation more symbolically, but they also long for a time like the past when separation in any form will be unnecessary--when their values will be the values of the nation, and their beliefs also the nation's. These "new" evangelicals long for a "restoration" and seek it in evangelistic campaigns, first for the "salvation" of souls, but also for the

salvation of the nation and the salvation of themselves as a culturally respected people.

In the meantime, between the present and the "restoration," a separate environment, no matter what its form--literal or more symbolic--must be created to protect the children of evangelical parents. The future of evangelicalism in America rests with the children. They must be taught the faith--its doctrines and its style of life--and they must believe in the validity and sacredness of their task. The evangelical children must maintain an evangelical identity.

Because the environment is so hostile, and because, as a result, so much of the evangelical identity is dependent upon the children of evangelicals, the context and the process of socialization has become a very important aspect of evangelical life and concern. The intention of this study has been to determine the nature and effectiveness of evangelical attempts at socialization in the relatively limited context of five Evangelical Free Church congregations. Yet despite the limitations of this focus, several substantive conclusions can be made that have directly to do with the future of an evangelical identity.

The Problem of Modernity, Plausibility Structures, and Identity

Berger (1980) has suggested that the major problem of orthodox approaches to the faith in a modern society is

the over abundance of choice. The orthodox believer attempts to lay claim to objective "truth," but the problem is that others, who believe differently, also make such claims, and therefore a choice must be made. Having once made such a choice, the act of choosing--a subjective act --haunts the claim to the "objectivity" of such "truth." This problem--of subjectively choosing an "objective" truth--attacks both the identity of a group and its ability to effectively socialize its young people. These specific problems of modernity and plausibility have worked themselves out in the middle of the attempts of Evangelical Free Church people to maintain their particular identity through the process of socialization. On the one hand, much that is key to an evangelical identity has been, in fact, passed down to the children. A review of the various indexes of religious commitment indicates that the children in these Free Church congregations are quite orthodox. These Free Church adolescents share with their parents basic doctrinal beliefs, devotional behaviors, experiential feelings, and consequential perspectives on important social and political issues of the day. Yet there is also evidence throughout the indexes that the "objective" authority of these evangelical parents does not go unquestioned. What is believed and how it is believed is debated and subjectively "chosen," so that the overall level of commitment among Evangelical Free Church

adolescents is substantively less than that of their parents. On index after index, percentage differences with regard to the level of commitment did exist between the Free Church parents and their children. The differences on the doctrinal issues were small, but on key issues. Fewer Free Church youth supported absolute inerrancy (83% to 92% for the parents), and fewer of the Free Church youth believed in a literal Heaven and Hell (84% to 94% for the parents).

In terms of devotional behavior, percentage differences were much larger, and again, on key issues. Only 57% of Free Church youth prayed privately once or more each day compared with 83% of these Free Church parents, and even fewer (48%) of the Free Church adolescents responded that prayer was "extremely" important to them, compared to 96% of their parents. These relatively large percentage differences also existed between the two groups on daily Bible reading and its importance.

Perhaps most disturbing for Free Church evangelicals and their concern for the future of an evangelical identity were the findings on the consequential index. Over two fifths of the Free Church adolescents (42%) "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that remarriage after divorce was morally acceptable, (with another 25% "undecided"). Only 26% of Free Church parents were of the same opinion (with only 12% "undecided"). On the issue of the

Equal Rights Amendment differences between the parents and the Free Church children were less, but a much larger percentage of Free Church youth than one would expect (24%) were, again, "undecided" about their support or lack of support for the amendment. Over 67% of the Free church adolescents were not opposed to women taking positions of authority in the church compared to only 42% of their parents; but of the many differences, the most interesting, and perhaps most difficult to understand, may have been the variance on the question of abortion. Of the Free Church youth 76% either "disagree" or "strongly disagree" that abortion was wrong under all circumstances, compared to only 28% of the parents. The differences in the magnitude of such percentages suggest that the long-term health of a distinctively evangelical identity--that emphasizes God's "objective" revelation and "biblical" piety--is in some question. The problem is the "subversive" invasion of modern culture and the undermining of the evangelical plausibility structure.

The Model of Religious Organizational Socialization

Not only was the substance of socialization important to this study, but considerable attention was given to the process of socialization, as well. A model of socialization was developed and tested that put particular emphasis on different institutional settings and their

relationships to one another. Much of the work having to do with religious organizational socialization, particularly in the context of religious education, can be thought of as having implications in the "middle range" of sociological theory. As such, the issue of religious organizational socialization has revolved around the question of how best to configure religious institutions so that the attempts at religious socialization can be most effective. This is, as has been noted, a particularly important issue in a modern society where membership in religious organizations is voluntary and the very existence of such organizations rests on their ability to recruit new members, but also to hold on to those born into such organizations. The essence and practice of the faith has to be presented to the young people in such a way that it becomes impossible or at least undesirable to live without it.

The major studies of religious organizational socialization have had to do with the effectiveness of religious schooling. Each of the studies has suggested that religious schooling has something to do with the environment withing which such schooling takes place. In each case emphasis has been placed on the family. In the Roman Catholic setting religious education was only effective among the children of committed parents. In the Lutheran setting religious education seemed effective only among

the children of the least committed parents, and in the conservative evangelical setting religious education was only effective when it was associated with a religiously committed role model. In any case, whether the impact of the parents was positive or negative, the parents had an impact, and the present study has tried again, to further specify the nature of that impact as part of an institutional configuration having to do with religious commitment. In other words, the question has to do with the relative impact of various institutional settings on the level of adolescent religious commitment. At the same time the denominational component also seemed important and needed to be taken into account. The effective socialization of religious orthodoxy in a Roman Catholic setting may well be peculiar to that setting, and this was thought true of the other settings as well.

By isolating a particular type of orthodoxy (conservative evangelical orthodox) and examining the socialization of adolescents using an institutional framework in the context of two different, but related, denominational settings (the Evangelical Free Church of American and the United Presbyterian Church), I hoped to cover all the major variables and shed additional light on the overall problem of religious organizational socialization. The findings suggest that the religious school, in and of itself, was of little importance to the level of adolescent

religious commitment, in either of the denominational setting. At the same time, as all the studies suggested in one way or another, the parents were very important. The present study points to the fact that when the denomination and the parents of the children to be socialized share the same religious agenda, the effect of the parents is indirect. In other words, the parents abdicate or turn over much of their responsibility for socialization to the local congregation, probably because they are comfortable in doing so. But, on the other hand, when the parents and the denomination do not agree, the parents are much more important because they are forced to take a more direct role in insuring that their agenda is THE agenda. What is most important, then, is the relationship of one institutional setting (the parents) to another (the denomination) and only when such a relationship can be specified, can the role of either be understood with regard to the religious education and socialization of young people. Whenever there is a wide range in the way commitment is viewed in the denomination, we should expect parents who prize orthodoxy to take an active role in the socialization of their children (as in case of the Greeley and Rossi's committed Roman Catholics and the present study's orthodoxy Presbyterians), or such an orthodox socialization will not occur (Johnstone's Lutherans, and the uncommitted Catholics and Presbyterians). On the other hand,

when there is little variation in the level or type of commitment, we should expect the parents who value orthodoxy to be less directly involved (as in the Evangelical Free Church) while at the same time being able to expect and obtain a certain level of religious commitment among their youth. The key to understanding the effectiveness of religious organizational socialization, then, has to do with the relationship of the parents to the denomination (represented by the local congregation) in terms of the variation in the type and level of "acceptable" religious commitment.

The Cosmopolitan-Provincial Approach to Religious Commitment

One final theoretical issue needs to be addessed. Roof (1976) has argued that conservative religious orthodoxy in American society can best be understood as the product of tight knit, provincial communities that have as their purpose, or at least serve the function of, thwarting the impact of modernity by minimizing contact with the larger, more hostile, social world. Certainly, as the historical evidence of this work suggests, this is the case. The importance of the doctrine of "separation" to fundamentalists cannot be overemphasized, and the fundamentalists themselves are convinced that separation is important as a viable strategy for maintaining their faith.

At the same time, there is evidence that understanding the details of religious commitment and socialization by using this approach is more complex. In general, there is no doubt that provincialism is an effective strategy. Fundamentalists are extremely committed to a conservative religious approach to the faith, and conservative evangelicals, to the extent that they "open up" to the culture are less committed. This fact is reflected in some of the "concerns" of socialization I have noted in the Evangelical Free Church, with regard to social and political positions, for example. At the same time, there is evidence that once the basis of orthodoxy is secured the cosmopolitan-provincial approach, as one would expect, loses its predictive power. For example, among the adults in the Free Church, the level of education is not substantively associated with the level of conservative religious orthodoxy. In such a case the education is sifted through the filter of commitment and not the other way around. Commitment shapes the experiences of education, rather than education shaping the experience of commitment. This also seems to be the case when it comes to the cosmopolitizing effects of income, the reading of newspapers and magazines, the preference for life in a large city, etc. In other words, if the base of commitment can be secured, there is some evidence that evangelical adults can face the cosmopolitan world with impunity. Whether or not this

ability is shared by their children, as we have seen, is open to debate.

Directions for Future Study

The present study suffered from several limitations, most of which had to do with time and money. It is, for example, extremely difficult to put together a reliable sampling frame with limited resources, for conservative religious groups such as the Evangelical Free Church. In the future more attention should be given to such attempts, and as a result more definitive statistical conclusions should be drawn. Attention should also be given to increasing response rates, and it would be very helpful, and fruitful to set up some kind of longitudinal study, which would try to specify the relationship of institutional variables to the level and nature of religious commitment over time.

In addition to these methodological concerns, the conclusions of this study should be viewed as provisional hypotheses that need even further specification. For example, the cohesiveness of various religious groups and the relationship of such cohesiveness to religious education and socialization should be further pursued as a theory of religious socialization. Along the same line, the idea that conservative religious groups are capable of withstanding the corrosive effects of the larger society

once a certain level of commitment is established should also be further and more directly pursued. Several questions suggest themselves. Is this hypothesis--that conservative religious groups, at least under some circumstances, e.g. cohesiveness, can withstand the press of modernity--always true? If not, under what conditions is it true? Do some invasions of modernity, as I have suggested, with the rationalization of evangelism, affect the faith more than others? How different is the impact of modernity on the children as compared to its impact on the adults? The answers to these questions, and questions like them would contribute greatly to the sociological understanding of the relationship of religious identity to a changing society and the implications of such change for religious organizational socialization.

Table 1
IDEOLOGICAL INDEX

1. When I think about God I usually think of him as:

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=181)	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	a powerful and sometimes severe judge of human beings and their behavior.	4.8%	9.9%	5.0%	8.2%
b.	a personal Being who watches over us and cares for our lives.	74.6	69.1	55.0	65.3
c.	the Creator and Ruler of the universe.	12.7	17.1	40.0	24.5
d.	the beauty and majesty of nature.	1.6	0.6	0.0	2.0
e.	that part of every person which is basically good.	3.2	1.1	0.0	0.0
f.	ultimate and unconditional love.	3.2	2.2	0.0	0.0
g.	none of the above.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

2. I believe Jesus was:

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=60)	EFCA (N=180)	U.P. (N=22)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	God living among men.	55.0%	79.5%	77.3%	95.9%
b.	Only a man, but specially called by God to reveal God's purpose to the world.	1.7	10.6	13.6	2.0
c.	a representative of the best that is in all men.	23.3	7.2	4.5	0.0
d.	a great man and teacher, but I don't think he was God.	8.3	2.2	4.5	2.0
e.	an illusion created by men out of their religious need.	1.7	0.6	0.0	0.0
f.	I'm not sure how I feel about Jesus.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

IDEOLOGICAL INDEX (Continued)

3. I believe that the Bible:

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=60)	EFCA (N=177)	U.P. (N=22)	EFCA (N=50)
a. is God's Word and that it is without error, at least in the original manuscripts.	41.7%	83.3%	13.6%	92.0%
b. was written by men, and inspired by God, but it may contain factual errors of history or in matters of science.	55.0	12.4	72.7	8.0
c. is important and should be respected because it was written by wise and good men, but God had no more to do with it than He did with other great literature.	1.7	4.3	9.1	0.0
d. is just another book.	1.7	0.0	4.5	0.0
e. I don't know what I believe about the Bible.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

4. I think that Heaven and Hell:

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=50)	EFCA (N=177)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=48)
a. actually exist as physical places where all people live after God's judgment.	50.0%	84.2%	33.3%	93.8%
b. are simply words that express symbolically some type of final system of reward or punishment.	16.0	12.4	23.8	2.1
c. are ways of speaking about being or not being in the presence of God. This may mean that we exist in heaven or hell at this very moment.	26.0	3.4	28.6	4.2
d. do not exist in any literal sense.	8.0	0.0	14.3	0.0
e. I don't know how I feel about the existence of heaven and hell.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

IDEOLOGICAL INDEX (Continued)

5. I believe that "grace" is:

		Parents	
		U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=47)
a.	a gift of God given only to those who accept Jesus Christ as their personal Savior.	25.0%	74.5%
b.	a gift of God given to all mankind through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ through the keeping of the sacraments of the Church.	10.0	4.3
c.	a gift of God given to all mankind through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ even though individuals may not consciously accept the gift or even know about it.	50.0	21.3
d.	only a word without any specific meaning to me.	15.0	0.0

Table 2
DEVOTIONAL INDEX

1. How often does your family say table prayers before or after the means you eat together?

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=184)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	at all meals.	53.1%	75.5%	57.1%	85.7%
b.	at least once a week.	3.1	6.5	14.3	8.2
c.	on special occasions such as Thanksgiving or Christmas.	32.8	10.9	23.8	6.1
d.	never or hardly ever.	10.9	7.1	4.8	0.0

2. How often does your family get together for family devotions?

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=185)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=47)
a.	several times a week.	4.8%	15.1%	0.0%	17.0%
b.	about once a month.	1.6	10.3	4.8	12.8
c.	on special occasions.	23.8	18.8	33.3	29.8
d.	never or hardly ever.	69.8	55.7	61.9	40.4

3. How often do you attend church?

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=185)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	once a week or more.	98.4%	91.9%	81.0	98.0
b.	once or twice a month.	1.6	6.5	14.3	0.0
c.	several times a year.	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
d.	rarely or hardly ever.	0.0	0.5	4.8	2.0

DEVOTIONAL INDEX (Continued)

4. How often do you pray privately?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=184)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a. regularly once a day or more.	43.8%	57.6%	33.3%	83.7%
b. regularly several time a week.	26.6	27.7	38.1	14.3
c. once or twice a month.	12.5	5.4	14.3	2.0
d. only on special occasions such as during illness or other times of trouble.	7.8	4.3	4.8	0.0
e. I hardly ever pray.	9.3	4.9	9.5	0.0

5. If and when you pray how important would you say prayer is in your life?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=184)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. extremely important.	42.2%	47.8%	33.3%	96.0%
b. fairly important.	48.4	39.7	47.6	4.0
c. not too important.	6.3	12.0	9.5	0.0
d. not at all important.	3.1	0.5	9.5	0.0

6. How often would you say you read the Bible?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=184)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a. regularly once a day or more.	6.3%	19.6%	28.6%	46.9%
b. regularly several times a week.	20.3	42.4	9.5	46.9
c. once or twice a month.	31.3	16.3	28.6	2.0
d. only on special occasions such as during illness or other times of trouble.	7.8	3.3	23.8	0.0
e. I hardly ever read the Bible.	34.4	18.5	9.5	4.1

DEVOTIONAL INDEX (Continued)

7. How important would you say Bible reading is in your life?

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=184)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	extremely important.	22.2%	36.4%	23.8%	77.6%
b.	fairly important.	39.7	44.0	33.3	20.4
c.	not too important.	33.3	18.5	23.8	2.0
d.	not at all important.	4.8	1.1	19.0	0.0

Table 3
THE EXPERIENTIAL INDEX

1. When you attend church do you feel that you are personally involved with God in Worship?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=182)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. yes.	57.1%	54.9%	57.1%	92.0%
b. no.	4.8	8.2	9.5	4.0
c. sometimes.	38.1	36.8	33.5	4.0
d. I'm not sure.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

2. Do you feel God loves you?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=62)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=50)
a. yes.	87.1%	94.0%	90.0%	100.0%
b. no.	3.2	0.0	5.0	0.0
c. sometimes.	9.7	6.0	5.0	0.0

Table 4
THE INTELLECTUAL INDEX

1. Who was the father of Absalom?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=186)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a. Samual.				
b. Saul.				*
c. David.	18.8%	33.3%	42.9%	75.5%
d. Solomon.				

2. Which of the following books is the last book in the Old Testament?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=186)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a. Zephaniah.				
b. Haggai.				
c. Obediah.				
d. Hosea.				
e. Malachi.	55.6%	85.5%	74.1%	85.7%

3. Which of the following books did Luke write?

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=186)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a. Revelation.				
b. Acts.	46.0%	58.1%	76.2%	79.6%
c. Philemon.				
d. Hebrews.				
e. Galations.				

* (Percent of correct responses.)

Table 5
CONSEQUENTIAL INDEX

1. To be a good American citizen it is necessary to have faith in God.

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a.	strongly agree.	4.7%	17.5%	19.0%	18.0%
b.	agree.	35.9	32.8	19.0	28.0
c.	undecided.	20.3	15.8	0.0	4.0
d.	disagree.	32.8	27.9	42.0	44.0
e.	strongly disagree.	6.3	6.0	19.0	6.0

2. A primary goa that all Christians should seek is social justice.

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=182)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=48)
a.	strongly agree.	12.5%	11.5%	19.0%	10.4%
b.	agree.	40.6	41.2	66.7	43.8
c.	undecided.	29.7	19.8	4.8	16.7
d.	disagree.	14.1	21.4	9.5	29.2
e.	strongly disagree.	3.1	6.0	0.0	0.0

3. Two people do nothing wrong when they marry even though one of them has been divorced.

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=182)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	strongly agree.	26.6%	8.8%	23.8%	2.0%
b.	agree.	39.1	33.5	42.9	24.5
c.	undecided.	15.6	25.3	19.0	12.2
d.	disagree.	17.2	20.3	14.3	49.0
e.	strongly disagree.	1.6	12.1	0.0	12.2

THE CONSEQUENTIAL INDEX (Continued)

4. A Christian should oppose the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. strongly agree.	1.6%	13.7%	0.0%	32.0%
b. agree.	9.4	27.3	9.5	26.0
c. undecided.	17.2	24.0	9.5	10.0
d. disagree.	39.1	25.7	38.1	24.0
e. strongly disagree.	32.8	9.3	42.9	8.0

5. Women should not be in positions of authority in the church.

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. strongly agree.	3.1%	8.7%	0.0%	12.0%
b. agree.	7.8	9.3	4.8	36.0
c. undecided.	3.1	14.8	0.0	10.0
d. disagree.	28.1	37.2	33.3	32.0
e. strongly disagree.	57.8	30.1	61.9	10.0

6. Abortion is wrong under all circumstances.

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. strongly agree.	17.2%	34.4%	9.5%	42.0%
b. agree.	12.5	18.6	4.8	24.0
c. undecided.	25.0	13.7	9.5	6.0
d. disagree.	29.7	23.0	33.3	22.0
e. strongly disagree.	15.6	10.4	42.9	6.0

THE CONSEQUENTIAL INDEX (Continued)

7. Humanists, because of their beliefs, do the nation more harm than good.

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a. strongly agree.	1.6%	10.4%	0.0%	28.6%
b. agree.	14.3	26.2	23.8	51.0
c. undecided.	49.2	51.4	23.8	10.2
d. disagree.	27.0	10.9	38.1	6.1
e. strongly disagree.	7.9	1.1	14.3	4.1

8. For the most part, there should be little government restriction on speaking out on any public issue, even on people who openly promote atheism.

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=62)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. strongly agree.	30.6%	5.5%	14.3%	16.0%
b. agree.	35.5	35.5	76.2	56.0
c. undecided.	22.6	29.0	4.8	12.0
d. disagree.	8.1	21.3	0.0	12.0
e. strongly disagree.	3.2	8.7	4.8	4.0

9. People should be allowed to ban books from the local library if they feel the books are unsuitable by their community standards.

	Youth		Parents	
	U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. strongly agree.	4.8%	7.7%	0.0%	14.0%
b. agree.	19.0	27.3	9.5	46.0
c. undecided.	19.0	25.7	4.8	20.0
d. disagree.	30.2	26.2	61.9	14.0
e. strongly disagree.	27.0	13.1	23.8	6.0

Table 6
CULTURAL INTEGRATION INDEX: THE STUDENTS

1. Have you ever held an office in a group organized by the church such as a youth group or choir?

	U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=183)
a. yes.	38.1%	30.9%
b. no.	61.9	69.1

2. Of your three closest friends, how many go to the same church as you do?

	U.P. (N=61)	EFCA (N=182)
a. none.	16.4%	11.5%
b. one.	42.6	33.5
c. two.	29.5	31.3
d. three.	11.5	23.6

3. Have you ever graduated from a confirmation or pastor's instruction class?

	U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=186)
a. yes.	88.9%	73.1%
b. no.	11.1	26.9

4. Do you consider yourself a Christian?

	U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=186)
a. yes.	81.3%	88.7%
b. no.	6.3	1.6
c. sometimes.	12.5	9.7

THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION INDEX: THE STUDENTS (Continued)

5. How committed a Christian would you say you are?

		U.P. (N=52)	EFCA (N=170)
a.	very committed.	19.2%	26.5%
b.	somewhat committed.	73.1	63.5
c.	not too committed.	5.9	9.4
d.	not at all committed.	1.9	0.6

6. Would you refer to your salvation as being "born again?"

		U.P. (N=60)	EFCA (N=179)
a.	yes.	46.7%	89.9%
b.	no.	53.3	10.1

7. Would you say that your parents provide a spiritual atmosphere in your home.

		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=185)
a.	it is very spiritual.	15.6%	46.5%
b.	it is somewhat spiritual.	53.1	48.1
c.	no.	31.3	5.4

8. How much influence would you say the pastor or other church leaders have had upon the decisions you make in your daily life?

		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=185)
a.	considerable influence.	28.6%	27.0%
b.	some influence.	54.0	50.8
c.	hardly any influence.	17.5	22.2

THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION INDEX: THE STUDENTS (Continued)

9. How much influence would you say being a Christian has upon the decisions you make in your daily life?

		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=186)
a.	considerable influence.	42.9%	55.9%
b.	some influence.	50.8	39.8
c.	hardly any influence.	6.3	4.3

10. Have you ever attended, or do you attend, a church-sponsored elementary or secondary school?

		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=186)
a.	yes.	9.5%	22.0%
b.	no.	90.5	78.0

11. How many years did you, or have you attended such a school?

		U.P. (N=07)	EFCA (N=39)
a.	one.	14.3%	12.8%
b.	two.	14.3	28.2
c.	three.	0.0	20.5
d.	four or more.	71.4	38.5

Table 7
THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION INDEX: THE PARENTS

1. Do you now, or have you in the past, taught a church Sunday school class?

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	yes, I have often taught Sunday school classes.	19.0%	46.9%
b.	yes, I have taught Sunday school classes, but not very often.	47.6	34.7
c.	I have never taught a Sunday school class.	33.3	18.4

2. In about how many congregational organizations such as church boards do you currently participate?

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	one.	23.8%	20.4%
b.	two.	9.5	10.2
c.	three.	14.3	6.1
d.	more than three.	9.5	4.1
e.	none.	42.9	59.2

3. How active would you say you are in these organizations?

		U.P. (N=12)	EFCA (N=20)
a.	I'm active in at least one.	41.7%	60.0%
b.	I'm active in two or more.	50.0	40.0
c.	I'm somewhat active in one.	8.3	0.0
d.	I'm not too active in any.	0.0	0.0

4. Have you, at any time, held an office in this church?

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	yes.	66.7%	69.4%
b.	no.	33.3	30.6

THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION INDEX: THE PARENTS (Continued)

5. Have you ever attended a church sponsored elementary or secondary school?

	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. yes.	0.0%	18.0%
b. no.	100.0	82.0

6. How many years did you attend such a school?

	U.P. (N=0)	EFCA (N=9)
a. one.	0.0%	0.0%
b. two.	0.0	0.0
c. three.	0.0	11.1
d. four or more.	0.0	88.9

7. Have you ever attended a church-sponsored college?

	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=49)
a. yes.	15.0%	28.6%
b. no.	85.0	71.4

8. How many years did you attend?

	U.P. (N=03)	EFCA (N=14)
a. one.	0.0%	28.6%
b. two.	66.7	14.3
c. three or more.	33.3	57.1

9. Have you ever attended a post-secondary Bible school or Bible institute?

	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=49)
a. yes.	0.0%	8.2%
b. no.	100.0	91.8

THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION INDEX: THE PARENTS (Continued)

10. How many years did you attend?

	U.P. (N=0)	EFCA (N=04)
a. one.	0.0%	50.0%
b. two.	0.0	0.0
c. three or more.	0.0	50.0

11. Do you now consider yourself saved?

	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=50)
a. yes.	80.0%	100.0%
b. no.	20.0	0.0

12. Would you call your salvation being "born again?"

	U.P. (N=15)	EFCA (N=50)
a. yes.	60.0%	96.0%
b. no.	40.0	4.0

Table 8
THE COSMOPOLITAN INDEX

1. How often do you read a daily newspaper?

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=182)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a.	everyday.	54.7%	40.1%	95.2%	78.0%
b.	once or twice a week.	28.1	30.2	4.8	12.0
c.	once in a while.	15.6	22.0	0.0	6.0
d.	never or hardly ever.	1.6	7.7	0.0	4.0

2. Do you read any of the following magazines?

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=64)	EFCA (N=185)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50) *
a.	news oriented.	15.6%	13.4%	47.6%	56.0%
b.	sports oriented.	23.4	22.0	0.0	4.0
c.	popularly oriented.	45.3	36.8	42.9	34.0
d.	trade oriented.	1.6	3.3	14.3	6.0

* (percent responding "yes.")

3. Despite all the newspaper and television coverage of national and international events, I usually am most interested in local news.

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=183)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	strongly agree.	6.3%	4.9%	0.0%	0.0%
b.	agree.	46.0	35.0	9.5	28.6
c.	undecided.	6.3	13.1	14.3	2.0
d.	disagree.	36.5	37.7	47.6	59.2
e.	strongly disagree.	4.8	9.3	28.6	10.2

THE COSMOPOLITAN INDEX (Continued)

4. I think I would enjoy living in a large metropolitan area instead of a smaller town if I had the choice.

		Youth		Parents	
		U.P. (N=63)	EFCA (N=163)	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a.	strongly agree.	14.3%	10.4%	0.0%	6.0%
b.	agree.	25.4	19.7	33.3	14.0
c.	undecided.	15.9	20.2	19.0	14.0
d.	disagree.	31.7	30.1	38.1	52.0
e.	strongly disagree.	12.7	19.7	33.3	14.0

Table 9
THE PARENTAL RELIGIOUS YOUTH INDEX

1. When you were in elementary and secondary school, how active would you say you were in church activities?

	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. very active.	42.9%	40.0%
b. fairly active.	42.9	36.0
c. not very active.	14.3	12.0
d. inactive.	0.0	12.0

2. When you were in elementary and secondary school, did you consider yourself a Christian?

	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=50)
a. yes.	95.2%	74.0%
b. no.	4.8	20.0
c. sometimes.	0.0	6.0

3. How committed a Christian would you say you were?

	U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=38)
a. very committed.	30.0%	50.0%
b. somewhat committed.	65.0	28.9
c. not too committed.	5.0	15.8
d. not at all committed.	0.0	5.3

4. Would you say that your parents provided a spiritual atmosphere in your home when you were growing up?

	U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a. it was very spiritual.	19.0%	32.0%
b. it was somewhat spiritual.	57.1	42.0
c. no.	23.8	26.0

Table 10
BACKGROUND VARIABLES

1. What is the highest grade you have completed?

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	high school graduate.	14.3%	30.6%
b.	some college.	23.8	32.7
c.	college graduate.	42.9	18.4
d.	graduate work.	19.0	18.4

2. Do you and your spouse work full time?

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=49)
a.	employed husbands.	95.2%	100.0%
b.	employed wives.	45.0	16.7

3. What is your approximate family income?

		U.P. (N=20)	EFCA (N=46)
a.	under $9,999.	5.0%	8.7%
b.	$10,000-$19,999.	0.0	4.3
c.	$20,000-$29,999.	0.0	19.6
d.	$30,000-$39,999.	30.0	37.0
e.	$40,000-$49,999.	25.0	15.2
f.	$50,000-$59,999.	15.0	4.3
g.	over $60,000.	25.0	10.9

4. Gender:

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=50)
a.	male.	38.1%	36.0%
b.	female.	61.9	64.0

5. Age:

		U.P. (N=21)	EFCA (N=48)
a.	31-35.	0.0%	2.1%
b.	36-40.	19.0	31.2
c.	41-45.	54.2	37.5
d.	46-50.	14.3	18.8
e.	51-55.	14.3	10.4

Table 11
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS BY GROUPS

PRESBYTERIANS

INDEX	STUDENTS (MEAN)	STUDENTS (S.D.)	PARENTS (MEAN)	PARENTS (S.D.)
Religious Commitment	-9.93	14.27	-5.65	11.70
Cultural Integration	-2.31	5.73	- .58	2.30
Consequential	-3.21	4.34	-1.84	3.27
Devotionalism	-1.60	3.74	-1.62	3.99
Intellectual	- .94	1.96	- .26	1.45
Ideological (Doctrine)	-1.69	2.96	-1.06	2.39
Experiential	- .17	1.82	- .30	1.56
Cosmopolitanism	.50	2.98	.61	2.17

THE FREE CHURCH

INDEX	STUDENTS (MEAN)	STUDENTS (S.D.)	PARENTS (MEAN)	PARENTS (S.D.)
Religious Commitment	3.42	11.81	1.93	5.80
Cultural Integration	.79	5.11	.20	1.75
Consequential	1.11	3.81	.63	2.31
Devotionalism	.55	4.12	.54	1.67
Intellectual	.33	1.93	.09	1.01
Ideological	.58	1.94	.37	1.26
Experiential	.05	1.42	.10	.44
Cosmopolitanism	- .17	3.36	- .21	1.53

Table 12
DIMENSION BY DIMENSION REGRESSION
ON THE INDEX OF ORTHODOX
RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT: FREE CHURCH YOUTH

CORRELATION MATRIX

	Ideo-logical	Devo-tional	Cultural Integr.	Exper-iential	Intel-lect.	Conse-quent.
Devotion-alism	.16					
Cultural Integr.	.22	.59				
Exper-iential	.16	.41	.36			
Intel-lect.	.18	.06	.25	.13		
Conse-quent.	.14	.24	.25	.25	-.02	
Religious Commit.	.41	.76	.84	.55	.33	.56

REGRESSION

Regression on Religious Commitment:

	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARED	BETA
Cultural Integration	.84	.70	.43
Consequential	.92	.84	.32
Devotional	.96	.93	.35
Intellectual	.98	.96	.16
Ideological	.99	.99	.16
Experiential	1.00	1.00	.12

Table 13
DIMENSION BY DIMENSION REGRESSION
ON THE INDEX OF ORTHODOX
RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT: FREE CHURCH PARENTS

CORRELATION MATRIX

	Ideo-logical	Devo-tional	Cultural Integr.	Exper-iential	Intel-lect.	Conse-quent.
Devotion-alism	.52					
Cultural Integr.	.08	.26				
Exper-iential	.52	.50	.08			
Intel-lect.	.42	.44	.21	.43		
Conse-quent.	.51	.51	.15	.54	.25	
Religious Commit.	.71	.80	.50	.65	.59	.79

REGRESSION

Regression on Religious Commitment:

	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARED	BETA
Devotionalism	.80	.64	.29
Consequential	.91	.83	.40
Cultural Integration	.96	.92	.30
Ideological	.98	.97	.22
Intellectual	1.00	1.00	.17
Experiential	1.00	1.00	.08

Table 14
DIMENSION BY DIMENSION REGRESSION
ON THE INDEX OF ORTHODOX
RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT: PRESBYTERIAN STUDENTS

CORRELATION MATRIX

	Ideo-logical	Devo-tional	Cultural Integr.	Exper-iential	Intel-lect.	Conse-quent.
Devotion-alism	.40					
Cultural Integr.	.39	.65				
Exper-iential	.49	.59	.50			
Intel-lect.	.18	.26	.31	.24		
Conse-quent.	.33	.12	.26	.31	.17	
Religious Commit.	.66	.75	.84	.71	.45	.57

REGRESSION

Regression on Religious Commitment:

	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARED	BETA
Cultural Integration	.84	.70	.40
Consequential	.92	.84	.30
Devotionalism	.96	.93	.26
Ideological	.99	.97	.21
Intellectual	1.00	1.00	.14
Experiential	1.00	1.00	.13

Table 15
DIMENSION BY DIMENSION REGRESSION
ON THE INDEX OF ORTHODOX
RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT: PRESBYTERIAN PARENTS

CORRELATION MATRIX

	Ideo-logical	Devo-tional	Cultural Integr.	Exper-iential	Intel-lect.	Conse-quent.
Devotion-alism	.70					
Cultural Integr.	.49	.66				
Exper-iential	.48	.53	.50			
Intel-lect.	.35	.48	.27	.45		
Conse-quent.	.58	.64	.31	.40	.35	
Religious Commit.	.81	.92	.71	.68	.57	.78

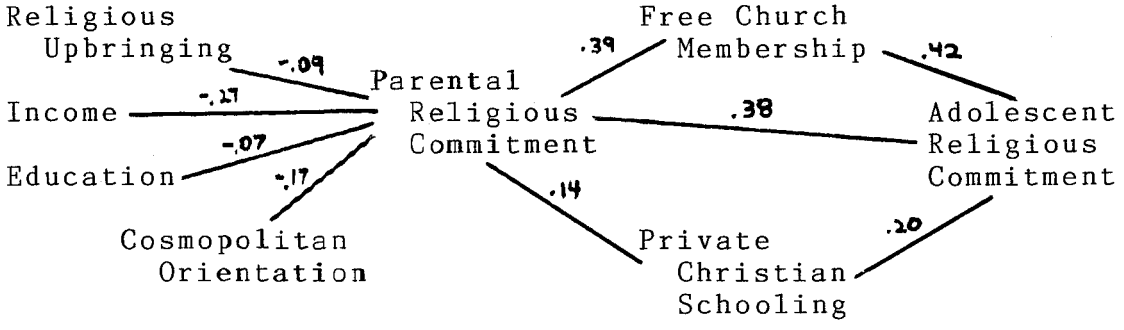
REGRESSION

Regression on Religious Commitment:

	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARED	BETA
Devotionalism	.92	.85	.34
Consequential	.96	.91	.28
Experiential	.98	.95	.13
Ideological	.99	.97	.20
Cultural Integration	1.00	1.00	.19
Intellectual	1.00	1.00	.12

Figure 3
A MODEL OF RELIGIOUS SOCIALIZATION: COMBINED GROUPS

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS



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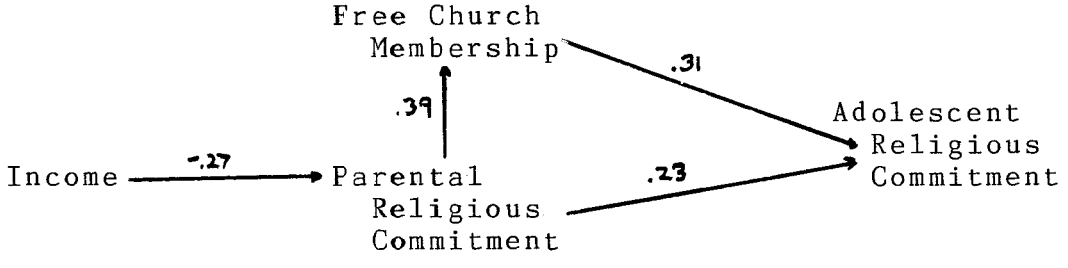
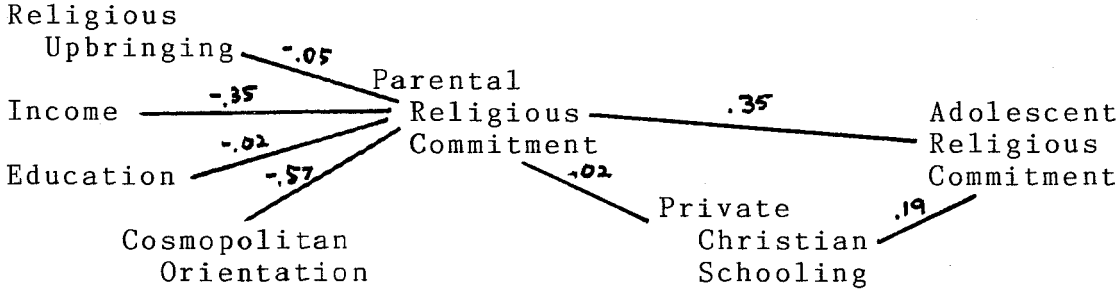


Figure 4
A MODEL OF RELIGIOUS SOCIALIZATION: PRESBYTERIANS

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS



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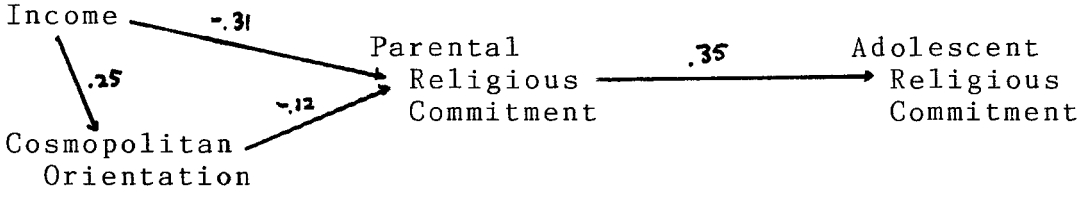
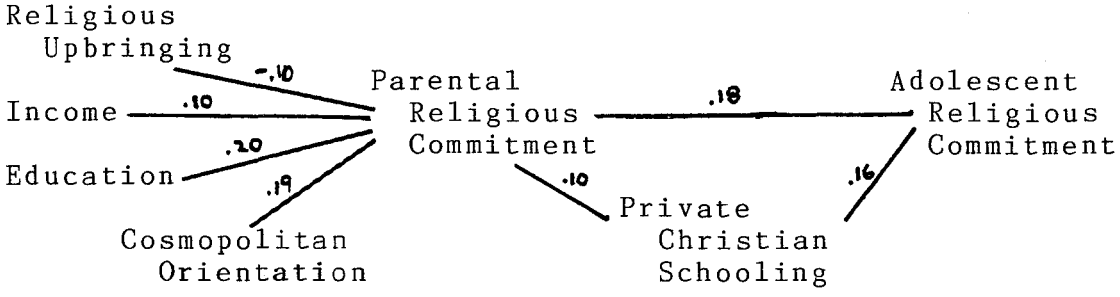


Figure 5
A MODEL OF RELIGIOUS SOCIALIZATION: THE FREE CHURCH

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS



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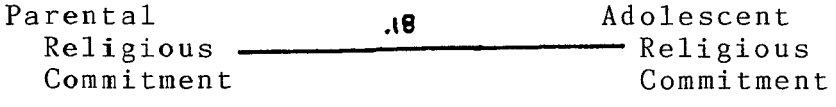

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APPENDIX A

THE PARENTAL SURVEY

A STUDY OF EVANGELICAL RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

The following survey is a part of a larger study having to do with the education of young people in the contexts of their homes and church congregations. I am, as will become quite evident, primarily interested in religious beliefs and values, and some related moral, political, and social issues.

The study concentrates on families in five Evangelical Free Church congregations in the state of Illinois selected at random. Five Presbyterian congregations will also be surveyed for purposes of comparison. Your cooperation in filling out this questionnaire and insuring its return will be extremely valuable in realizing the various objectives I hope to achieve. The questionnaire itself is based on much of the research literature available in the field having to do with religious commitment. I hope you find the questionnaire interesting and enjoy completing the survey.

Some of the questions in the survey concern controversial issues, but be assured that no question is worded to impute or imply any judgment on my part. Your freedom to omit a response is always highly repected. At the same time the confidentiality of your answers, as well as the identity of your church congregation, is assured. The results of the survey will also be furnished for your pastors use. Thank you very much for your concern, time, and participation.

The following questions are about your religious feelings, actions, and beliefs. I have tried to offer various response alternatives so that I can accurately reflect your personal perspective. You may feel, however, that on occasion your answer to any particular question is not represented. When this unfortunately occurs, I would appreciate it if you would choose the best possible alternative.

The order of the questions has been arranged to make it easy for you to go from one question to another. Not every question, however, is meant for every person, and you might be asked to skip those that do not apply to you.

Please read each question carefully, and then circle the letter of the answer that most closely corresponds to your present thinking.

WE BEGIN WITH SOME QUESTIONS ON RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. When I think about God I usually think of him as:

   a. A powerful and sometimes severe judge of human beings and their behavior.
   b. A personal Being who watches over us and cares for our lives.
   c. The Creator and Ruler of the universe.
   d. The beauty and majesty of nature.
   e. That part of every person which is basically good.
   f. Ultimate and unconditional love.
   g. None of the above.

2. I believe Jesus was:

   a. God living among men.
   b. Only a man, but specially called by God to reveal God's purpose to the world.
   c. A representative of the best that is in all men.
   d. A great man and teacher, but I don't think he was God.
   e. An illusion created by men out of their religious need.
   f. I'm not sure how I feel about Jesus.

3. I believe that the Bible:

   a. Is God's Word and that it is without error, at least in the original manuscripts.
   b. Was written by men, and inspired by God, but it may contain factual errors of history or in matters of science.
   c. Is important and should be respected because it was written by wise and good men, but God had no more to do with it than He did with other great literature.
   d. Is just another book.
   e. I don't know what I believe about the Bible.

4. I think that Heaven and Hell:

   a. Actually exist as physical places where all people live after God's judgment.
   b. Are simply words that express symbolically some type of final system of reward or punishment.
   c. Are ways of speaking about being or not being in the presence of God. This may mean that we exist in heaven or hell at this very moment.
   d. Do not exist in any literal sense.
   e. I don't know how I feel about the existence of heaven and hell.

5. I believe that "grace" is:

   a. A gift of God given only to those who accept Jesus Christ as their personal Savior.
   b. A gift of God given to all mankind through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ through the keeping of the sacraments of the Church.
   c. A gift of God given to all mankind through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ even though individuals may not consciously accept the gift or even know about it.
   d. Only a word without any specific meaning to me.

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS CONCERN YOUR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

6. How often does your family say table prayers before or after the meals you eat together?

   a. At all meals.
   b. At least once a week.
   c. On special occasions such as Thanksgiving or Christmas.
   d. Never or hardly ever.

7. How often does your family get together for family devotions?

   a. Several times a week.
   b. About once a month.
   c. On special occasions.
   d. Never or hardly ever.

8. How often do you attend church?

   a. Once a week or more.
   b. Once or twice a month.
   c. Several times a year.
   d. Rarely or hardly ever.

9. How often do you pray privately?

   a. Regularly once a day or more.
   b. Regularly several time a week.
   c. Once or twice a month.
   d. Only on special occasions such as during illness or other times of trouble.
   e. I hardly ever pray.

10. If and when you pray how important would you say prayer is in your life?

    a. Extremely important.
    b. Fairly important.
    c. Not too important.
    d. Not at all important.

11. How often would you say you read the Bible?

    a. Regularly once a day or more.
    b. Regularly several times a week.
    c. Once or twice a month.
    d. Only on special occasions such as during illness or other times of trouble.
    e. I hardly ever read the Bible.

12. How important would you say Bible reading is in your life?

    a. Extremely important.
    b. Fairly important.
    c. Not too important.
    d. Not at all important.

13. Do you now, or have you in the past, taught a church Sunday school class?

a. Yes, I have often taught Sunday school classes.
b. Yes, I have taught Sunday school classes, but not very often.
c. I have never taught a Sunday school class.

14. In about how many congregational organizations such as church boards do you currently participate?

a. One.
b. Two.
c. Three.
d. More than three.
e. None.

14 a. IF YOU CHECKED "ONE" OR MORE ON QUESTION 15, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not please go on to the next question.

How active would you say you are in these organizations?

a. I'm active in at least one.
b. I'm active in two or more.
c. I'm somewhat active in at least one.
d. I'm not too active in any of them.

15. Have you, at any time, held an office in this church?

a. Yes.
b. No.

16. When you were in elementary and secondary school, how active would you say you were in church activities?

a. Very active.
b. Fairly active.
c. Not very active.
d. Inactive.

17. When you were in elementary or secondary school did you consider yourself a Christian?

a. Yes.
b. No.
c. At times.

17 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 18, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not, please go on to the next question.

How committed a Christian would you say you were?

a. Very committed.
b. Somewhat committed.
c. Not too committed.
d. Not at all committed.

18. Would you say that your parents provided a spiritual atmosphere in your home when you were growing up?

a. It was very spiritual.
b. It was somewhat spiritual.
c. No.

19. Have you ever attended a church-sponsored elementary or secondary school?

a. Yes.
b. No.

19 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 19, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not please go on to the next question.

How many years did you attend such a school?

a. One.
b. Two.
c. Three.
d. Four or more.

20. Have you ever attended a church-sponsored college?

a. Yes.
b. No.

20 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 20, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not go on to the next question.

How many years did you attend?

a. One.
b. Two.
c. Three or more.

21. Have you ever attended a post-secondary Bible school or Bible institute?

a. Yes.
b. No.

21 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 21, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not please go on to the next question.

How many years did you attend?

a. One.
b. Two.
c. Three or more.

22. Do you now as an adult consider yourself "saved?"

a. Yes.
b. No.

22 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 22, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not please go on to the next question.

Would you call your salvation being "born again?"

a. Yes.
b. No.

23. When you attend church do you feel that you are personally involved with God in worship?

a. Yes.
b. No.
c. I'm not sure.

24. Do you feel that God loves you?

a. Yes.
b. No.
c. Sometimes.
d. I'm not sure.

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE BIBLE. I'D LIKE YOU TO TREAT THIS AS A SHORT TEST. AS SUCH, IT WOULD DEFEAT THE PURPOSE IF YOU LOOKED UP ANSWERS YOU DON'T ALREADY KNOW. NO ONE WILL PERSECUTE YOU FOR A POOR

SCORE OR PRAISE YOU FOR SUCCESS. BESIDES, THE QUESTIONS ARE VERY SELECTIVE ANYWAY.

25. Who was the father of Absalom?

a. Samuel.
b. Saul.
c. David
d. Solomon.

26. Which of the following books is the last book of the Old Testament?

a. Zephaniah.
b. Haggai.
c. Obadiah.
d. Hosea.
e. Malachi.

27. Which of the following books did Luke write?

a. Revelation.
b. Acts.
c. Philemon.
d. Hebrews.
e. Galations.

AT THIS POINT WE ARE GOING TO SWITCH OUR EMPHASIS. AS YOU WILL NOTICE VERY SHORTLY, THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE CONCERNED WITH SOME IMPORTANT AND CERTAINLY CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES. I AM SIMPLY INTERESTED IN HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE ISSUES. I HAVE PUT THEM IN A SIMPLE STATEMENT FORM TO WHICH YOU CAN RESPOND BY CIRCLING APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE RIGHT OF EACH QUESTION.

	Strongly Agree (SA)	Agree (A)	Disagree (D)	Strongly Disagree (SD)	Undecided (U)
28. Since the federal government frequently wastes tax money, people shouldn't be too concerned with the exactness of their income tax returns.	SA	A	D	SD	U
29. To be a good American citizen it is necessary to believe in God.	SA	A	D	SD	U

30. A primary goal that all Christians should seek is social justice. SA A D SD U

31. The government should not be involved in the regulation of advertising. SA A D SD U

32. Two people do nothing wrong when they marry even though one of them has been divorced, as long as they both are Christians. SA A D SD U

33. A Christian should oppose the Equal Rights Ammendment to the Constitution. SA A D SD U

34. Women should not be in positions of authority in the Church. SA A D SD U

35. Abortion is wrong under any circumstances. SA A D SD U

36. Humanists, because of their beliefs, do the nation more harm than good. SA A D SD U

37. Despite all the newspaper and television of international, I am usually interested in local news. SA A D SD U

38. I think I would enjoy living in a large metropolitan area instead of a smaller town if I had such an opportunity. SA A D SD U

39. For the most part, there should be little government restriction on speaking out on openly promote atheism. SA A D SD U

40. People should be allowed to ban books from the local public library if they feel the books are unsuitable by their community standards. SA A D SD U

FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO FINISH BY ASKING YOU SOME MORE OR LESS SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF.

41. How often do you read a daily newspaper?

a. Everyday.
b. Once or twice.
c. Once in awhile.
d. Never, or hardly ever.

41 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "EVERYDAY" OR "ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK" ON QUESTION 41, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not, please go on to the next question.

How extensively do you read the paper when you read it?

a. I read almost every article.
b. I read the articles that catch my interest.
c. I go through the paper quite quickly.

42. Do you read any of the following magazines?

Each Issue Cover to Cover (C. to. C)	Each Issue Selected Articles (Sel. Art.)	Selected Issues (Sel. I.)	Hardly Ever (H.E.)
Magazine:			
Time	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Newsweek	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
U. S. News	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
People	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Sports Illustrated	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Readers Digest	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.

Christianity Today	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Moody Monthly	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Christian Life	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
His	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Eternity	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Campus Life	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Christian Virtue	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Other_____ _____	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.

43. What is your political party preference?

a. Republican.
b. Democrat.
c. Independent.

44. Would you consider yourself a:

a. Liberal.
b. Conservative.
c. Other_____.

45. In what kind of community did you live when you were growing up?

a. Farm.
b. Country, non-farm.
c. Small town, less than 10,000 population.
d. Small city, less than 100,000 population.
e. Medium size city, 100,000 to 250,000 population.
f. Suburbs of a large metropolitan city.
g. Large city, 250,000 or more.

46. What is the highest grade you have completed in school?

a. No formal schooling.
b. 6th grade or less.
c. 7th or 8th grade.
d. Some high school.
e. High school graduate.
f. Some college.
g. College graduate.
h. Graduate work.

47. Do you and your spouse work full time?

Yourself?

a. Yes.
b. No.

Your spouse?

a. Yes.
b. No.

48. What is your approximate total family income?

a. under $9,999.
b. $10,000-$19,999.
c. $20,000-$29,999.
d. $30,000-$39,999.
e. $40,000-$49,999.
f. $50,000-$59,999.
g. over $60,000.

49. Gender:

a. Male.
b. Female.

50. What is your age? _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

THE STUDENT SURVEY

A STUDY OF EVANGELICAL RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

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   c. The Creator and Ruler of the universe.
   d. The beauty and majesty of nature.
   e. That part of every person which is basically good.
   f. Ultimate and unconditional love.
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2. I believe Jesus was:

   a. God living among men.
   b. Only a man, but specially called by God to reveal God's purpose to the world.
   c. A representative of the best that is in all men.
   d. A great man and teacher, but I don't think he was God.
   e. An illusion created by men out of their religious need.
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   b. Are simply words that express symbolically some type of final system of reward or punishment.
   c. Are ways of speaking about being or not being in the presence of God. This may mean that we exist in heaven or hell at this very moment.
   d. Do not exist in any literal sense.
   e. I don't know how I feel about the existence of heaven and hell.

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS CONCERN YOUR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

6. How often does your family say table prayers before or after the meals you eat together?

   a. At all meals.
   b. At least once a week.
   c. On special occasions such as Thanksgiving or Christmas.
   d. Never or hardly ever.

7. How often does your family get together for family devotions?

   a. Several times a week.
   b. About once a month.
   c. On special occasions.
   d. Never or hardly ever.

8. How often do you attend church?

   a. Once a week or more.
   b. Once or twice a month.
   c. Several times a year.
   d. Rarely or hardly ever.

9. How often do you pray privately?

   a. Regularly once a day or more.
   b. Regularly several time a week.
   c. Once or twice a month.
   d. Only on special occasions such as during illness or other times of trouble.
   e. I hardly ever pray.

10. If and when you pray how important would you say prayer is in your life?

   a. Extremely important.
   b. Fairly important.
   c. Not too important.
   d. Not at all important.

11. How often would you say you read the Bible?

   a. Regularly once a day or more.
   b. Regularly several times a week.
   c. Once or twice a month.
   d. Only on special occasions such as during illness or other times of trouble.
   e. I hardly ever read the Bible.

12. How important would you say Bible reading is in your life?

   a. Extremely important.
   b. Fairly important.
   c. Not too important.
   d. Not at all important.

13. How often do you attend church-sponsored programs other than Sunday school or worship sevices on Sunday?

a. Once a week.
b. Once or twice a month.
c. Several times a year.
d. Hardly ever or never.

14. Have you ever held an office in a group organized by the church such as a youth group or choir?

a. Yes.
b. No.

15. Of your three closests friends, how many go to the same church you do?

a. One.
b. Two
c. All three.

16. Have you ever graduated from a confirmation or pastor's instruction class?

a. Yes.
b. No.

17. Do you now consider yourself a Christian?

a. Yes.
b. No.
c. At times.

17 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 17, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not, please go on to the next question.

How committed a Christian would you say you were?

a. Very committed.
b. Somewhat committed.
c. Not too committed.
d. Not at all committed.

17 b. Would you refer to your salvation as being born again?

a. Yes.
b. No.

18. Would you say that your parents provide a spiritual atmosphere in your home?

a. It is very spiritual.
b. It is somewhat spiritual.
c. No.

19. How much influence would you say the pastor or other church leaders have had upon the decisions you make in your daily life?

a. Considerable influence.
b. Some influence.
c. Hardly any influence.

20. How much influence would you say being a Christian has upon the decisions you make in your daily life?

a. Considerable influence.
b. Some influence.
c. Hardly any or no influence.

21. Have you ever attended a church-sponsored elementary or secondary school?

a. Yes.
b. No.

21 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 21, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not please go on to the next question.

How many years did you attend such a school?

a. One.
b. Two.
c. Three.
d. Four or more.

22. When you attend church do you feel that you are personally involved with God in worship?

a. Yes.
b. No.
c. I'm not sure.

23. Do you feel that God loves you?

a. Yes.
b. No.
c. Sometimes.
d. I'm not sure.

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE BIBLE. I'D LIKE YOU TO TREAT THIS AS A SHORT TEST. AS SUCH, IT WOULD DEFEAT THE PURPOSE IF YOU LOOKED UP ANSWERS YOU DON'T ALREADY KNOW. NO ONE WILL PERSECUTE YOU FOR A POOR SCORE OR PRAISE YOU FOR SUCCESS. BESIDES, THE QUESTIONS ARE VERY SELECTIVE ANYWAY.

24. Who was the father of Absalom?

a. Samuel.
b. Saul.
c. David
d. Solomon.

25. Which of the following books is the last book of the Old Testament?

a. Zephaniah.
b. Haggai.
c. Obadiah.
d. Hosea.
e. Malachi.

26. Which of the following books did Luke write?

a. Revelation.
b. Acts.
c. Philemon.
d. Hebrews.
e. Galations.

AT THIS POINT WE ARE GOING TO SWITCH OUR EMPHASIS. AS YOU WILL NOTICE VERY SHORTLY, THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE CONCERNED WITH SOME IMPORTANT AND CERTAINLY CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES. I AM SIMPLY INTERESTED IN HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE ISSUES. I HAVE PUT THEM IN A SIMPLE STATEMENT FORM TO WHICH YOU CAN RESPOND BY CIRCLING APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE RIGHT OF EACH QUESTION.

Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD) Undecided (U)

27.	Since the federal government frequently wastes tax money, people shouldn't be too concerned with the exactness of their income tax returns.	SA	A	D	SD	U
28.	To be a good American citizen it is necessary to believe in God.	SA	A	D	SD	U
29.	A primary goal that all Christians should seek is social justice.	SA	A	D	SD	U
30.	The government should not be involved in the regulation of advertising.	SA	A	D	SD	U
31.	Two people do nothing wrong when they marry even though one of them has been divorced, as long as they both are Christians.	SA	A	D	SD	U
32.	A Christian should oppose the Equal Rights Ammendment to the Constitution.	SA	A	D	SD	U
33.	Women should not be in positions of authority in the Church.	SA	A	D	SD	U

34. Abortion is wrong under any circumstances.	SA	A	D	SD	U
35. Humanists, because of their beliefs, do the nation more harm than good.	SA	A	D	SD	U
36. Despite all the newspaper and television of international, I am usually interested in local news.	SA	A	D	SD	U
37. I think I would enjoy living in a large metropolitan area instead of a smaller town if I had such an opportunity.	SA	A	D	SD	U
38. For the most part, there should be little government restriction on speaking out on openly promote atheism.	SA	A	D	SD	U
39. People should be allowed to ban books from the local public library if they feel the books are unsuitable by their community standards.	SA	A	D	SD	U

FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO FINISH BY ASKING YOU SOME MORE OR LESS SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF.

40. How often do you read a daily newspaper?

a. Everyday.
b. Once or twice.
c. Once in awhile.
d. Never, or hardly ever.

40 a. IF YOU ANSWERED "EVERYDAY" OR "ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK" ON QUESTION 40, PLEASE ANSWER THIS QUESTION. If not, please go on to the next question.

How extensively do you read the paper when you read it?

a. I read almost every article.
b. I read the articles that catch my interest.
c. I go through the paper quite quickly.

41. Do you read any of the following magazines?

Each Issue Cover to Cover (C. to. C)	Each Issue Selected Articles (Sel. Art.)	Selected Issues (Sel. I.)	Hardly Ever (H.E.)
Magazine:			
Time	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Newsweek	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
U. S. News	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
People	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Sports Illustrated	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Readers Digest	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Christianity Today	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Moody Monthly	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Christian Life	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
His	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Eternity	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Campus Life	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Christian Virtue	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.
Other_____ _____	C. to C.	Sel. Art.	Sel. I.	H.E.

42. What is your political party preference?

a. Republican.
b. Democrat.
c. Independent.

43. Would you consider yourself a:

a. Liberal.
b. Conservative.
c. Other_____.

44. What grade in school did you complete last school year?

a. grade _____.

49. Gender:

a. Male.
b. Female.

50. What is your age? _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Kenneth W. Inskeep has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 10, 1986
Date

Ross P. Scherer
Director's Signature