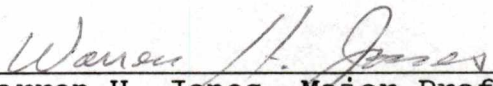
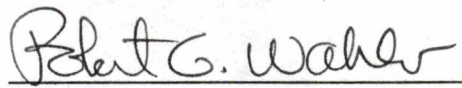
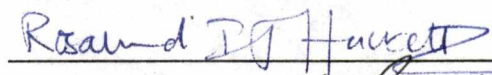
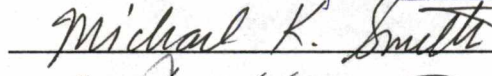
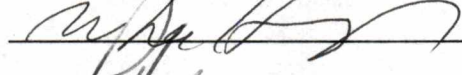


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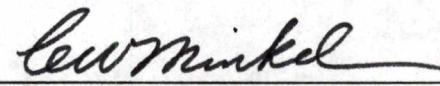
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Carol Steele LeMay entitled "Gender Differences in Religious Orientation." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.


Warren H. Jones, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:


Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

A Dissertation

Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Carol Steele LeMay

December, 1992

To Mark ... et toujours

Abstract

One important area in the psychology of religion research is religious orientation, or the nature of, and motivations for, individuals' religious involvement. According to Allport and Ross (1967), an individual with intrinsic religious orientation is one who internalizes and "lives" (p. 434) a creed, making it his or her primary motivation. Conversely, the individual with extrinsic religious orientation is religious because those beliefs and practices serve other needs such as security, sociability, and status. The intrinsic and extrinsic concepts were an outgrowth of Allport's (1950) theory of mature and immature religion, respectively. The development of a scale (Allport & Ross, 1967) to measure religious orientation has led to a flurry of research in this area (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990).

Despite an increasing interest in gender issues in other areas of psychology (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986), researchers have not explored differences in the religious orientation of women and men. Just as developmental theory elevated the masculine norms of individuation and separation over feminine relatedness (Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1959/1940), the title of Allport's 1954 book, The Individual and His Religion, points to a masculine,

autonomy-focused, bias in psychological theories of religiousness. Women's religiousness may be organized around themes of connectedness (Gilligan, 1982). Yet, relationally oriented religiousness is debased when depicted as extrinsic and therefore immature.

The present study explores religious orientation with an emphasis on gender differences. As Gilligan (1982) replicated Kohlberg's work on morality with an appreciation of the importance of relationships in women's development, this study is intended to begin to fill the similar need to reexamine religious orientation. It was found, as expected, that women's religious orientation included an orientation toward interconnected relationships. It was also found that women were more intrinsically oriented than men, indicating a greater commitment to religion and its creeds. Additionally, gender differences were found on other religious orientation scales, suggesting that women's religious beliefs are more influenced by both external and internal forces to become strongly religious.

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1. Literature Review

The Psychology of Religion

History of the Psychology of Religion 1880 to Present

In a review of the history of the psychological study of religion, Beit-Hallahmi (1977) noted that the movement to study religion empirically first arose in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. G. Stanley Hall and William James were the theoretical leaders of this movement, influencing a generation of psychologists to begin examining religious beliefs and behavior scientifically. With the publication of an article by Hall in 1882 on "the moral and religious training of children and adolescents" (cited in Beit-Hallahmi, 1977, p. 18), the movement was born. Hall founded the school of religious psychology at Clark University and actively encouraged empirical work in the field. Leuba, a student of Hall's at Clark, published the first empirical study of religion, an investigation of religious conversion, in 1896. Starbuck, another student of Hall's and also of James', collected questionnaire data on conversion and religious growth in 1893. In 1904, Hall established the first journal devoted to the psychology of religion which was titled the American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education. That same year, the American Journal of

Psychology (now the Psychological Bulletin) was established, containing the first of what became yearly reviews of the psychology of religion.

In 1902, James published The Varieties of Religious Experience, a compilation of a series of lectures at the University of Edinburgh. In his introductory lecture, James stated that "if the inquiry be psychological, ... religious feelings and religious impulses must be its subject" (James, 1961, p. 22). He studied autobiographies and other forms of literature by religious writers in an attempt to understand such religious phenomena as conversion, mysticism, and saintliness. According to Beit-Hallahmi (1977), although Hall was more influential in the establishment of the scientific approach to religion, James is widely credited with bringing attention to the psychology of religion in the United States.

Beit-Hallahmi (1977) chronicled the decline of the psychology of religion only a few decades after it had begun. The last annual review of the psychology of religion in the Psychological Bulletin appeared in 1928. In 1933, a final review was published containing research primarily from Europe. Additionally, many universities stopped offering psychology of religion courses. Beit-Hallahmi attributes the death of this movement to "a combination of inherent, internal weaknesses, and the

existence of outside pressures, which caused the decline in the acceptability of religion as a focus for psychological inquiry" (p. 24).

The empirical study of religion declined but interest in the psychological aspects of religion did not. With the emergence of psychoanalytic theory came a new way of looking at religious phenomena. Throughout his career, Sigmund Freud explored the many aspects of religion, which he theorized as developing from the search for a father-substitute (Freud, 1950/1913; 1964/1939). He considered the role of organized religion, generally using the Roman Catholic church as a prototypical example (Freud, 1957a/1921) and delineated the aspects of the church which he considered to be psychically unhealthy (1957b/1910). In fact, according to Zanuso (1986), Freud believed that he contributed more to the subject of religion than to any other area. In contrast to the earlier investigations and questionnaire studies, Freud examined case histories and religious practices in light of his theories. For example, he saw religion as an attempt at recreating the world by reifying a delusional wish and refusing to accept or believe in the parts of the world which are unacceptable. Religious people, Freud said, are spared from individual neuroses by being a part of the mass delusion of religion (Freud, 1970/1929). However, as

Beit-Hallahmi (1977) pointed out, the psychoanalytic focus on religion created interest and controversy, yet it never led to any systematic research on the subject.

The empirical study of the psychology of religion saw a resurgence in the 1960's (Warren, 1977). Prior to that, the bulk of the research in religion since the 1920's was sociological in nature, leading Cline and Richards to conclude in 1965 that "significant empirical studies of the psychology of religion are a real rarity" (cited in Warren, 1977, p. 93). Much of the research that was being conducted in the 1950's concentrated on finding a unidimensional definition of religion, often equating religion primarily with orthodoxy and church attendance. Factor analytic studies in the 1960's led to multidimensional theories of religiousness. One of the leaders in the move toward viewing religion as more complex than church attendance and adherence to doctrine was Gordon Allport (Warren, 1977). According to Donohue, "no approach to religiousness has had greater impact on the empirical psychology of religion" (1985a, p. 400) than that of Allport.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religious Orientation

Allport's conceptualization of religiousness.

Allport (1950) differentiated between immature and mature religion. Allport described immaturely religious people

as those who "cling to an essentially juvenile formulation" (p. 59) of religious belief "to preserve pleasant associations accumulated in childhood, or because conformity to the status quo insures present comfort and social position" (p. 60). Immature religion, according to Allport, is simplistic and undifferentiated because it is accepted "unreflectively and uncritically" (p. 67). Immature religion does not exert a consistent influence on the individual and does not encompass all aspects of life. Additionally, immature religion is self-centered, institutional, exclusionist, and correlated with race prejudice.

Conversely, mature religion, the result of "many successive discriminations and continuous reorganizations" (Allport, 1950, p. 67) is rich and complex with varied interests. Mature religion is marked by a willingness to take multiple aspects of life into consideration and to form a comprehensive philosophy marked by tolerance for other beliefs. The maturely religious person has struggled to incorporate the concept of evil into his or her religious philosophy and that philosophy is tested and refined by the process of living. Further, mature religion is integral to the individual's life and consistently directs him or her. The primary distinctions made by Allport between immature and mature religion is that

immature religion involves "magical thinking, self-justification, and creature comfort" (p. 72), whereas mature religion is dynamic and becomes separate from its origins and independent of other desires. Allport characterized mature religion, then, as being functionally autonomous.

Although the term "religiosity" has been used by many researchers (eg., Allen & Spilka, 1967) in connection with Allport's work, Donohue (1985a) noted that the word is etymologically problematic. Religiosity, in addition to signifying a religious orientation, "connotes an affected, artificial, or exaggerated religious interest" (p. 400). He suggested the use, instead, of "religiousness" which has a more general meaning pertaining to faith, worship, and religion and carries none of the negative connotations of religiosity.

In reviewing early studies of religion (cited in Allport & Ross, 1967), Allport was confronted with contradictory and paradoxical findings about the relationship between religion and ethnic prejudice. A curvilinear relationship between church attendance and intolerance emerged in which high and low attendance were associated with more prejudice, and moderate attendance was associated with less prejudice. This finding conflicts with the view that there is a simple relationship between

religiousness and tolerance and openness to others.

Allport (1954) described two types of religious orientation which might explain these findings:

Belonging to a church because it is a safe, powerful superior in-group is likely to be the mark of an authoritarian character and to be linked with prejudice. Belonging to a church because its basic creed of brotherhood [sic] expresses the ideals one sincerely believes in, is associated with tolerance.

Thus, the 'institutionalized' religious outlook and the 'interiorized' religious outlook have opposite effects in the personality (pp. 452-453).

He concluded that "we cannot speak sensibly of the relation between religion and prejudice without specifying the sort of religion we mean and the role it plays in the personal life" (p. 456). We cannot, in fact, speak sensibly about religion at all without this specification.

Allport (1950; Allport & Ross, 1967), along with others who used scales to study religious orientation (eg., Feagin, 1964; Hoge, 1972; Gorsuch & Venable, 1983), approached religion from a Western viewpoint. Even more narrowly, the values expressed are Christian, and particularly Protestant. The model of religious

orientation as "mature" or "immature," or as "intrinsic" or "extrinsic," must be understood within this narrow context.

The Religious Orientation Scale. Allport moved, then, from a conceptualization of religion as immature or mature to one of religion as extrinsically or intrinsically motivated. To measure these dimensions, Allport and Ross constructed the "Religious Orientation Scale" (ROS) in 1967 from a pool of 21 items developed at a Harvard seminar. The ROS consists of twenty items; eleven of which are extrinsically worded and nine of which are intrinsically worded. The scale yields both an Intrinsic (I) and an Extrinsic (E) score. Allport described the intrinsic and extrinsic orientations as "living" and "using" religion, respectively (p. 143).

The ROS was not the first scale designed to assess religious orientation. Interestingly, Feagin's (1964) I-E scale predated that of Allport and Ross (1967) but is less widely referenced and used. Feagin factor-analyzed the responses of Southern fundamentalist Christians to the 21 Harvard items and found that the items represented two orthogonal dimensions rather than one dimension. He labeled the six items which loaded most highly on the first factor the "Factor I Scale" and the six highest items on the second factor the "Factor II Scale." In a comparison

of the Feagin and the Allport and Ross scales, Hood (1971) noted that Feagin's Factor I and Factor II correspond to Allport's I and E subscales, respectively. Hood administered the 21 Harvard items and scored them using both the scales of Allport and Ross and of Feagin. His results using both scoring methods suggested that neither of the scales represented single dimensions. Hood also found no evidence to suggest that the shorter Feagin scale should not be used to measure I and E rather than the longer Allport version. Nevertheless, most researchers studying I-E religiousness have utilized the ROS (Donohue, 1985a).

Indiscriminate responding on the ROS. Allport and Ross (1967) viewed the intrinsic and extrinsic orientations as opposite ends of a single dimension, with those who are "consistently intrinsic" endorsing I but not E items and those who are "consistently extrinsic" endorsing E but not I items (p. 436). The "intrinsic type" therefore, by their criteria, cannot also be extrinsic, and vice versa (p. 437). However, people who endorsed both I and E items did exist and Allport (1966) lamented the "sizable group of muddleheads who refuse to conform to our neat religious logic" (p. 6). Allport and Ross labeled those who did endorse both Intrinsic and Extrinsic items "indiscriminately proreligious" (IPR) and

suggested that these people "seem to take a superficial 'hit and run' approach" and "their mental set seems to be 'all religion is good.'" Those respondents who endorse neither I nor E items would be "indiscriminately antireligious or nonreligious," although Allport and Ross specifically excluded people who were not religious from their sample.

If, as Allport and Ross (1967) believed, intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness are opposite ends of a single dimension, studies using the ROS should yield significant negative correlations between the I and E subscales. However, although Donohue's (1985a) meta-analysis found a low negative mean correlation ($-.20$) between the ROS Intrinsic and Extrinsic subscales, he found a remarkably wide range of I-E correlations across studies (from $-.58$ to $.24$). Donohue suggested that the theological orientation of the studies' samples might have acted as a moderator variable. The more conservatively religious populations are theoretically skewed toward the committed and orthodox form of religiousness depicted by the Intrinsic subscale. Donohue found that the studies using conservative or evangelical samples had a mean I-E correlation of $-.44$ compared to the mean I-E correlation of $-.16$ of the samples which were not conservative or evangelical. He also found that the samples of people

with some religious affiliation had a mean I-E correlation of $-.23$ whereas the non-affiliated samples had a mean correlation of $-.10$. Both of these differences were significant. Donohue noted that the studies which reported means were few, but that their results still suggested that samples which produce I-E correlations that are strongly negative will also have high scores on measures of I and low scores on measures of E. As the I-E correlation approaches zero, the tendency to be high I and low E decreases. It is possible, based on the results of Donohue's meta-analysis, to conclude that the I-E correlation is close to zero in the general population.

Donohue (1985b) suggested that the relationship pattern between religiousness and prejudice (the finding that indiscriminates are the most prejudiced, extrinsics are moderately prejudiced, and nonreligious and intrinsics are least prejudiced), in addition to the relationship between the theological orientation and the I-E correlation above (Donohue, 1985a), indicates a possible curvilinear relationship. That is, the patterns seen with a high I-E correlation for intrinsics and almost no correlation for more broad-based samples suggest a relationship in the form of an inverted-U.

Although Allport (1966) was perplexed by indiscriminately proreligious respondents, it is possible

to be both deeply involved in and committed to religion and to be motivated by a need for social relationships and comfort. There is a great difference, for instance, between endorsing both "it is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and prayer" and "the church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships" and endorsing both "I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life" and "although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs." The former might be representative of someone who is interested both in a relationship with God and the social support provided by a congregation. The latter seems to better fit the indiscriminately proreligious designation. Kirkpatrick and Hood (1990) admitted that "perhaps there is nothing inconsistent about simultaneously saying that you are genuinely committed to your religion, and that you also derive comfort and/or social relationships from religious belief and involvement" (p. 453). Perhaps it is not only consistent to have more than one motivation, but to do so also suggests a broadened perspective on life. In 1982, Echemendia and Pargament found that undergraduates who scored high on the Intrinsic subscale also reported deriving more personal and social support from their

religion. Religious people such as these college students "may both 'live' and 'use' their religion" (cited in Pargament et al., 1987, p. 184). For future research, Kirkpatrick and Hood suggested looking at which items "indiscriminate" people endorse.

The four-fold typology. To incorporate those individuals who do not confine themselves to endorsing only Intrinsic or only Extrinsic items, Hood (1970) proposed using a four-fold typology based on median splits of the I and E scale responses. This method is now used generally in I-E research and intrinsic and extrinsic are accepted as separate dimensions (Donohue, 1985a). Donohue (1985b) discussed the four-fold typology using I-E which involves intrinsics (high I, low E), extrinsics (low I, high E), indiscriminate (high on both) and nonreligious (low on both). The general pattern of relationships between the four-fold typology and non-religious variables such as prejudice, including the 1967 Allport and Ross data, is that indiscriminates are more prejudiced than extrinsics who are in turn more prejudiced than both the nonreligious and intrinsics. Nonreligious and intrinsically oriented people seem to be about equally low on prejudice and intolerance.

Unfortunately, the basis for determining cut-off points for each of the types in the four-fold typology is

not clear (Pargament et al., 1987). Donohue (1985a) suggested using scale midpoints rather than the median splits used by Hood (1970) because the medians vary across samples. Any given person could, for example, score high on Intrinsic compared to one sample and low on Intrinsic compared to another. Although using scale midpoints presents the potential problem of empty or unequal cells, one should not constrain the theory to fit the preferred method of data analysis.

One problem with Hood's (1970) four-fold typology is that low E - low I scorers are often excluded from studies which use self-reported religiousness as an inclusion criterion, since nonreligious people have been thought to be irrelevant to the study of religious orientation. However, Allport and Ross (1967) stated that pilot data from very liberal religious groups did contain respondents who scored low on both I and E subscales. It appears that in some samples, people who score low on both the Intrinsic and Extrinsic subscales may be religious in nontraditional ways.

I-E scales have also been criticized for being denomination-specific and not applicable to nontraditional groups (Donohue, 1985b). For instance, Strickland and Weddell (1972) found that the Baptists in their study tended to be intrinsics and Unitarians to be extrinsics.

However, the Unitarian respondents were also less prejudiced than the Baptists. When the two groups were analyzed separately, the Baptist data conformed to previous findings with intrinsics being less prejudiced than extrinsics or IPRs. Strickland and Weddell suggested that Unitarians, although they affirm social liberalism, do not ascribe to traditional intrinsic beliefs such as the acknowledgement of God and the need for prayer. The I-E paradigm may not work well for religious liberals.

Criticisms of the ROS. In a review of the intrinsic-extrinsic (I-E) literature, Kirkpatrick and Hood (1990) outlined the flaws in conceptualizing religious orientation in terms of intrinsicness and extrinsicness. Although Allport's (1950; 1954) original conceptualization of I-E as unidimensional has been replaced by a two dimensional approach, the I-E research is theoretically weak because it is still unclear how intrinsic orientation and extrinsic orientation are related (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990).

Another major difficulty with the I-E research is the definition of the terms involved. The concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic have been variously defined. Hunt and King (1971) reviewed the works of Allport and delineated several components of religiousness, five of which appeared to them to be central. According to Hunt

and King, intrinsic, compared with extrinsic, was described by Allport as universal rather than parochial, unselfish rather than selfish, relevant to the whole life rather than irrelevant, ultimate rather than instrumental, and associational for religious values rather than communal for sociability and status. Hoge (1972) emphasized the ultimate versus instrumental distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness. Hoge described this duality as representing strong intrinsic Christian orientation versus the lack of intrinsic orientation. The lack of intrinsic orientation was labeled extrinsic orientation by Hoge not for any clear theoretical reason but because Allport labeled it as such.

Kirkpatrick and Hood (1990) noted that the definition of religious orientation itself is not universally agreed upon. Hunt and King stated that Allport initially spoke of "religious sentiment" or "religious outlook" (cited in Hunt & King, 1971, p. 340) and later discussed religious orientation in terms of motivation. Religious orientation has also been described as a cognitive style and as a personality variable (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990).

Kirkpatrick and Hood pointed out that Allport and Ross's (1967) ROS reflects the confusion. Although the instrument's authors discussed their results in terms of cognitive styles, the ROS contains items tapping

attitudinal and behavioral variables.

Allport appeared to use the terms "religious orientation" and "religious motivation" interchangeably. For instance, although he spoke of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, the scale he designed to measure these motivations was called a religious orientation scale (Allport & Ross, 1967). Whereas orientation refers to one's position or direction with reference to attitudes and judgments, motivation refers to something which is volitional or prompts a person to act in a certain way. For this study, the more general term "orientation" will be used to exclude the implication of causality in the term "motivation".

Empirical studies of the ROS. Gorsuch and Venable (1983) attempted to address some of the conceptual confusion by removing the behavioral items in their "Age-Universal" revision of the ROS. The new scale was designed using methods described by Fry in 1968 (cited in Gorsuch & Venable, 1983, p. 182) with a readability level of fifth grade. This allows the scale to be used with younger populations for developmental research and with adults with less education. The researchers obtained internal consistency reliability coefficients (alpha coefficients) of .66 for E and .73 for I. The correlations between the ROS and the Age-Universal scale

were .79 for E and .90 for I. The I-E correlations for both scales were not significantly different, with a $-.38$ correlation between the ROS I and E subscales and $-.39$ between the Age-Universal I and E subscales. The results showed no loss in quality using the Age-Universal scale, which appears to be a reliable and valid form of the ROS.

In a factor analytic study of the ROS, Kirkpatrick (1989) derived three factors from the Extrinsic subscale. These were labeled social extrinsic items (Es), personal extrinsic items (Ep), and other residual extrinsic items (Eo) which had a negative loading on the I subscale. Es was described as a measure of religion used as a means toward social gains whereas Ep was described as religion used as a means toward gaining comfort and security. The Eo items all suggest that there is something else which is more important than religion to the respondent. The Eo items appear to function as reversed I items. McFarland (1989) labeled the Eo factor "religious seriousness," because of the items' common theme of religion not being as important as other things, and stated that subjects who score lowest on these items are those who "tak[e] their religion most seriously" (p. 325).

Following Kirkpatrick (1989), Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) factor-analyzed the Age-Universal scale and revised it accordingly. The revision of the Age-Universal scale

was called the Intrinsic/Extrinsic - Revised scale (IE-R), and was reduced to 14 of the original Age Universal items. The IE-R contains eight I items, three Es items, and three Ep items. As the Eo items did not contribute to the scale aside from increasing the already high reliability of the I subscale, the items were dropped. Additionally, the single best I ("My whole approach to life is based on my religion"), Es ("I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there"), and Ep ("What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow") items were each identified. Gorsuch and McPherson proposed that the IE-R is valid, reliable, and of optimal length.

There is some disagreement over whether intrinsic religiousness is a unitary dimension or is multidimensional (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990). King and Hunt (1969) factor-analyzed the I subscale and found that the I items scattered across several factors, whereas factor analyses by Kirkpatrick (1989) and McFarland (1989) supported a single factor for intrinsicness. Kirkpatrick and Hood pointed out that when an I-E scale is analyzed alone, I stands out as a unitary dimension against the multidimensional E. When an I-E scale is analyzed with other religious scales as in the King and Hunt study, however, the I items can load onto other components

introduced by the additional measures.

The I score can be viewed as a measure of religious commitment (Donohue, 1985a). Gorsuch and McFarland (1972) found that the I subscale was highly correlated with a religious importance item. They compared single-item measures with multiple-item scales of general religiousness and found that the I subscale loaded on a factor they called general proreligious attitude. Although the I subscale was highly correlated with the proreligious factor, they found that the "intrinsic proreligious position" (p. 53) was best measured by the single item of "Rated Importance of Religion". If I indicates commitment, though, it is not clear to what the intrinsically oriented person is committed (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990).

Allport (1950) originally viewed I and E as opposites but later (Allport & Ross, 1967; Feagin; 1964) I and E came to be seen as orthogonal. Donohue (1985a) found an overall I versus E correlation of $-.06$ ($-.20$ for the ROS) in a meta-analysis of the I-E research. The problem with viewing I and E as "types," according to Kirkpatrick and Hood (1990) however, is that I and E subscales do not produce bimodal frequency distributions as would be expected if two types of religiousness were being measured imperfectly with continuous scales. People vary in degree

of personal commitment to religion and to the extent to which they rely on religion for personal and social rewards. Kennedy and Gorsuch (cited in Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990) added single-item measures of I, Es, and Ep on a Gallup poll and found that both Ep and Es were orthogonal ($r = .01$), but that I and Ep were correlated ($r = .40$). Kirkpatrick and Hood presented this as a problem but it might be explained by the fact that Ep and I are both statements which focus on the individual aspects of religion whereas Es is a statement which focuses on social aspects of religion. Kirkpatrick and Hood warned that Es and Ep were an "accidental" finding which "just happened to emerge from the specific item pool developed by Allport and his colleagues" (p. 459), and that researchers should not revise scales to better measure these factors unless there is solid theoretical motivation for doing so.

Religious orientation concepts have also been criticized for being excessively value-laden (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990). For example, E was developed from Allport's conceptualization of immature religion and is seen as a selfish/utilitarian orientation (Hunt & King, 1971). Extrinsic religiousness is often seen as "the sort of religion that gives religion a bad name" (Donohue, 1985a, p. 416). Even when extrinsic religiousness is not

seen as a unitary dimension, each of the different aspects of it carry a negative value. Hoge (1972), for instance, discusses the "inner" type of extrinsic religious orientation in which religion is used as a "crutch" or support in a crisis and the "outer" type in which church affiliation is used for "meeting the right people, gaining social standing and acceptance in the community, or selling insurance" (p. 375). Intrinsic orientation, conversely, is seen as "good religion" and was derived from Allport's (1950) idea of religious maturity. Dittes (1971) noted that the I-E typology is weighted down by "a heavy contraband load of value judgment that simply will not be sloughed off" (p. 375).

Alternative Views of Religiousness

Committed versus consensual religiousness. Allen and Spilka (1967) also tackled the problem of the religiousness and prejudice correlation. Focusing on the way individuals formulate and organize their beliefs, Allen and Spilka emphasized "a person's expectations and beliefs, which can be assumed to have developed through the normal socialization process and which may well reflect socially sanctioned behavior tendencies and expressions" (p. 194). The researchers attempted to "differentiate between religious persons high in social prejudice and religious persons low in prejudice"

(p. 196) by looking at the differences in religious beliefs and behaviors of these two groups. Allen and Spilka hypothesized that a cognitive orientation dichotomy existed and believed the two styles reflected either "committed" or "consensual" cognitive orientations toward religiousness. This dichotomy emerged from factor analysis of a data set collected by Spilka and Reynolds (cited in Allen & Spilka, 1967) in which two factors were found. Committed religiousness was marked by religious certitude and consensual religiousness by a lack a religious assurance or interiorized religiousness. The consensually religious person "verbally conform[s] to 'traditional' values and ideals" but those values and ideals are "neutralized or selectively adopted" (p. 205).

Allen and Spilka (1967) conducted semi-structured interviews using pre-tested open-ended questions. The questions involved "typical belief-content areas such as God, prayer, Bible, church, faith, etc." (p. 197). The respondents' answers to the interview questions were coded to obtain scores on five hypothesized cognitive components of religious orientation: content, clarity, complexity, flexibility, and importance. Each of the components were coded as representing either committed or consensual religiousness. Content, or the way the person conceptualizes the topic, was coded as committed if the

responses were abstract-relational and as consensual if concrete-literal. Clarity, the precision and coherence of the belief structure, was coded as committed if the answers were discerning or consensual if the answers were vague. Complexity, the number and degree of differentiation of religious elements, was coded as committed if the responses were differentiated and as consensual if the responses were monopolistic-dichotomous. Flexibility, or the adaptation to and accommodation of beliefs, was coded as committed if the answers were candid-open and as consensual if their answers were restrictive. Finally, for importance, or the strength, value, and centrality of religious beliefs, responses were scored as committed if they were relevant and as consensual if detached-neutralized.

A factor analysis of the Allen and Spilka (1967) data showed a significant difference between the committed and consensual groups on the factor they labeled religious certitude, which they said was indicative of a greater certainty about the authenticity and salience of religion in the lives of committed individuals. The difference between the groups on the meaninglessness factor showed that people who are committed were less likely to express ideas about lacking self-worth and self-determination. A smaller but still significant difference between the

groups in the trust-mistrust dimension showed fewer feelings of confusion, mistrust, and doubt among people with a committed orientation. Allen and Spilka concluded that "consensual religion is tied to prejudicial attitudes, and a typologized, concretistic, restrictive outlook on religion" whereas "committed religiosity utilizes an abstract, philosophical perspective; multiplex religious ideas are relatively clear in meaning and an open and flexible framework of commitment meaningfully relates religion to daily activities" (p. 205).

To make the categorization of committed and consensual religiousness more accessible than it had been with its complex system of coding interview responses, Spilka and his colleagues developed a questionnaire form of the Committed versus Consensual measure (Spilka, Stout, Minton & Sizemore, 1977). There is some item overlap with the ROS, particularly with the I subscale. The 15-item Committed subscale includes nine I items and the 13-item Consensual subscale contains one E item. The data from this study using both the ROS and the Committed and Consensual measures yielded correlations of .64 between the Committed subscale and the ROS I subscale and .45 between the Consensual subscale and the E subscale. This is in contrast to the original 1967 study using the interview data in which Allen and Spilka did not find

their scales to be correlated with the Allport-Ross scales. The scales are now similar enough, in fact, that Spilka concluded that "it is not inappropriate to refer to intrinsic-committed and extrinsic-consensual orientations" (Spilka et al., 1977, p. 170).

Means, end, and quest dimensions. When Allport dropped the terms mature and immature religion in favor of intrinsic and extrinsic religion, suggested Batson and Ventis (1982), the scope of the constructs was narrowed and some of the original meaning was lost. Although some of the original intent was retained, Batson and Ventis suggested that "compared with the concept of mature religion there seems to be less emphasis in the notion of intrinsic religion on flexibility, skepticism, and resistance to absolutistic thinking, and more on religion as a master motive that is internalized and followed fully" (p. 144). They noted this shift particularly in the concept of intrinsic religiousness as identified by the ROS. According to Batson and Ventis, intrinsic religiousness as measured by the ROS has lost three of the original aspects of Allport's (1950) mature religion: the integrative aspect in which an individual considers existential issues without attempting to simplify them, a self-criticism and doubting aspect, and a searching aspect in which religious belief is always incomplete and

tentative.

In a departure from most of the religious research to date, Batson and Ventis (1982) depicted intrinsic religiousness in a less positive light than the way it was described by Allport and Ross (1967). Batson and Ventis likened the intrinsic to the character featured in Hoffer's True Believer. Hoffer (1951) described the true believer as someone "of fanatical faith who is ready to sacrifice his [sic] life for a holy cause" (p. xii) but whose faith is not derived from the worthiness or justness of the cause but rather from a "desperate need for something to hold on to" (p. 84). The "passionate attachment" of the true believer to particular religious beliefs "is the essence of his [sic] blind devotion and religiosity (Hoffer, 1951, p. 83). This singlemindedness and adherence to orthodoxy, Batson and Ventis said, is seen in the Intrinsic items.

Similarly, Batson and Ventis (1982) suggested that much was lost from the original conception of committed and consensual religiousness when it was translated into scale form. They noted that the committed orientation was narrowed to being primarily a measure of the centrality of religion and has, like the intrinsic concept, lost the characteristics of flexibility, complexity, and self-criticism which marked both the initial description of

Spilka's committed religiousness (Allen & Spilka, 1967) and Allport's mature religion (Allport, 1950).

In an effort to recapture the original dimensions and to broaden the scope of religious orientation, Batson and Ventis (1982) developed a third type of religiousness which they labeled the "quest" orientation. Religion as a quest has as its primary characteristics an integrative approach which encourages the facing of complex existential problems, a readiness to be self-critical and skeptical, and a focal incompleteness or sense that religion is a life-long journey. Batson and Ventis proposed that their quest orientation represented a truly mature approach to religiousness.

To measure this new dimension of religiousness, Batson and Ventis (1982) used a combination of the ROS and four subscales which they developed. Three of the subscales yield an External score (6 items), an Internal score (9 items), and an Interactional score (6 items). The fourth subscale has nine items and measures Christian doctrinal orthodoxy.

In Batson and Ventis' (1982) study, the scores on all six subscales were combined through factor analysis to yield scores on means, end, and quest dimensions. The External subscale measures how much outside forces such as social institutions and authority figures shape a person's

religiousness. This is considered an important characteristic of an extrinsic, means orientation toward religion. The Internal subscale was designed to capture an important aspect of an intrinsic, end orientation toward religion. The items measure how great a person's drive is to find answers to existential questions and to have religious certainty. The Interactional subscale was considered by Batson and Ventis to be the most important and contains the primary characteristic of a quest orientation. It measures a person's ability to tolerate ambiguity in religion and to feel comfortable with religion as "an open-ended, responsive dialogue with existential questions raised by the contradictions and tragedies of life" (pp. 152-154). The religion as means scores correlated highly with E (.89 for undergraduates, .61 for seminarians) and the religion as end scores correlated less well but still positively with I (.31 for undergraduates, .36 for seminarians) and with orthodoxy (.29 for undergraduates, .32 for seminarians). The religion as quest scores were not significantly correlated with I, E, or orthodoxy.

As predicted, Batson and his colleagues (Batson, Flink, Schoenrade, Fultz & Pike, 1986) found that only the quest orientation was not significantly related to both overt and covert racial prejudice. Batson and

Raynor-Prince (1983) tested the hypothesis that individuals with a quest orientation would be more willing to openly face existential questions in all their complexity than those with a means or end orientation. They administered religious sentence stems to students who reported being at least moderately religious and coded their cognitive complexity after the method described by Schroder, Driver, and Streufert (cited on pp. 41-42). Batson and Raynor-Prince found that subjects with a quest orientation exhibited significantly more religious cognitive complexity than either means or end individuals. The quest subjects also exhibited more general cognitive complexity, although this result was not significant.

Some researchers (Kojetin, McIntosh, Bridges & Spilka, 1987) have questioned whether the quest dimension might be tapping a state of conflict or anxiety. Batson's quest items were administered along with a scale of religious anxiety and two measures of trait anxiety to moderately and highly religious undergraduates, seminarians, and adult church members. The quest scores were positively correlated with anxiety and particularly with religious conflict. This led Kojetin and his colleagues to drop one item ("God wasn't very important to me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life") and add four items to Batson's original measure

(Batson & Ventis, 1982). These four items from the conflict scale increased the Quest scale's reliability, although the Quest scale remained correlated with anxiety and personal distress.

Hood (1985) argued that the aspect of doubting and self-criticism in Allport's work, which Batson operationalized as the quest dimension, was misread by Batson. Hood stated that in Allport's writings, doubt is presented as a phase through which the religious person struggles before achieving mature religion and cited Allport's 1960 work:

We may then say that the mature religious sentiment is ordinarily fashioned in the workshop of doubt. Though it has known intimately 'the dark night of the soul,' it has decided that theoretical skepticism is not incompatible with practical absolutism. While it knows all the grounds for skepticism, it serenely affirms its wager. In so doing, it finds that the successive acts of commitment, with their beneficent consequences, slowly strengthen the faith and cause the moments of doubt to disappear (pp. 73-74).

Hood suggested that the quest dimension might fit

developmentally between extrinsic and intrinsic religion. This theory, however, does not account for the finding that extrinsic religiousness is positively correlated with prejudice, intrinsic religiousness is uncorrelated with prejudice, and quest religiousness is negatively correlated with prejudice (McFarland, 1989).

Spilka, Kojetin, and McIntosh (1985) wondered if differences in sampling might account for some of the contradictions found in the religious orientation research. Batson's studies, they noted, have used subjects who reported that they were at least moderately interested in religion whereas Spilka's studies have used Christians who attend church at least monthly and who rated themselves at or above the midpoint on a scale of religiousness. Spilka, Kojetin, and McIntosh found that in a sample of college undergraduates, only 49% attended church once a month or more and 78% met their rated religiousness criteria. Of those, only 21% also identified themselves as Christian. The overlap between Batson's and Spilka's criteria was less than a quarter of their potential subjects. Further, 21% of those who expressed at least a moderate interest in religion identified themselves as agnostic, atheist, non-Christian or religious "nones". Spilka and his colleagues stated that this is indicative of poorly defined religious

sampling in Batson's work.

Feminist Theory

The Impact of Feminism on Psychological Research

One neglected area in the psychology of religion is gender differences. To understand gender differences in religious orientation, one must first trace the course of feminist research in psychology. Some psychologists (eg., Gilligan, 1982; Lerner, 1988; Miller, 1986) have challenged the traditional male-oriented developmental schemas and psychological theories. Rather than accepting women's development as a deviation from the proposed masculine norm, they have attempted to understand women in their own right.

Gender and Developmental Theories

Psychosexual development. The developmental theories of Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, and Lawrence Kohlberg have influenced the way psychologists understand human behavior. Critics have proposed that these theories are based on men and have tended to present women's behavior as deviating from the male norm (eg., Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1983). Perhaps the most influential of developmental theories is Freud's psychosexual stages of development. Freud (1959/1940) theorized that beginning in infancy the libido, or sexual energy, was focused

sequentially on different erogenous zones. In the first five years of life, a child passes through three of these phases. During the third phase, according to this theory, children become sexually attracted to their opposite-sexed parent and competitors with their same-sexed parent. He termed this dynamic the "Oedipus complex" (p. 44) after the Sophoclean tragedy in which the Greek king Oedipus murdered his father and married his mother. For a boy, the sexual desire for his mother engenders fears in the child that the rival father will retaliate by castrating his son. Freud saw the developmental task facing the male child in this phase as being a successful resolution of this conflict by separating from his mother and identifying with his father. With the resolution of these Oedipal strivings comes the development of the superego, the internalized parent which acts as a conscience.

Freud (1959/1940) had a bit more difficulty fitting female children into his developmental scheme. He called the third phase the "phallic stage" and stated that "it is not the genitals of both sexes that play a part at this stage, but only the male ones (the phallus)" (p. 11). Whereas boys fear castration and thus protect themselves by identifying with the more powerful father, Freud maintained, girls had no such threat facing them. Freud believed that girls view both themselves and their mothers

as having already been castrated, due to the fact that they have no penis, and are therefore less threatened by a sexual rivalry with their mothers. Girls are unable, then, to resolve their Oedipus complex. Although Freud came to admit that girls had intense and long-lasting pre-Oedipal attachments to their mothers, he saw this as the cause of women's failure to develop a superego successfully (cited in Gilligan, 1982).

Freud (1959/1940) stated that the female child "comes to recognize her lack of a penis, or rather the inferiority of her clitoris, with permanent effects on the development of her character" (p. 12). An alternative conceptualization of the Oedipal drama has been offered by Jean Baker Miller (1986) and Harriet Lerner (1988). Miller suggested that some men are aware that they do not have any particularly greater abilities than women and so have attributed many women's reluctance to strive for success to the most obvious physical difference. Miller stated that while "women have felt as if men had something that they did not" (p. 76), that "something" was not a penis but the lack of "practice in the 'real world'... the opportunity to practice and the lifelong belief that one has a right to do so" (p. 35). Lerner (1988) also revised the Freudian concept of penis envy as a wish to be fully appreciated and accepted as a striving, growing being.

Nancy Chodorow (1978) studied gender role differences and attributed much of them to societally assigned childcare responsibilities, in which the mother is traditionally the primary caregiver. Thus, a young girl experiences herself, and is experienced by her mother, as being like her mother. Young boys, on the other hand, both experience and are experienced as being different from and opposite of their mothers. The feeling of sameness leads to a sense of fusion and attachment for girls whereas the feeling of differentness pushes boys to separate and individuate and diminishes their sense of empathic connection to their mothers. Chodorow believes it is this early experiential difference which accounts for "girls com[ing] to experience themselves as less separate than boys" and "defin[ing] themselves more in relation to others" than boys (p. 93). Thus, Chodorow recasts Freud's depiction of women as being morally less developed and as having weaker ego-boundaries than men. Rather, women develop a primary capacity for empathy and a self-definition which, due to the circumstances of their development, includes the tendency to experience and own others' needs and emotions.

Chodorow (1978) described how, when confronted with clinical examples of girls who had become attached to their mothers and viewed their fathers as rivals, Freud

later came to recognize the importance of the strong pre-Oedipal attachment to the mother for both girls and boys. He said that although he had been aware of an attachment to the mother before the Oedipal stage, he "did not know that it could be so rich in content and so long-lasting." He admitted that "we cannot understand women unless we appreciate this phase of pre-Oedipus attachment to their mother" (cited in Chodorow, 1978, p. 92).

Psychosocial development. Erikson (1963), a psychoanalyst, developed his theory of human psychosocial development based on Freudian theory. Erikson proposed "eight ages of man [sic]" (p. 247) throughout the life span, each of which involves a conflict. Erikson's stages focus on the individual's relationships with others. The first of Erikson's stages is "basic trust versus basic mistrust" (p. 247). During infancy, the child is focused on physical needs and when these needs are met the infant develops trust. In early childhood, the conflict is "autonomy versus shame and doubt" (p. 251) in which a balance between permissiveness and control on the part of the parent allows the child to develop autonomy. The next three stages through adolescence are concerned with the individual, in which the now-independent child develops initiative, industry, and his or her own identity. In young adulthood the focus becomes interpersonal again and

the conflict is one of "intimacy versus isolation" (p. 263). Middle adulthood involves the "generativity versus stagnation" (p. 266) conflict in which the adult is concerned with productivity, creativity, and the establishment of the next generation. Finally, in older adulthood, the individual is concerned with "ego integrity" or the "acceptance of one's one and only life cycle as something that had to be" (p. 268).

Despite Erikson's (1963) emphasis on the social aspects of personal development, only the first of the five stages preceding adulthood focuses on relationships with others. Once children have established autonomy and independence in the second or third year of life, they spend the years before puberty concentrating on exploring their capabilities, developing their strengths, and defining the self. Gilligan (1982) pointed out that after basic trust has been established, the task of childhood is one of individuation. Erikson's stages were descriptions of male development and he acknowledged that female development proceeded differently. Rather than establishing her own identity, women wait to have their identity given to them by their husbands, the men who will fill their "inner space" (cited in Gilligan, 1982, p. 12). Identity and intimacy are fused tasks for women rather than sequential ones. Gilligan (1982) stated that

Erikson's model describes "male identity as forged in relation to the world and female identity awakened in a relationship of intimacy with another person" (p. 13).

Moral development. Kohlberg's theory of morality was also criticized as not being an accurate representation of development for women (Gilligan, 1982). From a longitudinal study of 84 boys, Kohlberg (cited in Gilligan, 1982) derived six stages of moral development. The first two stages Kohlberg termed preconventional morality, which is premoral, guided by self-interest, and in which the rules exist independent of people. In Stage 1 there is an orientation toward punishment and obedience and in Stage 2 this obedience is in the service of gaining personal rewards. Reciprocity develops in Stage 2. Stage 3 is the stage of the "good child" who conforms for social approval. It is in this stage that intentions become important. Stage 4 involves law and order for its own sake. In the two final postconventional stages, self-accepted moral principals develop. Stage 5 sees the advent of the social contract, democratic rules, and the following of one's own ethics within legal boundaries. In Stage 6 there is an emphasis on universal ethical principals, justice, and human rights.

Kohlberg, like Freud, viewed women's refusal to be blindly impartial as a flaw in their sense of justice.

Women tend to exhibit a level of moral reasoning which corresponds to Kohlberg's Stage 3. Kohlberg saw this focus on helpfulness and the desire to please others as functional for most women, whose lives have traditionally taken place largely in the context of the home and family. Gilligan (1982) stated that the implication in Kohlberg's work is that when women enter the male-dominated arena of work they will find their level of morality inadequate and will "progress" to a stage in which "relationships are subordinated to rules" and "rules to universal principles of justice" (p. 18).

Gilligan (1982) began studying women's moral development by comparing male and female responses to the same ethical questions employed by Kohlberg. Female participants, Gilligan found, often appeared not to be answering the questions posed to them. Their answers, unlike the relative certainty of the male subjects, were often irresolute. In attempting to understand the equivocation on the part of the female subjects, Gilligan discovered that the male bias in Kohlberg's work was not limited to sample selection but extended to the measures used. The vignettes used in Kohlberg's study are problematic because the dilemmas are arranged according to hierarchical values and levels of power. For example, in one vignette "a man named Heinz considers whether or not

to steal a drug which he cannot afford in order to save the life of his wife" (p. 25). Boys who had reached more advanced stages of development saw a logical solution to this dilemma which relies on ethical codes above the law. Girls at the same age had more difficulty finding a solution and were less likely to assert that Heinz should take the medicine. When considering this dilemma, girls worried about the consequences of Heinz's actions and how his wife would fare if Heinz was caught and sent to jail. Gilligan pointed out that girls seemed to interpret the dilemma not as "whether Heinz should act in this situation ('should Heinz steal the drug'), but rather how Heinz should act in response to his awareness of his wife's need ('should Heinz steal the drug?')" (p. 31).

Women, in contrast to men, tend to respond in terms of connections and communications. For women, Gilligan proposed, human relationships are organized in webs rather than sequentially and all possible effects on others brought about by a decision must be taken into account. When confronted with moral problems, male children placed priority on the self and favored impersonal mediation through logic and law. Female children, on the other hand, viewed the self in relation to others and favored a personal solution based on communication and relationships. In the answers of maturing women, Gilligan

found a growing sense of responsibility, an emphasis on caring, compassion, and relationships, and an increasing ability to consider ethics in light of subtle contextual nuances.

Gender and Psychology

In addition to revising the classic theories of psychological development, some researchers are beginning to focus more generally on the psychology of women. For example, Jean Baker Miller (1986), a psychiatrist, noticed in her clinical work that her female patients tended to talk primarily about emotions between people and how their behavior affected others. Miller saw these concerns as strengths but noticed that most psychiatrists and psychologists viewed these concerns as weaknesses. She suggested that though women's attachments are often called dependency, women are social beings who need to affiliate. Women's desire for affiliation is both a strength and a necessity for social advance but it is labeled unhealthy and neurotic. Miller also stated that women are led to feel that they can integrate and use all of their attributes but only if it is for others rather than for themselves. For men, on the other hand, once they have become men by other standards (that is, not by serving), then they may choose to serve others.

The research on friendships also points to

interesting gender differences in affiliative needs.

Using interviews with over 200 adults, Rubin (1983) found that women had more friendships than men and that these friendships tended to be more intimate than men's friendships. Further, married men tended to name their wives as their best friend and confidant. In contrast, married women generally had one or more women, in addition to their husbands, in whom they confided. Whereas women rely on a close social support network of other women, men seem to have difficulty forming intimate relationships with other men.

Harriet Lerner (1988), a clinical psychologist, also wrote from her experiences with women in psychotherapy. She described the devaluation of women and the sex role stereotype in relationships of the man as older, more powerful, and more experienced than the woman as an attempt to reverse the power balance in retaliation for the mother's role as omnipotent and all-providing. She suggested that language choices are unconsciously employed to maintain the power imbalance. For example, the widespread usage of the terms "lady" and "girl" when referring to grown women connotes asexual, nonthreatening, and sometimes frivolous beings. These terms also imply an absence of aggressive impulses. The mother's power in the initial mother-child relationship and the ability to bear

children are so frightening, Lerner proposed, that girls grow up with very strong internal prohibitions against displaying or even experiencing their anger. In fact, "so strong are our societal prohibitions against female anger that the angry woman may be condemned, even if she is waging a bloodless and humane revolution for her own legitimate rights" (p. 60).

Other researchers have begun to explore women's ways of thinking, being, and acting. The work of Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) arose out of their growing conviction that traditional, masculine ways of understanding and teaching did not account for the women's styles of learning. Their starting point was the work of Perry (1970), who developed a model of intellectual and ethical development. He proposed that individuals pass through sequential epistemological perspectives which shape the way they view the world. Belenky and her colleagues pointed out that although Perry included women in his initial study, only the men's interviews were utilized in validating his theory.

Belenky and her colleagues (1986) interviewed women and coded their responses using Perry's 1970 framework. They found, like Gilligan (1982) before them, that the answers of women did not fit into Perry's classifications. The researchers began to recognize patterns in the women's

ways of approaching and making sense of the world. Belenky and her colleagues proposed that men tend to use visual metaphors to describe their ways of knowing and employ terms such as "blind justice," and "seeing 'with the mind's eye'" (p. 18), whereas metaphors of speaking and listening seem more appropriate to women. For instance, they found that women spoke of "being silenced,...really listening,...and so on in an endless variety of connotations all having to do with sense of mind, self-worth, and feelings of isolation from or connection to others" (p. 18). They describe the first way of knowing as more distant, analytical, and dispassionate and the second as one of "dialogue and interaction" (p. 18).

Gender and Religion

The role of women in religion has also become a focus of exploration. Rosemary Ruether (1982) has considered women's roles in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Biblical depiction of women's behavior (Gilligan, 1982), matriarchal forms of religion (Stone, 1976), and women's spiritual experiences (Christ, 1980) have also been discussed in the literature on women and religion. Western feminist writers are divided into two camps about the value of the Judeo-Christian religions for women. Ruether (1982), for example, has chosen to remain within

the Catholic tradition and work to discover a new understanding of the Bible. Her reading of the New Testament involves attributing feminist teachings to Christ. She stated that "the male justification of women's subordination in scripture is no longer regarded as normative for the gospel. Rather, it is judged as a failure to apply the gospel norms of equality in creation and redemption authentically" (p. 125).

Gilligan (1982) reviewed the Judeo-Christian history as represented in scripture and found differences in male and female approaches to morality. She contrasted the Biblical stories of the test of Abraham's faith (Genesis 22:1-19) and Solomon's decision about the maternity of a child (I Kings 3:16-28). In the first story, God asked Abraham to offer his son Isaac as a sacrifice. Abraham bound his son, laid him on an altar of wood, and raised his knife to kill the child before God intervened. In the second story mentioned by Gilligan, two women came before Solomon, each claiming to be the mother of the same baby. Solomon pronounced that he would cut the child in half and give part to each woman. On hearing this, the true mother of the baby asked that the other woman be judged to be the mother of the child rather than allowing it to be killed. Abraham was prepared to kill his own child as a measure of his belief in his God and the Truth of his faith. The

mother, however, was prepared to give away her baby and renounce her maternity rather than see any physical harm come to it. Gilligan pointed out that in these stories, the man is willing to sacrifice his child for truth and the woman to sacrifice truth for her child.

Women in non-traditional religious movements have also been studied (Jacobs, 1984). Women were found to be drawn to various mystical and charismatic cults for affection, approval, and intimacy. When the hierarchy of the cult is male-dominated, love becomes associated with devotion for women in a way that it does not for men. For women, affective relationships are the only condoned route to spiritual fulfillment whereas for men, fulfillment can be attained through their access to power and leadership roles.

Building on Miller's concept of "self-in-relation" (cited in Randour, 1987, p. 23), Randour proposed a relational spirituality experienced by many women. She found in stories of women's spiritual experiences that both interpersonal and symbolic relationships are figural. The narratives of women revealed themes of interdependent relatedness and human relationships.

Another wave of feminist religion has been associated with a resurgence of interest in the pre-patriarchal forms of religion and a reclamation of Goddess worship (Stone,

1976; Christ, 1980). These women have proposed that the empowerment of women must come through non-traditional forms of religiousness. Mary Daly (1973) has suggested that Jesus's position on feminist issues is irrelevant in light of the overwhelming anti-woman bias in the Christian religion. Daly, in contrast to Ruether (1982), has called for an abandoning of Christianity and its accompanying sexism in favor of a new understanding of spirituality.

Carol Christ (1980) studied women's spirituality and William James's concept of non-theistic mysticism. James (1961) proposed four criteria for mysticism: ineffability, a noetic quality, transiency, and passivity. According to James, religious experiences are ineffable, or indescribable. The noetic quality is a sense of illumination, awakening, or revelation which occurs during the experience. Mysticism is always transient; a brief experience which is followed by a return to consciousness. James also saw the mystical experience as one which is marked by passivity or a surrender of the ego and the sense of being in the grip of a superior power. Christ theorized that this pattern does not fit for women. Rather than conversion, she described women's religious experience as an awakening. Christ proposed that the fourth aspect for women is empowerment rather than the giving up of power as it is for men. Women are societally

constrained to be passive and without power most of the time and therefore a true mystical experience for women, according to Christ, would involve the gaining, rather than the losing, of power.

The Psychology of Religion and Gender Differences

Despite the growing body of research on gender differences and the increasing interest in the religious experience of women, virtually no research on religious orientation has investigated gender differences. The various reviews of the I-E religiousness research (Donohue, 1985a, 1985b; Hunt & King, 1971; Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1989) have not addressed the question of gender. In their study of religiousness and willingness to face existential concerns, Batson and Raynor-Prince (1983) found that women scored significantly higher than men on religious cognitive complexity. They concluded that "the presence of a sex difference on [religious cognitive complexity] suggested the necessity of controlling for sex differences" (p. 48). Women's apparent greater willingness and ability to face complex existential concerns, a capacity which Batson and Raynor-Prince proposed as one of the hallmarks of mature quest religiousness, was factored out of the results rather than explored.

Other researchers have noted the need for further investigation of the gender differences which emerged in their studies. For example, McFarland (1989) found that personal extrinsic and social extrinsic religiousness predicted discrimination in male subjects whereas "religious seriousness", as measured by the Eo items, predicted discrimination in female subjects. Additionally, intrinsic religiousness was negatively correlated to discrimination against women, particularly for the male subjects. McFarland stated that he believed his was "the first published study examining whether the gender of the respondents alters the impact of religious orientations on other attitudes or behaviors" and added that "the implication of these serendipitous results is that sex differences should be explored" (p. 335). In fact, one other study briefly mentioned gender differences in religious orientation. Strickland and Weddell (1968) noted that they found a relationship between the ROS and the gender of the respondent but did not specify these results. They, too, suggested further investigation of gender differences and religiousness.

Kirkpatrick and Hood (1990) advised against continuing to document correlations between individual differences and religiousness scales without "strong theory" (p. 460) guiding the research. It seems that the

feminist research of the last two decades provides such a strong theoretical perspective. For example, Kirkpatrick and Hood pointed out that the IPR category should not be considered a third religious orientation unless it can be accommodated theoretically. Conceptualizing this category as "inconsistent" may be more problematic than viewing it as a third orientation, however. People who are very committed to their faith and who obtain a high score on the Intrinsic subscale might also look to the church for social connections. The tendency toward social connectedness and empathy which develops in women (Gilligan, 1982) might be captured by the Es items on the ROS. Endorsement of some E items along with I items would not be contradictory in that case.

The problem of value judgments in the I and E categories is also relevant to possible gender differences in the I-E concept. Allport's concept of extrinsic religiousness (Allport & Ross, 1967) derived from his earlier notion of immature religiousness (Allport, 1950) and has been described negatively by a number of researchers (eg., Donohue, 1985a; Hoge, 1972; Hunt & King, 1971). When affiliative needs are taken into account however, this negative view of extrinsicness is called into question. The tendency toward labeling extrinsic religiousness as negative seems akin to the negative

labeling of women's social attachment concerns as unhealthy dependency (Miller, 1986). If, as Miller also suggested, women are socialized to believe that they can legitimately only use their abilities in the service of others, women may be able to feel fulfilled and useful through the socially acceptable outlet of church relationships. Similarly, Christ's (1980) idea that religious experience for women involves a gaining of power suggests that, for women, church may function as a place of empowerment through their social connections.

The dichotomization of religiousness is also problematic. Allport's (1950) description of mature religiousness is largely intellectual and seems to suggest a bias toward compartmentalized functioning in which the head and heart are separated. This view seems more compatible with the type of moral development seen in men in which ethical dilemmas are solved logically and in accordance with higher principles (Gilligan, 1982). The "steady persistent outlook" of mature religion which is "independent of other desires" (Allport, 1950, p. 64) does not seem to fit as well with the moral development of women in which ethical solutions are less clear-cut when the effects on all people connected with the situation are considered (Gilligan, 1982), and in which emotions are of central concern (Lerner, 1988).

Maracek and Hare-Mustin (1990) took issue with the practice of dichotomization and the construction of gender hierarchies. They stated that identifying as opposites qualities such as active and passive or masculine and feminine clouds the fact that each of the qualities in a pair contains elements of the other quality. An example they gave involved independence and dependence:

Psychology has traditionally defined autonomy as the capacity to function independently of others. However, seemingly autonomous men typically depend on the labor of women (usually wives and secretaries) to maintain the illusion of self-sufficiency (p. 3).

In the same vein, Lerner (1988) described "dependent" women who are unable to meet their own needs or ask for help but instead spend their time caring for others. The tradition of dichotomization in the study of religiousness (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990) has precluded the possibility of conceptualizing people who have high scores on only one religious orientation scale as having a constricted approach to spirituality. Dichotomization also prevents viewing people who are classed as IPR as having a broadened approach to religiousness. Perhaps intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness contain elements of each other, as Maracek and Hare-Mustin suggested.

The Present Study

The present study is designed to begin to explore the neglected area of gender differences in religious orientation. Much of the work of examining gender issues in psychology has been developmental in nature (eg., Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986). Despite Allport's (1950) initial use of the terms "mature" and "immature" religiousness, the study of religious orientation has been largely focused on adult religiousness. Although there is a need for investigating gender differences within a developmental context, this study is confined to a cross-sectional sampling of adults.

Similarly, although a great deal of the research in gender issues has been phenomenological in nature, this study employs empirical methods. Religious orientation has been most widely understood using the intrinsic-extrinsic conceptualization of Allport and Ross (1967). Those researchers who have proposed alternative models have built upon Allport's theory (Spilka et al., 1977; Batson & Ventis, 1982). The intent of this study is to place women within the traditional method of looking at religious orientation. The work of Gilligan (1982) and others (Christ, 1980; Miller, 1986) suggested that women may approach religion differently than men. The study of gender differences provides a much needed basis for a

reexamination of the theory behind the traditional understanding of religious orientation.

Maracek and Hare-Mustin (1990) have criticized Gilligan's (1982) ideas of women's development, particularly the idea of mutual interdependency as the basis of women's "true self." Maracek and Hare-Mustin described this "true self" as being achieved by removing the layers of socialization until a core or "essential nature" is reached (p. 9). They pointed out that as few people would make the assumption that one is born with an essential self, it therefore is not sensible to posit a true self which exists apart from socialization. In other words, if one is not born with an autonomous or relational essential nature, then one's autonomous or relational orientation toward the world must have arisen within the context of one's culture. By their reasoning, the concept of women's essential nature as relational does not make sense. For the purposes of this study, however, whether or not the gender differences which emerged are due to socialization or are an aspect of some essential core is not at issue. Socially-determined or otherwise, religious differences between men and women have not received enough empirical attention.

2. Method

Subjects

A total of 292 subjects were tested. Subjects were sampled from the undergraduate subject pool, two Protestant churches (a Methodist church and a Presbyterian church), and a Unitarian-Universalist church. These populations were from a mid-sized Southeastern city. Current religious affiliation was used as an inclusion/exclusion criterion. Subjects who indicated Jewish, Buddhist, or Islamic affiliation were excluded from the analyses because this study was intended to replicate the samples of previously cited religious orientation research. Additionally, those subjects who endorsed "none" as opposed to a particular denomination or "non-affiliated but consider myself religious" (see Appendix A) were excluded because of potential confound by including non-Theistic value systems. The subjects' participation indicated their informed consent (see Appendix B) and they were not reimbursed for their participation.

Measures

All data were collected using self-report, pencil and paper measures. Demographic data collected included

gender, age, race, education, religious affiliation, and the religious affiliation of the subjects' family. General indices of religiousness included frequency of church attendance, frequency of the reading of religious literature, and the importance of personal religious experiences, worshiping with others, and religion in general to the subject.

All subjects also completed seven measures of religious orientation: the Religious Orientation Scale (ROS), the Age-Universal version of the ROS (IE-R), Feagin's Intrinsic/Extrinsic Scale, Hoge's Intrinsic Religious Motivation Scale, the Religious Life Inventory (RLI), the Revised Quest scale, and the Committed versus Consensual scale. All but two of the religious orientation items were answered on seven point Likert scales which ranged from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." These two items were multiple choice rather than Likert scales in the original scales and were left in that form. Except when noted, subscale items were randomized.

The ROS (Allport & Ross, 1967) consists of an 11-item Extrinsic subscale and 9-item Intrinsic subscale, the scores of each of which were summed to yield overall scores of intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness. The eleven Extrinsic items are items 1 - 11 and the nine Intrinsic items are items 12 - 20 (see Appendix C).

(1 - 5) to give a measure of intrinsic religious motivation (see Appendix F).

The RLI (Batson & Ventis, 1982) incorporates the ROS Intrinsic and Extrinsic subscales. Additionally, it includes a 6-item External subscale, a 9-item Internal subscale, a 6-item Interactional subscale, 6 unscored buffer items, and a 12-item Doctrinal Orthodoxy subscale. The scores on these subscales were combined to give Means, End, and Quest dimension scores by the following formulae: $\text{Means} = (.9 \times \text{Extrinsic}) + (-.2 \times \text{Intrinsic}) + (.3 \times \text{External})$, $\text{End} = (.3 \times \text{Intrinsic}) + (.3 \times \text{External}) + (.3 \times \text{Internal}) + (.3 \times \text{Orthodoxy})$, and $\text{Quest} = (.9 \times \text{Interactional}) + (-.2 \times \text{Orthodoxy})$. The non-ROS RLI items were not randomized because the item-order of these subscales was standardized by Batson and Ventis with prescribed locations for the buffer items (see Appendix G).

The Revised Quest scale contains five of Batson and Ventis' (1982) original six Interactional items (3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) and four additional conflict items (1, 2, 8, and 9). The Revised Quest scale items were summed to yield a score on the quest dimension of religious orientation (see Appendix H).

The Committed versus Consensual scale incorporates many of the ROS items. The 15-item Committed subscale

The IE-R (Gorsuch & Venable, 1983) consists of 11 Extrinsic items and 9 Intrinsic items, the scores for each of which were also summed to yield Extrinsic and Intrinsic scores. The eleven Extrinsic items are items 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, and 20 and the nine Intrinsic items are items 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, and 19. The IE-R items were not randomized but rather left in the random order given by Gorsuch and Venable. The three extrinsic factors in the IE-R found by Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) were also scored. Items 2, 15, and 17 were summed to yield a Social Extrinsic (Es) score, items 8, 10 and 13 were summed to yield a Personal Extrinsic (Ep) score, and items 3, 14, and 20 were summed to yield an Other Extrinsic (Eo) score (see Appendix D).

The Intrinsic/Extrinsic Scale (Feagin, 1964) overlaps with the items used by Allport and Ross (1967) with the exception of one item (8). The scores for the six Factor I items (1 - 6) were summed to yield an intrinsic religious orientation score and the scores for the six Factor II items (7 - 12) were summed to yield an extrinsic religious orientation score (see Appendix E).

Hoge's Intrinsic Religious Motivation Scale contains five items (6 - 10) from the item pool used by Feagin (1964) and Allport and Ross (1967). The five item scores were summed with the scores from five additional items

contains eight Committed items (3, 8, 12, 13, 19, 20, 24, and 28) and seven ROS Intrinsic items (2, 6, 14, 16, 22, 26, and 27), which were summed to yield a measure of committed religiousness. The 13-item Consensual subscale contains twelve Consensual items (1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, and 25) and 1 Extrinsic item (10), which were summed to yield a measure of consensual religiousness (see Appendix I).

Finally, eight additional exploratory items created by the investigator and designed to capture the relational aspect of religious orientation were included in the questionnaire. Six of the items (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) were designed to indicate the importance of relationships with other people and two of the items (2 and 8) were intended to measure the importance of a relationship with God (see Appendix J). The scores on the six items measuring relationships with others were summed to yield a Relationality score, intended as a general measure of an affiliative or relational orientation toward religious motivation. The six exploratory Relationality scale items are:

1. My religion guides my interactions with others.
2. One thing I value about my religion is feeling connected to other people.
3. One thing I value about my attendance at church

is that it allows me to meet others like myself.

4. In practicing my religion, I feel that it is necessary to help others.
5. My connections with others enhance my relationship with God.
6. My religion leads me to consider how my actions affect other people.

3. Results

All data were analyzed using SPSS/PC+ Version 3.0 (SPSS, Inc., 1988).

Subjects

Data were collected on a total of 292 subjects, 168 women and 124 men, who ranged in age from 18 to 85, with a mean age of 33.65. All subjects had at least a high school education, with a range from 12 to 25 years of education and with a mean of 14.68 years. Most (276) of the subjects in this study were white. Eight were black, five were Asian, and two Hispanic. There were too few non-white subjects to include race as a factor in the analyses.

Table L-1 outlines the ages and educational levels of each of the subject populations. The subjects were surveyed from four groups. From the undergraduate subject pool, there was a total of 164 subjects, 90 women and 74 men, who ranged in age from 18 to 52 with a mean age of 19.95. The undergraduates had educational levels with a range of 12 to 18 years of education and a mean of 12.80 years.

From a Unitarian-Universalist (UU) church, there was a total of 56 subjects, 34 women and 22 men, who ranged in age from 22 to 85, with a mean age of 51.94. The UUs had

educational levels with a range from 12 to 25 years and a mean of 17.67 years.

From a Methodist church, there was a total of 45 subjects, 27 women and 18 men, who ranged in age from 31 to 57 years, with a mean age of 43.36. The Methodists had educational levels with a range from 13 to 20 years and a mean of 16.73 years.

From a Presbyterian church, there was a total of 27 subjects, 17 women and 10 men, who ranged in age from 35 to 78, with a mean age of 64.52. The Presbyterians had educational levels with a range from 12 to 21 years and a mean of 16.63 years.

All subjects used in the study indicated being affiliated with a Christian denomination, with the Unitarian-Universalist church, or indicated that they were not affiliated but considered themselves religious (see Table L-2). All subjects from the Presbyterian church sample identified themselves as Presbyterian. From the Methodists, two indicated that they were not affiliated with any denomination and the remainder identified themselves as Methodists. Two people from The UU sample identified themselves as Protestant and the rest as UUs. Among the undergraduate sample, 63 people identified themselves as Baptist, 18 as Methodist, 15 as Presbyterian, 8 as Episcopalian, 7 as Church of Christ, 4

as Lutheran, 2 as Disciples of Christ, 2 as Church of God, 1 as Nazarene, and 2 simply as Protestants. In addition, 18 people identified themselves as Catholic, 3 as Mormon, 1 as UU, 1 as Charismatic, and 1 as "Metaphysics." Eighteen people identified themselves as nonaffiliated but religious. In the entire sample, then, 196 subjects were classified as Protestant and 55 as UU.

Ten subjects from the undergraduate sample were excluded based on their indicated religious affiliation, either indicating no religious affiliation or a non-Christian or UU affiliation. In addition, four subjects were excluded from the analyses, based on their low response rate on the survey. Two of the excluded subjects were undergraduates, one UU, and one Methodist.

Gender Differences

Table L-3 outlines the gender differences in the dependent measures.

Gender Differences in I/E Orientation

Oneway ANOVAs were computed using the summary measures as dependent variables and alpha was set at .05. Women ($M = 46.05$) were significantly more intrinsically oriented than men ($M = 43.90$), $F(1,290) = 4.11$, $p = .04$, on the IE-R Intrinsic (I) subscale. Women ($M = 51.45$) were also more intrinsically oriented than men ($M =$

47.88), $F(1,290) = 5.50$, $p = .012$, on Hoge's scale.

However, there were no differences between men and women on the I subscales of the ROS ($\bar{M} = 45.88$) and Feagin's scale ($\bar{M} = 31.91$), or on the Committed subscale ($\bar{M} = 75.21$) (see Table L-3).

Unexpectedly, men ($\bar{M} = 40.52$) were significantly more extrinsically oriented than women ($\bar{M} = 37.52$), $F(290,1) = 7.01$, $p = .009$, on the ROS Extrinsic (E) subscale. Men ($\bar{M} = 10.43$) also scored significantly higher than women ($\bar{M} = 9.23$), $F(1,290) = 5.52$, $p = .02$) on the Eo factor from the IE-R. There were no significant differences between men and women on the E subscales of the IE-R ($\bar{M} = 38.20$) or Feagin's scale ($\bar{M} = 24.37$), or on the Consensual subscale ($\bar{M} = 47.87$) (see Table 3).

As suggested by Donohue (1985a), scale midpoints were used to divide the respondents on the ROS into the four categories of the Four-Fold Typology: indiscriminately pro-religious, intrinsic, extrinsic, indiscriminately non-religious.

Crosstabulations were performed to examine gender differences in the four-fold typology, with alpha set at .05. When the ROS scores were divided into the four categories, there were no significant differences between women and men in the indiscriminately non-religious category or the extrinsic category. However, there were

significantly more women (70%) than men (56%) in the intrinsic category and significantly more men (23%) than women (14%) in the indiscriminately pro-religious category, $p = .049$.

Gender Differences on the RLI

Using ANOVAs, women ($M = 30.79$) scored significantly higher than men ($M = 28.60$), $F(1,290) = 7.79$, $p = .006$, on the External subscale. Women ($M = 48.83$) also scored higher than men ($M = 45.98$), $F(1,290) = 4.78$, $p = .03$ on the Internal subscale. Men ($M = 36.11$) were significantly more means oriented than women ($M = 33.64$), $F(1,290) = 4.89$, $p = .028$). There were no significant differences for gender on Christian Doctrinal Orthodoxy ($M = 65.75$), the Interactional subscale ($M = 25.74$), or on the end orientation ($M = 56.74$). The expected differences on the quest orientation did not appear as measured by the RLI ($M = 10.01$) or the Revised Quest Scale ($M = 39.56$) (see Table L-3).

The relationships between the RLI subscales, gender, and age were explored through analysis of covariance (ANCOVA). When age was used as a covariate with the Internal subscale, there was a significant effect found for age, $F(1,286) = 6.167$, $p = .014$, indicating that the higher Internal scores for women were moderated by age, with younger women scoring higher on internal

religiousness than older women. When the analysis was corrected for age, however, the effect for gender was still significant, $F(1,286) = 5.202$, $p = .023$.

Gender Differences in Relationality

The expected difference between men and women on the Es factor from the IE-R did not appear ($M = 10.17$). However, as hypothesized, women ($M = 33.01$) were significantly more relationally oriented than men ($M = 30.32$), $F(1,290) = 16.06$, $p = .0001$, on the summed exploratory Relationality items (see Table L-3).

The relationships between Relationality, gender, and age were explored through ANCOVA. When age was used as a covariate, there was a significant effect found for age, $F(1,286) = 26.297$, $p < .001$, indicating that the higher Relationality scores for women were moderated by age, with older women scoring higher on Relationality than younger women. When the analysis was corrected for age, however, the effect for gender was still significant, $F(1,286) = 16.226$, $p < .001$.

Discriminant Analysis with Gender

A stepwise discriminant analysis using gender as the discriminating variable showed that the eight variables have univariate significance: the ROS Extrinsic subscale, the IE-R Intrinsic subscale, Hoge's Intrinsic scale, the Extrinsic-other factor, the RLI Internal subscale, the RLI

External subscale, RLI means religiousness, and the exploratory Relationality scale. Two of these variables, the ROS Extrinsic subscale ($p < .0001$) and the Relationality scale ($p = .0001$) also had multivariate significance.

Figure 1, in Appendix K, illustrates the gender differences for all of the dependent measures. For the purposes of comparison, raw scores were converted to Z-scores with means of 50 and standard deviations of 10.

Item Analysis

An item analysis was performed to explore the nature of the items which were most important in determining gender differences on the measures of religious orientation. Women scored significantly higher than men on four of the five measures of intrinsic religiousness. In Table L-4, the significant and near significant items on each of the religious orientation measures are shown. On the ROS, the only significant I item was 20 (see Appendix C). On the IE-R, the significant I items were 6 and 11, with items 5 and 9 approaching significance. On Hoge's I scale, the significant items were 1, 8, 9, and 10 (see Appendix F). On the Committed subscale, the significant items were 13, 20, and 22 (see Appendix I). Men scored significantly higher than women on only one of the measures of extrinsic religiousness, the ROS. The

significant ROS E items were 1, 2, 7, and 10 (see Appendix C).

There were significant gender differences found on two of the RLI subscales, with women scoring significantly higher than men on both the Internal and External subscales. On the Internal subscale, the significant items were 11 and 15, with 9, 13, and 14 approaching significance. Item 10 also approached significance, but in the opposite direction, with men scoring higher than women. On the External subscale, the significant items were 4, 5, and 6, with 1 approaching significance (see Appendix G).

Finally, as shown in Table L-5, women scored significantly higher than men on all six of the exploratory Relationality scale items (see Appendix J).

Denominational Differences

Analyses of denominational differences were limited to a comparison of Unitarian-Universalists (UUs) to Protestants, as the other groups were too small to make analyses meaningful. Table L-6 outlines the denominational differences in the dependent measures.

Denominational Differences in I/E Orientation

There were significant differences on many of the scales measuring intrinsic/extrinsic religiousness using ANOVAs (see Table L-6). As predicted, Protestants were

more intrinsic than UUs on the Intrinsic subscales of the ROS, the IE-R, and Hoge's scale. Protestants also had higher scores on the Committed subscale than UUs. There were no significant differences between Protestants and UUs on Feagin's Intrinsic subscale ($M = 32.60$). The expected differences between Protestants and UUs on intrinsic religiousness did not appear. There were no significant differences between Protestants and UUs on extrinsic religiousness as measured by the ROS ($M = 38.23$) or the IE-R ($M = 37.98$).

The relationships between the Intrinsic subscales, denomination, and age were explored through ANCOVA. When age was used as a covariate, there were significant effects found for age with the ROS I subscale, $F(1,245) = 9.253$, $p = .003$, the IE-R I subscale, $F(1, 245) = 6.345$, $p = .012$, Feagin's I subscale, $F(1,245) = 16.083$, $p < .001$, and the Committed subscale, $F(1,245) = 5.424$, $p = .021$, indicating that the higher Intrinsic scores for UUs were moderated by age, with older UUs being more intrinsic than younger UUs. When the analyses were corrected for age, however, the effects for denomination were still significant for the ROS I subscale, $F(1,245) = 36.905$, $p < .001$, the IE-R I subscale, $F(1,245) = 54.835$, $p < .001$, Feagin's I subscale, $F(1,245) = 12.078$, $p = .001$, and Committed subscale, $F(1,245) = 20.140$,

$p < .001$.

Unexpectedly, Protestants were significantly more extrinsic than UUs on Feagin's Extrinsic subscale. Protestants also had higher scores than UUs on the Consensual subscale. On the extrinsic factors from the IE-R, UUs were higher than Protestants on the Es factor, lower than Protestants on the Ep factor, and higher than Protestants on the Eo factor. There were no differences between the Protestants and UUs on the exploratory Relationality scale ($M = 32.51$) (see Table L-6).

The relationships between the Extrinsic subscales and factors, denomination, and age were explored through ANCOVA. When age was used as a covariate, there was a significant effect found for age with Es, $F(1,245) = 11.992$, $p = .001$, indicating that the higher Es scores for UUs were moderated by age. When the analysis was corrected for age, however, the effect for denomination was still significant for the ROS I subscale, $F(1,245) = 20.036$, $p < .001$.

Denominational Differences on the RLI

As predicted, UUs were significantly higher than Protestants on the RLI quest orientation and on the Interactional subscale. There were no differences between UUs and Protestants, however, on the Revised Quest scale ($M = 39.64$). Protestants scored significantly higher than

UUs on end religiousness, and on both the Internal and External subscales. Protestants also scored higher than UUs, as expected, on Christian Doctrinal Orthodoxy. There were no differences between UUs and Protestants on means religiousness ($\bar{M} = 34.23$) (see Table L-6).

The relationships between the RLI subscales, denomination, and age were explored through ANCOVA. When age was used as a covariate, there were significant effects found for age with quest orientation, $F(1,245) = 7.80$, $p = .006$, and the Doctrinal Orthodoxy subscale, $F(1,245) = 9.72$, $p = .002$, indicating that the higher Quest scores for UUs and the higher Doctrinal Orthodoxy scores for Protestants were moderated by age. When the analyses were corrected for age, however, the effects for denomination were still significant for the quest orientation, $F(1,245) = 130.46$, $p < .001$, and Doctrinal Orthodoxy, $F(1,245) = 581.76$, $p < .001$.

Denominational Differences in Relationality

A one-way ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference between UUs and Protestants on the exploratory Relationality scale, $\bar{M} = 32.51$ (see Table L-6).

Gender and Denominational Differences

The relationships between gender, denomination, and the dependent measures were explored through ANCOVA. The

analyses showed that only the main effects for both gender and denomination were significant. There were no significant two-way interactions for gender and denomination with the dependent measures.

Factor Analysis

A factor analysis was performed using fourteen of the dependent measures. Seven of the dependent measures (the Es and Ep factors from the IE-R, the External and Interactional subscales from the RLI, the RLI ends and quest orientations, and the Revised Quest scale) were eliminated because they each had anti-image correlations $< .5$. These measures represent unique factors and were thus dropped from the analysis (Dziuban & Shirkey, 1974).

A varimax rotation yielded 2 factors with eigen values > 2 . Factor 1, with an Eigen value of 7.142, consisted of all five measures of intrinsic religiousness, the Internal and Doctrinal Orthodoxy subscales from the RLI, the Relationality scale, and the IE-R Eo factor (with a negative loading). Factor 2, with an Eigen value of 3.223, consisted of the Extrinsic subscales from the ROS, the IE-R, and Feagin's scale, the Consensual subscale, and means orientation from the RLI. means orientation, ROS E, and IE-R E also loaded negatively on Factor 1 (see Table L-7).

One-way ANOVAs were calculated, with alpha set at .05, to examine the relationships between the two factors created by the factor analysis and gender and denomination. There was a significant gender difference for Factor 1, $F(290,1) = 4.78$, $p = .030$, with women receiving significantly higher scores ($M = .11$) on the measures comprising Factor 1 than men ($M = -.15$). There was no significant relationship between denomination and Factor 1. There was also a significant main effect for denomination for Factor 2, $F(290,1) = 64.17$, $p < .0001$, with Protestants receiving higher scores ($M = .31$) on the measures comprising Factor 2 than UUs ($M = -.74$). Similarly, there was a main effect for denomination for Factor 2, $F(290,1) = 11.34$, $p = .0009$, with Protestants receiving higher scores ($M = .07$) on the measures comprising Factor 2 than UUs ($M = -.43$).

Intercorrelations

Intercorrelations among Demographic Variables

Correlations were calculated between all demographic variables, with alpha set at .05. Gender was not significantly correlated with any of the demographic variables used in this study. Gender was correlated, however, with rated importance of gathering with others to worship. Men rated group worship as more important than

women, $r(292) = .16$, $p = .005$. Age was positively correlated with education, $r(290) = .62$, $p < .001$. Age was also correlated with denomination, with UUs significantly older than Protestants, $r(289) = .49$, $p < .001$. Age was positively correlated with frequency of church attendance, $r(292) = .20$, $p = .001$, and negatively correlated with rated importance of gathering with others to worship, $r(292) = -.33$, $p < .001$.

Intercorrelations between the General Measures of Religiousness and the Dependent Measures

Correlations were calculated between the general measures of religiousness and the dependent measures, with alpha set at .05. Frequency of church attendance and amount of religious literature read by the subject were both positively correlated with all five measures of intrinsic religiousness, the External, Internal, and Doctrinal Orthodoxy subscales on the RLI, end religiousness, and with Relationality. Church attendance and religious literature read were negatively correlated with extrinsic religiousness as measured by the ROS and the IE-R, with means and quest religiousness, and with the Revised Quest scale (see Table L-8). Rated importance of religion, rated importance of worshiping alone, and rated importance of worshiping with others were similar in their relationships to the dependent measures. The three

ratings were negatively correlated with all measures of intrinsic religiousness, the External, Internal, and Doctrinal Orthodoxy subscales on the RLI, with end religiousness, and with Relationality. The three importance ratings were positively correlated with extrinsic religiousness as measured by the ROS and the IE-R, and with means religiousness (see Table L-9).

Intercorrelations among the Dependent Measures

Correlations were calculated between all summary variables with alpha set at .05. Table 10 outlines the intercorrelations among the I and E measures. Extrinsic religiousness scores as measured by the ROS, the IE-R, Feagin's Extrinsic subscale and the Consensual subscale were all significantly positively intercorrelated. Intrinsic religiousness scores as measured by the ROS, the IE-R, Feagin's scale, Hoge's Intrinsic scale, and the Committed subscale were also all significantly positively intercorrelated.

Most of the Extrinsic subscales were negatively correlated with the Intrinsic subscales. The exceptions were Feagin's E measure, which was not significantly correlated with any of the Intrinsic measures, and consensual religiousness, which was positively correlated with the Committed subscale, I on Feagin's scale, and Hoge's scale. Extrinsic religiousness on the ROS was

negatively correlated with I on the ROS, the IE-R, Feagin's scale, Hoge's scale, and the Committed subscale. E on the IE-R was negatively correlated with I on the IE-R, Feagin's scale, and Hoge's scale (see Table L-10).

There were a number of correlations among the RLI subscales (see Table L-11). Christian Doctrinal Orthodoxy was positively correlated with the Internal subscale, the External subscale, and end religiousness, and negatively correlated with the Interactional subscale, and quest religiousness. Means religiousness was positively correlated with the Interactional subscale and quest religiousness, and negatively correlated with the Internal subscale and end religiousness. End religiousness was positively correlated with the External subscale and the Internal subscale, and negatively correlated with the Interactional subscale, and quest religiousness. Quest religiousness was positively correlated with the Interactional subscale and negatively correlated with the External subscale and the Internal subscale. The quest dimension was also positively correlated with the Revised Quest scale, $r(292) = .63, p < .001$.

Many of the RLI subscales were correlated with the Intrinsic and Extrinsic subscales (see Table L-12). Both the RLI Internal and External subscales were positively correlated with all six measures of intrinsicness.

Doctrinal Orthodoxy was also positively correlated with six measures of intrinsicness. Means religiousness was positively correlated with all five measures of extrinsicness and negatively correlated with all measures of intrinsicness. End religiousness was positively correlated with all measures of intrinsicness.

The exploratory Relationality scale was positively correlated with all six measures of intrinsicness, and with the Es factor, and negatively correlated with the Eo factor. The Relationality scale was also positively correlated with the RLI Internal, External, and Interactional subscales and with the RLI quest dimension. Relationality was negatively correlated with the RLI means dimension. There was no correlation between the Relationality scale and the Doctrinal Orthodoxy subscale (see Table L-13).

Reliability of the Relationality Scale

The six exploratory items comprising the Relationality scale have inter-item correlations ranging from .10 to .58, with a mean of .34. The scale was found to have a moderately high reliability, with $\alpha = .75$ (Anastasi, 1982). Table L-14 outlines the reliability statistics for the Relationality Scale.

4. Discussion

Gender Differences

Gender Differences in I/E Orientation

The central focus of this study was to examine gender differences in the established measures of religious orientation. It was expected that women and men would be equally committed to and involved in religion. No gender differences, therefore, were predicted for intrinsicness. However, women scored higher than men on two of the five measures of I orientation. The gender differences approached significance on two more of the Intrinsic subscales. Additionally, women had lower scores than men on the Eo factor, which has correlated highly in previous studies (McFarland, 1989) with the I subscale and which has been proposed as a reversed measure of religious commitment or intrinsicness. Women's lower scores on the Eo factor are another indication of higher intrinsic religious orientation than men. Men were more extrinsically oriented than women on only one of the four measures of E orientation. For extrinsicness, the gender differences appeared on the ROS.

It is difficult to explain the finding that women tend to be more intrinsic than men. Perhaps women in this region are more likely than men to be committed to their

church and to their religion, and stronger believers in the creeds of their particular faith. However, there were no gender differences found for rated importance of religion, for frequency of church attendance, or for amount of religious literature read. It is possible that although attendance rates among the sampled population were similar, men may be more likely than women to use church membership for business or political purposes.

It was hypothesized that women would be more likely than men to be classified as indiscriminately pro-religious using the Four-Fold Typology. In fact, the opposite occurred with more men than women being classified as indiscriminately pro-religious on the ROS. This is consistent with the finding that men are more likely than women to be extrinsic as measured by the ROS. It appears that men are more likely to respond positively to a wide variety of pro-religious statements. There were more women than men who were classified as intrinsic on the Four-Fold Typology. Again, this is consistent with the finding that women were more intrinsic than men.

Gender Differences on the RLI

Women and men did not differ on quest orientation as predicted. In the 1983 Batson and Raynor-Prince study, women scored higher than men on religious cognitive complexity. As this capacity was proposed as one of the

primary features of quest religiousness, it was expected that women would also be more likely to have a quest orientation toward religion than men.

Women had higher scores than men on both the External and Internal subscales of the RLI. These subscales measure a tendency to be religiously influenced by, respectively, external forces such as social institutions and authority figures and by internal forces such as the drive to find answers (Batson & Ventis, 1983). Women's higher scores on the External subscale suggest that authority figures and social institutions are more critical in the shaping of women's religious orientation than men's. Women's higher scores on the Internal subscale suggest that internal needs for religious certainty and strength are also more important in shaping women's religious orientation than men's. Although these results appear somewhat contradictory at first glance, the Internal and External subscales may not be mutually exclusive. It is possible that women have both stronger internal and external drives to be strongly religious than men. This would fit with the finding that women tend to be more intrinsically oriented and committed to religiousness than men.

The finding that women are higher than men on the Internal subscale was moderated by age, with younger women

receiving higher Internal scores than older women. This may indicate that as women grow older their drive to find absolute answers and to have a position of religious certainty decreases. Perhaps the finding that women possess greater religious cognitive complexity (Batson & Raynor-Prince, 1983) becomes more true as women mature. That is, women may increasingly gain with age the capacity to face complex existential questions without a need to reduce them.

Men were more likely to have a means orientation than women. As the means dimension was designed to capture the characteristics of extrinsic religiousness, this finding is consistent with men's greater likelihood of being extrinsic.

Women and men did not differ, nor were they expected to differ, on Christian Doctrinal Orthodoxy. There were also no gender differences for end religiousness, which is roughly equivalent to intrinsicness. Once again, however, the means point toward a trend of greater intrinsicness for women than for men.

Gender Differences in Relationality

The work of researchers such as Gilligan (1982) and Chodorow (1978) has suggested that women tend to be oriented toward relationships in their approach to the world. Citing Miller's "self-in-relation" concept (p.

23), Randour (1987) proposed that women are similarly focused on connectedness in their spirituality. As predicted, women were more relational in religious orientation than men as measured by the exploratory Relationality scale. The items in the scale were designed to assess the extent to which a person's involvement in religion is oriented toward a need and desire for meaningful relationships with others. Women were found to place a greater emphasis on relationships in their pursuit of religion.

As predicted, the relational aspects of women's orientation were moderated by age, with older women being more relationally oriented than younger women. The religious orientation of younger women may reflect the values of their parents or the particular church in which they were raised. As women grow older, they may become increasingly aware of, and more likely to pursue fulfillment of, their relational needs.

Men, as compared to women, appear to be less oriented toward affiliative or relational needs in religion. Whereas women are raised to define themselves in terms of empathy and a concentration on other's needs and emotions (Chodorow, 1978), men are raised define themselves in terms of autonomy (Erikson, 1963). Relationality, therefore, may be less important to men in religion as

well as in other pursuits.

It was hypothesized that if women were found to be more extrinsically oriented than men, that those differences would be particularly reflected in the three social extrinsic items. However, the predicted gender differences in the social extrinsic factor did not appear. Although the three Es items deal with connections to others, they specify that the primary reason for church attendance is to make those connections. Perhaps women are no more likely than men to view their affiliative needs as the most important part of their religious orientation. The items in the Relationality scale identify relationships as one important aspect of religion rather than the most important aspect of religion. The Es factor may contain an element of negative social desirability, whereas the Relationality items may be a more subtle measure of relational needs in religion.

Item Analysis

The responses to each item were examined to determine which items were important in differentiating between women and men on the dependent measures which were found to have significant gender differences. Women scored higher than men on all measures of intrinsic religiousness. Three important groups of items recurred in the subscales: the importance of religion in answering

questions about the meaning of life, living by one's religious beliefs, and the importance of religion itself, in addition to leading a moral life. Also, on Hoge's scale and the Committed subscale, women were more likely to endorse the items which indicated religion as all-encompassing and self-defining.

Men scored higher than women on only the ROS subscale of extrinsicness. An examination of the significant E items on the subscale showed again that men received higher scores than women on the reversed items of I religiousness. Men were more likely than women to endorse the items which suggested that religion is of secondary importance in their lives. There was one other near-significant item on the ROS E subscale. Men scored higher than women on the item which states that one reason for church attendance is to establish oneself in the community. Although this item is concerned with connections to others, it is an indication of a more self-serving interest in people rather than an other-serving interest in people. The gender difference on this item also supports the notion that men are more likely than women to use religion for political or business purposes.

On the RLI, women received higher scores on both the Internal and External subscales. On the Internal subscale, women scored significantly higher on items

concerning the essentialness or necessity of religion and a feeling of being compelled to be religious. Men scored significantly higher than women on one Internal subscale item. This item indicates a drive to know the truth about religious questions. This item is similar to the Intrinsic item in that it mentions the importance of finding answers to religious questions. It seems contradictory that men scored higher on the Internal item about finding answers and women scored higher on the Intrinsic item about finding answers. However, the Internal item suggests an urgency ("I feel driven to know the truth") which is not found in the Intrinsic item.

On the External subscale, women had higher scores on the item which suggests that outside forces such as other people and church have been an important part of their religiousness. Two other items which approached significance also indicate the importance of church and other people in their religious development. A final item approached significance on the External subscale. Women received higher scores on the item indicating that religion satisfies fellowship and security needs. This item, which suggests the importance of connections, differs from the ROS E item which suggests that church establishes a person in the community. A need for fellowship and security suggests less of an interest in

being with people for business purposes or prestige.

An examination of the exploratory items showed that women scored significantly higher than men on all six of the items designed to measure an orientation toward connectedness to others, which comprise the Relationality scale. There were no significant differences on the two items designed to measure an orientation toward a connection to God, rather than to other people.

Again, there is an apparent contradiction in the finding that women scored higher on the six Relationality items but were not significantly different than men on the social extrinsic items. However, the three social extrinsic items emphasize going to church to make or be with friends as the primary purpose of attending church. The Relationality items also emphasize relationships to others, but not as the primary reason for attending church. Rather, relationships, particularly in items 2 and 3, are depicted as one important part of being religious. Additionally, items 1, 4, and 6 were designed to capture the concern with how their behavior affects others, which Miller (1986) heard expressed by her female patients. These three items were also intended to include a sense of responsibility to others, which Gilligan (1982) found critical in the moral development of women. Item 5 was designed to capture the interconnectedness of

spirituality and relationships, by emphasizing relationships to both other people and to God.

Denominational Differences

Denominational Differences in I/E Orientation

UUs were included in the sample to replicate the findings of Strickland and Weddell (1972) that the religious orientation scales are denomination-specific and do not work well for religious liberals. As predicted, Protestants were more intrinsically oriented than UUs as measured by all but one of the subscales. Intrinsic religiousness has orthodox Christian beliefs as one of its primary characteristics and most UUs do not ascribe to a Christian or even Theistic belief system. Nor do UUs tend to engage in many of the behaviors included by Intrinsic subscales such as prayer.

In 1972, Strickland and Weddell found that Unitarians scored higher on extrinsicness as measured by the ROS E subscale than members of Christian denominations. It was predicted, then, that UUs would be more extrinsic than Protestants. However, there were no differences between UUs and Protestants on the E subscales of the ROS and the IE-R. Unexpectedly, Protestants had higher scores than UUs on Feagin's E subscale and on the Consensual subscale. These results confirm that the I/E

scales are not useful for religious liberals and also suggest that perhaps the I/E concepts themselves are not adequate for understanding the religious orientations of non-Christian religious groups.

Denominational Differences on the RLI

As predicted, UUs were more likely to have a quest orientation toward religion than Protestants. The UU emphasis on skepticism of dogma, the life-long search for truth and meaning, and the integration of faith and knowledge (Rankin, 1991) closely parallels the primary aspects of quest orientation as described by Batson and Ventis (1982).

Protestants had higher scores than UUs on both the External and Internal subscales. This suggests that both external forces such as authority figures and social institutions and internal forces such as needs for religious certainty and strength are more important in shaping Protestants' religious orientation than UUs'. These results are not surprising as UUs are more nonconforming in their religiousness than most Protestants.

Protestants also scored higher than UUs on end religiousness, which corresponds to intrinsic religiousness. This is consistent with the predicted finding that Protestants are more intrinsic than UUs.

Protestants were also, as expected, much higher than UUs on Christian Doctrinal Orthodoxy.

Denominational Differences in Relationality

Protestants and UUs did not differ on the Relationality scale. This suggests that these items are not specific to a traditional Christian belief system. In this population, at least, the scale appears to work as well for liberal or non-Christian denominations as for Protestant denominations.

Gender and Denominational Differences

As expected, there were a number of denominational differences for religious orientation with UUs responding very differently to the survey than Protestants. However, there were no interactions between gender and denomination on any of the dependent measures. Thus, none of the gender effects found for religious orientation were a product of denominational differences.

Factor Analysis

The factor analysis of the dependent measures revealed two primary factors. The strongest factor contained nine measures. Factor 1 was composed of all five Intrinsic subscales for the RLI, and the Relationality scale. The IE-R Eo factor, a reversed

measure of intrinsicness, also loaded negatively on Factor 1. All the measures of intrinsicness, then, grouped together in the analysis. As intrinsic religiousness reflects a Christian belief system, it makes sense that the measure of Christian doctrinal orthodoxy was grouped with the I measures. The Relationality scale does not appear to reflect specifically Christian values. However, it does seem to reflect a strong involvement in and commitment to religion as well as at least a Theistic belief system. This factor, then seems to primarily capture both religious commitment and importance and traditional Christian values.

Factor 1 was significantly related to gender, with women scoring higher on the factor than men. This finding corroborates the other indications that women appear to have a stronger commitment to and involvement in their religion. There was also a significant effect for denomination on Factor 1, with Protestants receiving higher scores than UUs. This finding also mirrors other indicators that intrinsicness includes traditional Christian values.

The second factor consisted of all four of the extrinsic religiousness measures and the means orientation from the RLI. The means orientation was designed as a general measure of extrinsicness. Factor 2, then,

captures an extrinsic, consensual approach to religion. There was a main effect for denomination for Factor 2, with Protestants receiving higher scores on Factor 2's components than UUs. It seems that in addition to a greater adherence to traditional Christian beliefs, Protestants also hold a more consensual view of religiousness than UUs. This finding makes sense in light of the UU avoidance of dogma and interest in religious diversity. There was no significant gender effect for Factor 2. Again, measures of intrinsicness appears to discriminate better between women and men than measures of extrinsicness.

Intercorrelations

Intercorrelations among Demographic Variables

Gender was not correlated with any of the demographic variables used in this study. Not surprisingly, age was positively correlated with education. Age was also correlated with denomination, with the UUs tending to be older than Protestants in this sample. These differences were shown to be significant on a number of measures and age was factored out of the interactions when necessary. It was shown that none of the effects for denomination were due solely to age.

Intercorrelations between General Measures of Religiousness and the Dependent Measures

The frequency of church attendance and the amount of religious literature read were positively correlated with all measures of I religiousness, both the Internal and External subscales, and religiousness, Relationality, and with Christian doctrinal orthodoxy. Rated importance of religion, worshiping with others, and worshiping alone were negatively correlated with the same set of dependent measures. With the exception of the External subscale, these are all Factor 1 components. Again, attending church and reading religious literature should be related to religious commitment and to Christian beliefs. It appears that those who express strong ties to their faith and who value the place of religious belief in their lives tend to also be more likely to report practicing those beliefs by attending church and reading religious material. These same people, however, tend to give lower importance ratings to religion, group worship, and personal worship. Perhaps the intrinsic orientation and committedness to religion are better reflected in actions than in importance ratings. In general, those who received higher scores on measures of extrinsicness rated all forms of worship more highly than did those who received higher scores on measures of intrinsicness. Conversely,

extrinsically oriented people report going to church and reading religious material less frequently than intrinsically oriented people.

Intercorrelations among the Dependent Measures

The Extrinsic subscales were all positively correlated, showing that they are measuring overlapping dimensions. However, a few of the intercorrelations were small, particularly those of consensual religiousness with the other measures of extrinsic orientation. The Intrinsic measures were also all positively correlated, with higher correlations than the Extrinsic subscales. The Intrinsic subscales, then, were also measuring overlapping dimensions.

Most of the Extrinsic subscales had small to moderate negative correlations with the Intrinsic subscales. The exceptions were Feagin's E subscale, which was not correlated with any of the I subscales and which had small positive correlations with some of the intrinsic measures. These results suggest that, for the most part, intrinsicness and extrinsicness are not orthogonal but are also not two ends of a continuum. I and E appear to represent different dimensions which overlap somewhat.

Among the RLI subscales, there were a number of correlations. Most notably, Doctrinal Orthodoxy, end religiousness, the Internal subscale, and the External

subscale were all positively correlated. Means religiousness, quest religiousness, and the Interactional subscale were also positively correlated. In general, an adherence to orthodox Christian doctrine, an orientation toward end religiousness, and being religiously influenced by internal and external forces were negatively correlated with an ability to tolerate existential ambiguity as measured by the Interactional subscale and orientations toward means or quest religiousness.

Of particular interest was how the Relationality scale correlated with the other measures of religious orientation. The Relationality scale was positively correlated with every measure of intrinsicness and negatively correlated with Eo, the reversed measure of intrinsicness. Relationality was also negatively correlated with means religiousness, which is similar to extrinsicness. Relationality was positively correlated with the Internal and External subscales and with the quest dimension. It appears that the Relationality scale overlaps with the concept of intrinsicness but is also picking up on the importance of connections to others. Those who score high on Relationality appear to value church and to feel that religious beliefs are important to their lives, but are no more orthodox in their beliefs than those low on Relationality.

Reliability of the Relationality Scale

By convention, reliabilities in the .80's and .90's are considered high (Anastasi, 1982). With a reliability alpha coefficient of .75, the new Relationality scale was found to have moderately high reliability. This finding is further evidence that the Relationality scale is a useful addition to the study of religious orientation.

Conclusion

This study was designed to explore gender differences in religious orientation, a relatively uncharted area in the psychology of religion. Based on the works of such feminist researchers as Gilligan (1982), Chodorow (1978), Miller (1986) and Randour (1987), it seemed likely that women's orientation toward religion would develop differently than men's. Whereas the male personality is seen as focused on autonomy (Erikson, 1963), Gilligan and others have found evidence pointing toward a more relational focus in the female personality. The existing research on religiousness does not incorporate the importance of relationships in religion. It was expected that if women were found to be more extrinsic than men on the existing scales of religious orientation, then the differences would reflect a more relational aspect to women's religiousness. Although those differences did not

appear on the established religious orientation scales, women were found to be more relational in orientation as measured by the set of exploratory items. Women were also unexpectedly found to be more intrinsically oriented than men, suggesting a greater devotion to their particular creed and faith. Women were also found to be more internal and external in orientation on the RLI than men, reflecting a religiousness which is more shaped by both inner and outer influences.

Implications for Future Research

This study points to a need for further research in gender differences in religious orientation. The finding that women scored higher than men on the exploratory Relationality scale is intriguing and supports the work of feminist psychologists such as Miller (1983) and Gilligan (1982). It would be useful to further develop and test this scale to determine whether the finding of women's relationality in religiousness would generalize to other populations. Additionally, women appear to be more committed to, and led by, their religious faith than are men. Perhaps women are more likely than men to more fully embrace their religion and its beliefs, whether from some innate predisposition toward religious faith and commitment or from some socially determined pressure to

become involved in religion.

Alternatively, it is possible that the way men and women approach religion is so different that the traditional scales do not accurately capture women's religious orientation. In fact, the very concepts which categorize religiousness may not be useful. The religious orientation scales were constructed within a Western, Christian framework. Christian doctrine arises from and promulgates a patriarchal tradition which tends to subordinate women by its very nature. It is difficult to find a place of value for women in a belief system dominated by a trinity of a male God, his male Son, and a masculine Holy Spirit (Daly, 1972; Goldenberg, 1979). The scales were constructed within a scientific system informed by the male-oriented theories of Freud (1959/1940), Erikson (1963), and Kohlberg (in Gilligan, 1982). Given this entrenched bias toward a masculine viewpoint, an understanding of women using the existing concepts of religious orientation seems difficult at best. The Relationality scale points toward a different understanding of how women approach spirituality and what draws them to religion. The concept of a relational religious orientation appears to fall outside the framework of intrinsicness and extrinsicness and is a perspective which also seems to encompass a broader range

of beliefs than the Christian-based intrinsic and extrinsic concepts.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Demographic Questions and Indices of Religiousness

Part A. Please answer the following questions:

1. Sex: ___M ___F 2. Age: _____ 3. Race: _____

4. Last year of Education completed: _____

5. Current Religious Affiliation (check one):

- ___ Catholic
___ Protestant (please specify) _____
___ Jewish (please specify) _____
___ Islamic (please specify) _____
___ Orthodox (please specify) _____
___ Unitarian or Universalist
___ Other (please specify) _____
___ Non-affiliated but consider myself religious
___ None

6. What is the religious affiliation of your family?

7. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, how many times per month do you attend religious services?

8. How many times per month do you read literature about your faith? _____

9. Estimate how important religion is to you:
___very ___somewhat ___rather ___very
___important ___important ___unimportant ___unimportant

10. Estimate how important it is for you to gather with others to worship:
___very ___somewhat ___rather ___very
___important ___important ___unimportant ___unimportant

11. Estimate how important personal religious experience is to you, in contrast to group religious practices:
___very ___somewhat ___rather ___very
___important ___important ___unimportant ___unimportant

Appendix B: Cover Page of Questionnaire

The purpose of the attached anonymous questionnaire is to investigate attitudes and religious beliefs. Your answers will provide the basis of my doctoral dissertation research. Answer each question with the response which most closely matches your position. Please answer ALL of the questions in this survey. If you have comments about your answers or about the questions themselves, write them on the back of the questionnaire. When you are finished, please place your questionnaire in the box marked "Religion Survey."

Part A involves short answers to questions about yourself. The questions in Part B are multiple choice and will involve only circling the answer which most closely reflects your view. Filling out this survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

No questionnaire contains any questions or markings to identify you as a respondent. The results will be tabulated and analyzed only in aggregate, or group, form, so that your anonymity is assured. Your return of the questionnaire will constitute your informed consent to participate in this study.

Please direct any questions to:

Carol Steele LeMay
Graduate Student
Department of Psychology
Austin Peay Bldg.
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996
(615) 974-2161

Appendix C: Religious Orientation Scale

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument.

Extrinsic Items

1. Although I believe in my religion, I feel there are many more important things in my life. (60)
2. It doesn't matter so much what I believe so long as I lead a moral life. (66)
3. The primary purpose of prayer is to gain relief and protection. (70)
4. The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships. (75)
5. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike. (79)
6. I pray chiefly because I have been taught to pray. (83)
7. Although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs. (90)
8. A primary reason for my interest in religion is that my church is a congenial social activity. (94)
9. Occasionally I find it necessary to compromise my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic well-being. (100)
10. One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community. (106)
11. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life. (82)

Intrinsic Items

12. It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation. (89)

13. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church. (61)
14. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life. (63)
15. The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during services. (78)
16. Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being. (73)
17. I read literature about my faith (or church). (113)
18. If I were to join a church group I would prefer a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship. (115)
19. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life. (93)
20. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life. (105)

Source: Allport & Ross, 1967, cited in Batson, C.D. & Ventis, W.L. (1982). The religious experience: A social psychological perspective. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appendix D: Intrinsic/Extrinsic-Revised Scale

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument. The number in brackets [] indicates the corresponding Religious Orientation Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967) item.

1. I enjoy reading about my religion. [17] (12)
2. I go to church because it helps me to make friends.
[4] (13)
3. It doesn't much matter what I believe as long as I
am good. [2] (14)
4. Sometimes I have to ignore my religious beliefs
because of what people might think of me. [9] (15)
5. It is important to me to spend time in private
thought and prayer. [12] (16)
6. I would prefer to go to church:
___ a few times a year or less
___ once every month or two
___ two or three times a month
___ about once a week
___ more than once a week [13] (17)
7. I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.
[16] (18)
8. I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.
[3] (19)
9. I try hard to live all my life according to my
religious beliefs. [14] (20)
10. What religion offers me most is comfort in times of
trouble and sorrow. [5] (21)
11. My religion is important because it answers many
questions about the meaning of life. [20] (22)
12. I would rather join a Bible study group than a
church social group. [18] (23)
13. Prayer is for peace and happiness. [11] (24)

14. Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life. [7] (25)
15. I go to church mostly to spend time with my friends. [8] (26)
16. My whole approach to life is based on my religion. [19] (27)
17. I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there. [10] (28)
18. I pray mainly because I have been taught to pray. [6] (29)
19. Prayers I say when I'm alone are as important to me as those I say in church. [15] (30)
20. Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life. [1] (31)

Source: Gorsuch, R. L. & Venable, D. G. (1983).
Development of an "age-universal" I-E scale.
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,
22, 348-354.

Appendix E: Intrinsic/Extrinsic Scale

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument.

Factor I Items

1. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life. (63)
2. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life. (93)
3. The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during services. (78)
4. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church. (61)
5. I read literature about my faith (or church). (113)
6. It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation. (89)

Factor II Items

7. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike. (79)
8. Religion helps to keep my life balanced and steady in exactly the same way as my citizenship, friendships, and other memberships do. (72)
9. One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community. (106)
10. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life. (82)

11. The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships. (75)
12. The primary purpose of prayer is to gain relief and protection. (70)

Source: Feagin, J. R. (1964). Prejudice and religious types: A focused study of Southern Fundamentalists. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 4, 3-13.

Appendix F: Intrinsic Religious Motivation Scale

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument. The items preceded by {-} are reversed when scored.

1. My faith involves all of my life. (65)
2. One should seek God's guidance when making every important decision. (74)
3. In my life I experience the presence of the Divine. (88)
4. My faith sometimes restricts my actions. (101)
5. Nothing is as important to me as serving God as best I know how. (109)
6. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life. (63)
7. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life. (93)
8. {-} It doesn't matter so much what I believe so long as I lead a moral life. (66)
9. {-} Although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs. (90)
10. {-} Although I believe in my religion, I feel there are many more important things in my life. (60)

Source: Hoge, D. R. (1972). A validated intrinsic religious motivation scale. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 11, 369-376.

Appendix G: Religious Life Inventory

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument. The items preceded by {-} are reversed when scored.

External Scale

1. The church has been very important for my religious development. (32)
2. My minister (or youth director, camp counselor, etc.) has had a profound influence on my personal religious development. (36)
3. A major factor in my religious development has been the importance of religion for my parents. (42)
4. My religion serves to satisfy needs for fellowship and security. (46)
5. Certain people have served as "models" for my religious development. (50)
6. {-} Outside forces (other persons, church, etc.) have been relatively unimportant in my religious development. (57)

Internal scale

7. My religious development is a natural response to the innate need of humans for devotion to God. (34)
8. God's will should shape my life. (37)
9. It is necessary for me to have a religious belief. (39)
10. When it comes to religious questions, I feel driven to know the truth. (40)
11. {-} Religion is something I have never felt personally compelled to consider. (44)
12. {-} Whether I turn out to be religious or not doesn't make much difference to me. (49)

13. I have found it essential to have faith. (51)
14. I find it impossible to conceive of myself not being religious. (54)
15. {-} For me, religion has not been a "must." (58)

Interactional scale

16. It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties. (35)
17. {-} I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years. (43)
18. I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and my relation to the world. (45)
19. My religious development has emerged out of my growing sense of personal identity. (47)
20. God wasn't very important to me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life. (53)
21. Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers. (56)

Unscored buffer items

22. Worldly events cannot effect the eternal truths of my religion. (33)
23. On religious issues, I find the opinion of others irrelevant. (38)
24. I find my everyday experiences severely test my religious convictions. (41)
25. My religion is a personal matter, independent of the influence of organized religion. (48)
26. It is important for me to learn about religion from people who know more about it than I do. (52)
27. The "me" of a few years back would be surprised at my present religious stance. (55)

Doctrinal Orthodoxy Scale

28. I believe in the existence of a just and merciful God. (117)
29. I believe God created the universe. (118)
30. I believe God has a plan for the universe. (119)
31. I believe Jesus Christ is the Divine Son of God. (120)
32. I believe Jesus Christ was resurrected (raised from the dead). (121)
33. I believe Jesus Christ is the Messiah promised in the Old Testament. (122)
35. I Believe one must accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior to be saved from sin. (123)
36. I believe in the "second coming" (that Jesus Christ will one day return to judge and rule the world). (124)
37. I believe in "original sin" (humans are born sinners). (125)
38. I believe in life after death. (126)
39. I believe there is a transcendent realm (an "other" world, not just this world in which we live). (127)
40. I believe the Bible is the unique authority for God's will. (128)

Source: Batson, C.D. & Ventis, W.L. (1982). The religious experience: A social psychological perspective. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appendix H: The Revised Quest Scale

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument. The number in brackets [] indicates the corresponding Interaction Scale (Batson & Ventis, 1982) item. The items preceded by {-} are reversed when scored.

1. Education has lead me to question some of the teachings of my church. (64)
2. I am actively trying to decide by reading or other means what the truth is about religion. (69)
3. It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties. [1] (35)
4. I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and my relation to the world. [3] (45)
5. Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers. [6] (56)
6. My religious development has emerged out of my growing sense of personal identity. [4] (47)
7. {-} I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years. [2] (43)
8. I feel that I shouldn't question my religion, but I sometimes do, anyway. (96)
9. I sometimes wonder just what life is all about and why we are here. (111)

Source: Kojetin, B. A., McIntosh, D. N., Bridges R. A., & Spilka, B. (1987). Quest: Constructive search or religious conflict? Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 29, 111-115.

Appendix I: The Committed Versus Consensual Scale

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument. The number in brackets [] indicates the corresponding Religious Orientation Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967) item.

1. One of the most important aspects of religion is the religious ceremonies. (59)
2. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life. [14] (63)
3. My ideas about religion are one of the most important parts of my philosophy of life. (67)
4. Religion is most real to me during my attendance at public church or religious services. (68)
5. {-} I do not think that the sequences of prayers, songs, etc., is very important in religious services. (71)
6. Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being. [16] (73)
7. Every person needs to have the feeling of security given by a church. (76)
8. Tender concern for others is a means of finding joy in one's religion. (77)
9. The more a religious service is ritualized the more it has meaning for me. (80)
10. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life. [11] (82)
11. The truly religious person believes honestly and wholeheartedly in the doctrines of his or her church. (84)
12. My interest in and real commitment to religion is greater now than when I first joined the church. (86)

13. {-} Religion is a subject in which I am not particularly interested. (87)
14. It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation. [12] (89)
15. The ritual of worship is a very important part of religion. (91)
16. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life. [19] (93)
17. I like to think that people all over are going through nearly the same ritual in their worship service. (95)
18. I think that the placement and the treatment of the various articles of worship is very important in a worship service. (97)
19. I often think about matters relating to religion. (99)
20. Believing as I do about religion is very important to being the kind of person I want to be. (102)
21. The precision and orderliness with which religious ceremonies are performed is important. (103)
22. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life. [20] (105)
23. It is important to me that religious services be standardized. (107)
24. If my ideas about religion were different, I believe that my way of life would be very different. (110)
25. The aim of missionaries should be to establish church buildings where religious services and ceremonies can be conducted. (112)
26. I read literature about my faith (or church). [17] (113)
27. If I were to join a church group I would prefer a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship. [18] (115)

28. How much time during the week would you say you spend reading the Bible or other religious literature?
- a. one hour or more.
 - b. one-half hour
 - c. none (116)

Source: Spilka, B., Stout, L., Minton, B., & Sizemore, D. (1977). Death and personal faith: A psychometric investigation. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 16, 169-178.

Appendix J: Exploratory Items

The number in parentheses () indicates where the item appears on the research instrument.

1. My religion guides my interactions with others. (62)
2. My religious practices guide my relationship with God. (81)
3. One thing I value about my religion is feeling connected to other people. (85)
4. One thing I value about my attendance at church is that it allows me to meet others like myself. (92)
5. In practicing my religion, I feel that it is necessary to help others. (98)
6. My connections with others enhance my relationship with God. (104)
7. My religion leads me to consider how my actions affect other people. (108)
8. An important purpose of my religion is to enhance my relationship with the Divine. (114)

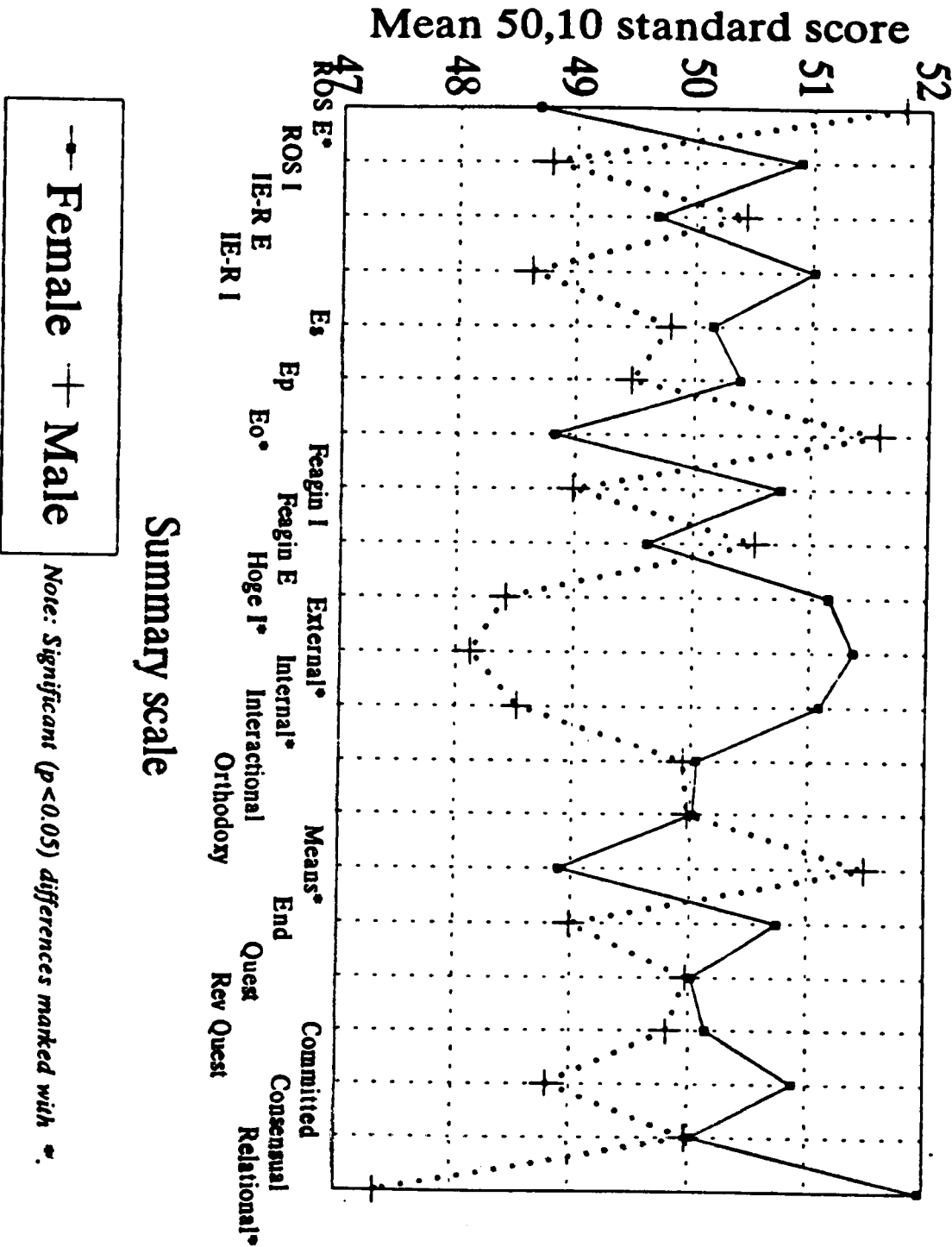


Figure: Summary Ratings for Women and Men

Appendix L: Tables

Table L-1: Subject Characteristics

Subject Group	Women	Men	Total
Undergraduates	90	74	164
Unitarian- Universalists	34	22	56
Methodists	27	18	45
Presbyterian	17	10	27

Subject Group	Age		Education	
	Range	Mean	Range	Mean
Undergraduates	18 - 52	19.95	12 - 18	12.80
Unitarian- Universalists	22 - 85	51.94	12 - 25	17.67
Methodists	31 - 57	43.36	13 - 20	16.73
Presbyterian	35 - 78	64.52	12 - 21	16.63

Table L-2: Religious Affiliation Indicated by Subjects

Reported Affiliation	Subject Group				
	Undergrads	UUs	Meth.	Presb.	Total
Protestants	2	2	-	-	4
Baptist	63	-	-	-	63
Methodist	18	-	43	-	61
Presbyterian	15	-	-	27	42
Episcopalian	8	-	-	-	8
Church of Christ	7	-	-	-	7
Lutheran	4	-	-	-	4
Disciples of Christ	2	-	-	-	2
Church of God	2	-	-	-	2
Nazarene	1	-	-	-	1
Catholic	18	-	-	-	18
Mormon	3	-	-	-	3
UU	1	54	-	-	55
Charismatic	1	-	-	-	1
"Metaphysics"	1	-	-	-	1
Nonaffiliated but religious	18	-	2	-	20

Table L-3: ANOVAs of Gender Differences in the Dependent Measures

Scale	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
ROS I	Women	46.7798	9.7203	3.1980	.0748
	Men	44.6613	10.3813		
	Total	45.8801	10.0437		
IE-R I	Women	46.0536	8.3259	4.1191	.0433*
	Men	43.9032	9.7317		
	Total	45.1404	8.9970		
Feagin I	Women	32.4345	6.8575	2.2296	.1365
	Men	31.2016	7.1294		
	Total	31.9110	6.9889		
Hoge I	Women	51.4524	12.3258	5.4974	.0197*
	Men	47.8790	13.5800		
	Total	49.9349	12.9718		
Committed	Women	76.5476	14.5864	3.1222	.0783
	Men	73.4032	15.6137		
	Total	75.2123	15.0854		
ROS E	Women	37.5060	8.9443	7.0085	.0086*
	Men	40.5161	10.4333		
	Total	38.7842	9.7027		
IE-R E	Women	37.9167	8.5355	.3979	.5287
	Men	38.5726	9.1084		
	Total	38.1952	8.7740		
Feagin E	Women	24.1369	5.7669	.5952	.4410
	Men	24.6855	6.3160		
	Total	24.3699	6.0017		
Es	Women	10.2381	4.1502	.0792	.7786
	Men	10.0887	4.2061		
	Total	10.1747	4.1675		
Ep	Women	13.4345	4.1160	.6100	.4354
	Men	13.0484	4.2558		
	Total	13.2705	4.1731		
Eo	Women	9.2262	4.1982	5.5185	.0195*
	Men	10.4274	4.4779		
	Total	9.7363	4.3525		

Table L-3 (continued)

Scale	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
Consensual	Women	47.8988	14.2789	.0014	.9705
	Men	47.8387	12.8881		
	Total	47.8733	13.8007		
RLI External	Women	30.7857	6.3190	7.7909	.0056*
	Men	28.5968	7.0167		
	Total	29.8562	6.7008		
RLI Internal	Women	48.8333	11.0852	4.7789	.0296*
	Men	45.9839	10.9061		
	Total	47.6233	11.0809		
RLI Inter- actional	Women	25.7619	5.4687	.0095	.9223
	Men	25.7016	4.8489		
	Total	25.7363	5.2060		
RLI Doctrinal Orthodoxy	Women	65.7976	21.9819	.0016	.9682
	Men	65.6935	22.1316		
	Total	65.7534	22.0077		
RLI Means	Women	33.6351	8.9705	4.8884	.0278*
	Men	36.1113	10.0857		
	Total	34.6866	9.5225		
RLI End	Women	57.6589	12.0874	2.2250	.1369
	Men	55.4806	12.6626		
	Total	56.7339	12.3606		
RLI Quest	Women	10.0262	7.3061	.0015	.9689
	Men	9.9927	7.1632		
	Total	10.0120	7.2334		
Revised Quest	Women	39.6667	7.6649	.0792	.7786
	Men	39.4194	7.0815		
	Total	39.5616	7.4113		
Relation- ality	Women	33.0119	5.4322	16.0643	.0001*
	Men	30.3145	6.0100		
	Total	31.8664	5.8297		

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-4: Gender Differences in the Items from the Significantly Different Dependent Measures

Scale Item	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
ROS I /20	Women	5.2976	1.6436	6.9911	.0086*
	Men	4.7742	1.7100		
	Total	5.0753	1.6892		
IE-R I /6	Women	3.8155	0.9327	6.4258	.0118*
	Men	3.5081	1.1369		
	Total	3.6849	1.0338		
IE-R I /11	Women	5.2917	1.6966	4.0967	.0439*
	Men	4.8790	1.7558		
	Total	5.1164	1.7311		
IE-R I /5	Women	5.9048	1.3810	3.5425	.0615
	Men	5.5806	1.5570		
	Total	5.7671	1.4645		
IE-R I /9	Women	5.5000	1.3886	3.6633	.0566
	Men	5.1694	1.5498		
	Total	5.3596	1.4658		
Hoge /1	Women	5.4583	1.6984	4.3594	.0377*
	Men	5.0323	1.7574		
	Total	5.2774	1.7336		
Hoge /8	Women	4.6548	1.9515	4.4798	.0352*
	Men	4.1452	2.1402		
	Total	4.4384	2.0458		
Hoge /9	Women	5.7202	1.4054	17.1407	.0000*
	Men	4.9355	1.8335		
	Total	5.3870	1.6448		
Hoge /10	Women	4.8333	1.9351	4.2539	.0401*
	Men	4.3468	2.0681		
	Total	4.6267	2.0037		
Committed /13	Women	6.0179	1.4035	9.4386	.0023*
	Men	5.4355	1.8357		
	Total	5.7705	1.6242		
Committed /20	Women	5.9048	1.4110	7.6328	.0061*
	Men	5.4194	1.5778		
	Total	5.6986	1.5008		

Table L-4 (continued)

Scale Item	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
Committed /22	Women	5.2976	1.6436	6.9911	.0086*
	Men	4.7742	1.7100		
	Total	5.0753	1.6892		
ROS E /1	Women	3.1667	1.9351	4.5889	.0336*
	Men	3.6694	2.0590		
	Total	3.3801	2.0007		
ROS E /2	Women	3.3452	1.9515	4.4798	.0352*
	Men	3.8548	2.4402		
	Total	3.5616	2.0458		
ROS E /7	Women	2.2917	1.4283	10.5774	.0013*
	Men	2.9032	1.7826		
	Total	2.5514	1.6142		
ROS E /10	Women	3.0893	1.8010	4.6633	.0316*
	Men	3.5565	1.8623		
	Total	3.2877	1.8387		
RLI Internal /11	Women	6.1250	1.5250	11.8144	.0007*
	Men	5.4597	1.7733		
	Total	5.8425	1.6650		
RLI Internal /15	Women	4.8988	2.0782	6.2300	.0131*
	Men	4.2823	2.0975		
	Total	4.6370	2.1051		
RLI Internal /9	Women	5.8571	1.5680	3.5682	.0599
	Men	5.5000	1.6355		
	Total	5.7055	1.6040		
RLI Internal /13	Women	5.9583	1.6208	3.7087	.0691
	Men	5.5645	1.8621		
	Total	5.7911	1.7535		
RLI Internal /14	Women	5.2262	1.9506	3.5255	.0614
	Men	4.7823	2.0583		
	Total	5.0377	2.0056		
RLI Internal /10	Women	5.0238	1.7022	3.3298	.0691
	Men	5.3710	1.4676		
	Total	5.1712	1.6133		

Table L-4 (continued)

Scale Item	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
RLI	Women	5.1667	1.5269	6.3833	.0121*
External	Men	4.7097	1.5290		
/4	Total	5.4555	1.5418		
RLI	Women	5.6786	1.3328	8.6159	.0036*
External	Men	5.1532	1.7252		
/5	Total	5.4555	1.5314		
RLI	Women	5.1845	1.7047	8.5075	.0038*
External	Men	4.5887	1.7531		
/6	Total	4.9315	1.7475		
RLI	Women	5.6310	1.6363	3.5424	.0608
External	Men	5.2661	1.6385		
/1	Total	5.4760	1.6444		

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-5: Gender Differences in the Exploratory Items

Item	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
1 (Others)	Women	5.2738	1.4752	6.9492	.0088*
	Men	4.7093	1.6443		
	Total	5.0685	1.5649		
2 (God)	Women	4.6726	1.8098	0.3030	.5825
	Men	4.5565	1.7452		
	Total	4.6233	1.7805		
3 (Others)	Women	5.2500	1.4174	4.2126	.0461*
	Men	4.9113	1.4427		
	Total	5.1062	1.4365		
4 (Others)	Women	4.8036	1.7312	4.5368	.0340*
	Men	4.3710	1.6939		
	Total	4.6199	1.7259		
5 (Others)	Women	6.2202	1.1129	5.1762	.0236*
	Men	5.9032	1.2586		
	Total	6.0856	1.1853		
6 (Others)	Women	5.4167	1.4982	8.1735	.0020*
	Men	4.8468	1.5980		
	Total	5.1747	1.5643		
7 (Others)	Women	6.0476	1.1675	15.1168	.0001*
	Men	5.4919	1.2591		
	Total	5.8116	1.2361		
8 (God)	Women	5.5893	1.7001	2.0773	.1506
	Men	5.2903	1.8203		
	Total	5.4623	1.7553		

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-6: ANOVAs of Denominational Differences in the Dependent Measures

Scale	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
ROS I	Protestant	48.3214	9.4540	26.8562	.0000*
	UU	41.0000	8.5158		
	Total	46.7171	9.7256		
IE-R I	Protestant	47.8265	7.9814	51.9191	.0000*
	UU	39.0182	8.1183		
	Total	45.8964	8.7894		
Feagin I	Protestant	33.0000	6.6917	3.3135	.0699
	UU	31.1636	6.3121		
	Total	32.5976	6.6418		
Hoge I	Protestant	53.6582	11.6285	51.9376	.0000*
	UU	40.9273	11.3885		
	Total	50.8685	12.7016		
Committed	Protestant	78.2908	14.3270	13.6325	.0003*
	UU	70.3273	13.4179		
	Total	76.5458	14.4875		
ROS E	Protestant	38.1531	10.2855	.0572	.8112
	UU	38.5091	7.5471		
	Total	38.2311	9.7387		
IE-R E	Protestant	37.8214	9.4334	.2608	.6100
	UU	38.5273	7.5495		
	Total	37.9761	9.0447		
Feagin E	Protestant	24.8520	5.8558	8.1457	.0047*
	UU	22.3636	5.1689		
	Total	24.3068	5.7950		
Es	Protestant	9.7347	3.8512	38.2771	.0000*
	UU	13.4000	3.9935		
	Total	10.5378	4.1619		
Ep	Protestant	14.0765	3.8376	5.6768	.0000*
	UU	9.6000	3.6495		
	Total	13.0956	4.2198		
Eo	Protestant	8.7704	4.2515	15.5676	.0001*
	UU	11.2545	3.6373		
	Total	9.3147	4.2446		

Table L-6 (continued)

Scale	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	F Ratio	F Probability
Consensual	Protestant	50.9082	12.6545	64.773	.0000*
	UU	36.3091	8.5654		
	Total	47.7092	13.3179		
RLI External	Protestant	31.8367	5.3765	45.8830	.0000*
	UU	25.9818	6.6010		
	Total	30.5538	6.1521		
RLI Internal	Protestant	51.4031	8.5824	101.6382	.0000*
	UU	37.0000	11.7568		
	Total	48.2470	11.0881		
RLI Inter- actional	Protestant	25.3010	5.2775	11.4333	.0008*
	UU	27.9636	4.7139		
	Total	25.8845	5.2671		
RLI Doctrinal Orthodoxy	Protestant	76.0000	10.2757	819.7842	.0000*
	UU	27.3273	13.8203		
	Total	65.3347	23.0347		
RLI Means	Protestant	34.2245	10.0226	.0004	.9845
	UU	34.2527	7.2875		
	Total	34.2307	9.4776		
RLI End	Protestant	62.2684	8.2021	316.9586	.0000*
	UU	39.3927	9.1664		
	Total	57.2558	12.6697		
RLI Quest	Protestant	7.5709	5.5103	208.0539	.0000*
	UU	19.7018	5.5162		
	Total	10.2291	7.4523		
Revised Quest	Protestant	39.2602	7.7842	2.2450	.1353
	UU	40.9818	6.5305		
	Total	39.6375	7.5488		
Relation- ality	Protestant	32.2398	5.6431	2.1726	.1418
	UU	33.4545	4.4172		
	Total	32.5060	5.4136		

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-7: Factor Analysis of Dependent Measures

Variable	Communality	Factor 1	Factor 2
ROS I	.90427	.94032	
Hoge I	.90062	.92597	
Committed	.88226	.92339	
IE-R I	.84875	.91442	
Feagin I	.77046	.85894	
RLI Internal	.72964	.85402	
Eo	.68787	-.71721	.41651
Relational	.44581	.66753	
RLI Doctrinal Orthodoxy	.33193	.54844	
ROS E	.92988		.91767
RLI Means	.93825		.91287
Feagin E	.79302		.86199
IE-R E	.69193		.77612
Consensual	.51085	.41276	.58351

Factor	Eigen value	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	7.1411	51.0	51.0
2	3.2232	23.0	74.0

Factor Transformation Matrix:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
FACTOR 1	.93658	-.35046
FACTOR 2	.35046	.93658

Table L-8: Correlations between Attending Church and Reading Religious Literature, and the Dependent Measures

		Frequency of Church Attendance	Religious Literature Read
ROS I	r(292) p	.47 < .001*	.49 < .001*
IE-R I	r(292) p	.45 < .001*	.48 < .001*
Feagin I	r(292) p	.48 < .001*	.46 < .001*
Hoge	r(292) p	.41 < .001*	.46 < .001*
Committed	r(292) p	.42 < .001*	.50 < .001*
ROS E	r(292) p	-.28 < .001*	-.38 < .001*
IE-R E	r(292) p	-.17 .003*	-.34 < .001*
Feagin E	r(292) p	-.06 .336	-.17 .003*
Consensual	r(292) p	.09 .112	.04 .455
External -RLI	r(292) p	.35 < .001*	.25 < .001*
Internal -RLI	r(292) p	.33 < .001*	.39 < .001*
Interactional -RLI	r(292) p	-.06 .294	-.09 .126

Table L-8 (continued)

		Frequency of Church Attendance	Religious Literature Read
Doctrinal Orthodoxy	r(292) p	.18 .002*	.23 < .001*
Means	r(292) p	-.28 < .001*	-.40 < .001*
End	r(292) p	.36 < .001*	-.39 < .001*
Quest	r(292) p	-.15 .012*	-.20 .001*
Revised Quest	r(292) p	-.12 .044*	-.13 .025*
Relational	r(292) p	.41 < .001*	.29 < .001*

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-9: Correlations between the Religious Importance Measures and the Dependent Measures

Rated Importance of:		Religion	Group Worship	Personal Worship
ROS I	r(292) p	-.59 < .001*	-.47 < .001*	-.60 < .001*
IE-R I	r(292) p	-.58 < .001*	-.50 < .001*	-.53 < .001*
Feagin I	r(292) p	-.58 < .001*	-.44 < .001*	-.62 < .001*
Hoge	r(292) p	-.61 < .001*	-.48 < .001*	-.54 < .001*
Committed	r(292) p	-.62 < .001*	-.50 < .001*	-.57 < .001*
ROS E	r(292) p	.38 < .001*	.33 < .001*	.34 < .001*
IE-R E	r(292) p	.33 < .001*	.25 < .001*	.26 < .001*
Feagin E	r(292) p	.03 .557	.09 .125	.04 .465
Consensual	r(292) p	-.05 .394	.00 .955	-.10 .082
External -RLI	r(292) p	-.37 < .001*	-.22 < .001*	-.45 < .001*
Internal -RLI	r(292) p	-.54 < .001*	-.39 < .001*	-.44 < .001*
Interactional- RLI	r(292) p	.07 .223	-.02 .723	.06 .310
Doctrinal Orthodoxy	r(292) p	-.27 < .001*	-.26 < .001*	-.10 .097
Means	r(292) p	.39 < .001*	.35 < .001*	.35 < .001*

Table L-9: (continued)

Rated Importance of:		Religion	Group Worship	Personal Worship
End	r(292) p	-.50 < .001*	-.39 < .001*	-.39 < .001*
Quest	r(292) p	.21 < .001*	.15 .013*	.10 .095
Revised Quest	r(292) p	.07 .219	-.01 .845	.14 .016*
Relatio- nality	r(292) p	-.38 < .001*	-.31 < .001*	-.59 < .001*

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-10: Intercorrelations among the Intrinsic and Extrinsic Measures

Extrinsic Measures					
		ROS	IE-R	Feagin	
IE-R	r(292) p	.75 < .001*			
Feagin	r(292) p	.73 < .001*	.53 < .001*		
Committed	r(292) p	.35 < .001*	.17 .003*	.48 < .001*	
Intrinsic Measures					
		ROS	IE-R	Feagin	Hoge
IE-R	r(292) p	.88 < .001*			
Feagin	r(292) p	.94 < .001*	.78 < .001*		
Hoge	r(292) p	.87 < .001*	.85 < .001*	.78 < .001*	
Consensual	r(292) p	.86 < .001*	.88 < .001*	.88 < .001*	.87 < .0001*

Table L-10 (continued)

Extrinsic and Intrinsic Measures

		ROS E	IE-R E	Feagin E	Consensual
ROS I	r(292)	-.38	-.35	.07	.21
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.210	.001*
IE-R I	r(292)	-.38	-.32	.08	.28
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.176	< .001*
Feagin I	r(292)	-.38	-.33	.05	.16
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.405	.006
Hoge	r(292)	-.48	-.42	.05	.24
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.441	< .001*
Committed	r(292)	-.39	-.38	.06	.28
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.333	.001*

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-11: Intercorrelations among the RLI Measures

		Internal	External	Interactional
External	r(292) p	.64 < .001*		
Interactional	r(292) p	-.10 .090	-.05 .412	
Doctrinal Orthodoxy	r(292) p	.64 < .001*	.40 < .001*	-.27 < .001*
		Means	End	
End	r(292) p	-.21 < .001*		
Quest	r(292) p	.13 .027*	-.65 < .001*	
		Means	End	Quest
Internal	r(292) p	-.28 < .001*	.89 < .001*	-.46 < .001*
External	r(292) p	.03 .624	.70 < .001*	-.28 < .001*
Interactional	r(292) p	.14 .018*	-.18 .002*	.81 < .001*
Doctrinal Orthodoxy	r(292) p	.87 < .001*	.87 < .001*	-.78 < .001*

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-12: Correlations between the Intrinsic-Extrinsic Scales and the RLI Scales

I/E		RLI Scale		
		Internal	External	Interactional
ROS I	r(292)	.73	.61	-.01
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.900
IE-R I	r(292)	.76	.60	.11
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.062
Feagin I	r(292)	.61	.54	.04
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.462
Hoge	r(292)	.80	.59	-.09
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.126
Committed	r(292)	.73	.60	.04
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.542
ROS E	r(292)	-.28	-.06	.16
	p	< .001*	.312	.006*
IE-R E	r(292)	-.22	-.06	.12
	p	< .001*	.392	.038*
Feagin E	r(292)	.16	.26	.08
	p	.005*	< .001*	.159
Consensual	r(292)	.36	.41	-.12
	p	< .001*	< .001*	.040*

Table L-12 (continued)

I/E		RLI Scale			
		Doctrinal Orthodoxy	Means	End	Quest
ROS J	r(292) p	.40 < .001*	-.43 < .001*	.75 < .001*	-.25 < .001*
IE-R I	r(292) p	.52 < .001*	-.40 < .001*	.79 < .001*	-.39 < .001*
Feagin I	r(292) p	.19 .001*	-.43 < .001*	.58 < .001*	-.09 .128
Hoge	r(292) p	.53 < .001*	-.50 < .001*	.80 < .001*	-.38 < .001*
Committed	r(292) p	.35 < .001*	-.43 < .001*	.71 < .001*	-.19 .001*
ROS E	r(292) p	-.07 .208	.98 < .001*	-.27 < .001*	.15 .011
IE-R E	r(292) p	-.07 .209	.75 < .001*	-.19 .001*	.12 .035
Feagin E	r(292) p	.18 .002*	.71 < .001*	.20 .001*	-.06 .334
Consensual	r(292) p	.42 < .001*	.35 < .001*	.45 < .001*	-.34 < .001*

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-13: Correlations between Relationality and the Other Dependent Measures

Dependent Measures					
	ROS I	IE-R I	Feagin I	Hoge	Committed
r(292)	.65	.55	.71	.57	.68
p	< .001*	< .001*	< .001*	< .001*	< .001*
	ROS E	IE-R E	Feagin E	Consensual	
r(292)	-.15	-.11	.18	.14	
p	.009*	.065	.002*	.015	
	Eo	Ep	Es		
r(292)	-.41	-.004	.27		
p	< .001*	.940	< .000*		
	Internal	External	Interactional	Doctrinal Orthodoxy	
r(292)	.43	.54	.15	-.02	
p	< .001*	< .001*	.001*	.765	
	Means	End	Quest		
r(292)	-.16	.11	.35		
p	.005*	< .067	< .001*		

* - significant at $p < .05$

Table L-14: Reliability of the Relationality Scale

Reliability Statistics

Item-Total Statistics:

Item Number	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
1	.4866	.3129	.7088
3	.5568	.4103	.6890
4	.4492	.3658	.7238
5	.3699	.2688	.7372
6	.4954	.2634	.7061
7	.5779	.4295	.6892

Alpha = .7456

Standardized Item Alpha = .7516

Item Means:

Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Variance
5.3111	4.6199	6.0856	1.4658	.2895

Inter-Item Correlations:

Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Variance
.3352	.1050	.5808	.4759	.0153

VITA

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