Part III

Religion and values in inter-agency work
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Religion and values
A review of empirical research

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Introduction
Empirical research concerned with the relationship between religion and values demonstrates the ability of both religion and values to shape attitudes, behaviours and perceptions of the world. The aim of this chapter is to draw together empirical research which examines how the association between religion and values impacts on the lives of individuals. The first and second parts of this chapter consider how the constructs of values and religion have been conceptualised and assessed. The third part of this chapter focuses on empirical studies that demonstrate the relationship between self-assigned religious affiliation and values, and self-reported church attendance and values. These studies examine the differences in values profiles associated with a number of Christian denominations and a range of faith groups. Collectively, the findings of this study demonstrate that self-assigned religious affiliation and self-reported church attendance function as socially significant indicators of individual differences in values. This adds weight to the argument that indicators of religiosity must be considered independently if future research concerning religion and values is to be as accurate as possible.

Religion and values
In recent decades, there has been renewed appreciation of the persisting influence of religion in shaping personal and social identity and in influencing cultural diversity. This appreciation has been matched by an increasing body of research in the psychology of religion which demonstrates the influence of religion in shaping attitudes, values and behaviours (see Hood et al., 2009). Values have been regarded as guiding principles in life that contribute to personal identity (Allport, 1961), and influence our behaviour and evaluations of the world (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Given the central position religion and values occupy in the personal and social lives of many individuals, there is merit in research that examines the relationship between the two constructs.

The question concerning the relationship between religion and values is, however, rendered complex by trying to pin down precisely what is meant by religion and precisely what is meant by values. While there is widespread acceptance of the important role values play in shaping attitudes and behaviours (Rohan, 2000; Braithwaite and Scott, 1991), there is considerably less
agreement about how values should be conceptualised and assessed. Definitional inconsistency in the field and a lack of consensus concerning the operationalising of the construct have meant that empirical studies of values have failed to link together or yield a domain of cumulative knowledge (Rohan, 2000). Similarly, the integration of research in religion has been hampered by a lack of agreement on how to define and assess religiosity. Over the years a wide range of instruments have been developed to measure different aspects of religiosity (see Cutting and Walsh, 2008). The problem is that it is difficult to synthesise findings from empirical studies that have operationalised religiosity in different ways.

Against this background, the first and second parts of this chapter consider how the constructs of values and religion have been defined and assessed within their respective fields. The third part of this chapter focuses on empirical studies that demonstrate the power of self-assigned religious affiliation and self-reported church attendance to predict individual differences in values.

**What are ‘values’?**

Definition of values can be derived conceptually or empirically. Early developments of value theory and research focused on determining individual differences in the organisation of some universally relevant set of human features (Rohan, 2000), where values were accepted as general rather than specific ends (Braithwaite and Scott, 1991). This led to the development of a range of values models intended to assess the place and importance of values within the general worldview of the individual. Values models comprise a number of different value-domains that differ according to the value model employed.

According to Rokeach’s (1973) model, values may, conceptually, be defined as beliefs concerned with either desirable modes of conduct (instrumental values) or desirable end states of existence (terminal values). This concept of values is assessed empirically by the Rokeach Values Survey, which identifies 36 value-domains, 18 of which represent instrumental values and 18 of which represent terminal values. Values represented in the terminal domain are: comfort, excitement, accomplishment, peace, beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, and wisdom. Values represented in the instrumental domain are: ambitious, broad-minded, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, polite, responsible and self-controlled. The Rokeach Values Survey asks participants to place items representing each value in rank order of relative importance as guiding principles in their lives, where 1 represents the most important and 18 represents the least important.

More recently, Schwartz’s (1992) model defines values as desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance and serving as guiding principles in people’s lives. Within this model what allows the individual to distinguish among values is the type of motivational goal they express (Schwartz, 1992). This concept of values is assessed empirically by the Schwartz Values Survey, which assesses 10 distinct motivational goals, expressed as 10 universal types of values: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security. The Schwartz Values Survey asks participants to rate each value as ‘a guiding principle in my life’ on a nine-point scale where responses range from ‘supreme importance’ (7), to ‘not important’ (0) and ‘opposed to my values’ (–1).

According to Francis’ (2001a) model, values are conceptualised within 15 value-domains defined as: personal wellbeing, worries, counselling, school, work, religious beliefs, church and society, the supernatural, politics, social concerns, sexual morality, substance use, right and wrong,
leisure, and my area. Each value-domain is assessed empirically by the Teenage Religion and Values Survey through a number of attitudinal statements, rated on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from ‘agree strongly’ (5) through ‘not certain’ (3) to ‘disagree strongly’ (1). Each of these three models has been used to explore the relation between religion and values.

What is ‘religion’?

Definition of religion can be derived conceptually or empirically. The social scientific study of religion has long recognised that religiosity itself is a multidimensional concept and that specific aspects of this concept need to be operationalised separately, since different socio-psychological correlates may be associated with different aspects of religiosity (Francis, 2001b). Attempts to map the dimensionality of religiosity have resulted in a number of conflicting models and the development of a wide range of instruments, as clearly evidenced by Hill and Hood’s (1999) and Cutting and Walsh’s (2008) thorough review and critique. One powerful model well established in the social sciences discusses the dimensions of self-assigned religious affiliation, religious belief, religious practice, attitude toward religion and religious orientation.

Self-assigned religious affiliation is recognised as a measure of belonging and self-identification with a religious tradition (Francis, 2009). For social scientists, self-assigned religious affiliation is conceptualised as an aspect of individual identity, and is collected, in questionnaire-based surveys, alongside other key social indicators such as sex, age and ethnicity.

Religious belief represents the cognitive component of religion. Within the social scientific study of religion, the question of how adequately to define and measure religious belief remains conceptually complex (Francis, 1984a). Measures of religious belief, for example, need to be capable of adequately distinguishing not only between the absence and presence of belief (including agnosticism and atheism) but between different content (including conservative and liberal) and different styles (say inclusive, exclusive, or dogmatic).

Religious practice represents the behavioural component of religion. It is important to distinguish between differences in public religious practice (e.g. religious attendance) and private religious practice (e.g. prayer) as different behaviours may be tapping somewhat different psychological constructs. Within the social scientific study of religion, religious attendance and personal prayer are typically assessed empirically according to self-reported frequency.

Attitude toward religion represents the affective component of religion. It is primarily concerned with how an individual feels toward religion in terms of positivity or negativity. Within the social sciences, attitudes are typically assessed empirically on sophisticated attitude scales.

Religious orientation represents the motivational component of religion. Originally Allport and Ross (1967) distinguished between extrinsic (E) and intrinsic (I) religious orientations: extrinsics were characterised as those for whom religion is a means for attaining self-serving ends, and intrinsics were characterised as those who internalise their religious beliefs to the extent that other considerations are subsumed in their faith. Subsequently, Batson and Ventis (1982) argued for the addition of a third orientation, quest (Q). Quest is included alongside the extrinsic and intrinsic orientations in the Religious Life Inventory proposed by Batson (1976) and modified by Batson and Schoenrade (1981a, 1981b). These constructs were re-operationalised in the New Indices of Religious Orientation by Francis (2007).

The dimensions of religion most extensively employed in empirical research exploring the relationship between religion and values are self-assigned religious affiliation and self-reported religious attendance.
Linking values and religion

This chapter will now examine findings from studies that have explored the relationship between self-assigned religious affiliation or self-reported church attendance and three key value-domains operationalised in the Teenage Religion and Values Survey: personal wellbeing, sexual morality, and right and wrong. Within this model of research personal wellbeing is assessed by items that examine the individual’s sense of purpose in life, worth as a person, and susceptibility to depression and to suicidal ideation. These are areas of relevance to research in religion and values since purpose in life is central to the meaning-making process and religion is often considered central to shaping goals and purpose (Francis and Evans, 1996). Sexual morality is assessed by items that examine the individual’s attitude towards sexual intercourse outside marriage, sexual intercourse under the legal age, homosexuality, contraception, abortion, and divorce. These are areas of relevance to research in religion and values since sexuality is fundamental to adolescent development (Rosenthal and Moore, 1993), and religion and sexuality are closely interrelated areas of human experience (Thatcher, 1993). Right and wrong is assessed by items that examine the individual’s attitude towards law and order, such as, shoplifting, travelling without a ticket, and buying alcohol or cigarettes under the legal age. These are areas of relevance to research in religion and values since, in one sense, religion may be considered to promote civil order. In another sense, religion may contribute to the definition of minority status and alienation from the law (Cashmore, 1979). The relationship between self-assigned religious affiliation and the three value-domains will be explored in relation to three areas of research: denominational affiliation among young churchgoers; denominational affiliation among young people in general; and faith-group affiliates among young people. The relationship with self-reported religious attendance will be explored in relation to research conducted among general populations of young people.

Religious affiliation and values

Religious affiliation is both the most readily available and least understood indicator of religiosity within the social scientific literature. It is readily available because religious affiliation is regarded as an aspect of personal and social identity (like sex, age and ethnicity), properly included within public enquiries such as the national census. In this sense, ‘religious affiliation’ is regarded as belonging to the public and social domain, in marked contrast to ‘religious beliefs’ and ‘religious practices’, which are generally regarded as belonging to the private and personal domain. It is poorly understood because both conceptually and empirically religious affiliation seems to function quite differently from the ways in which other indicators of religiosity (such as beliefs and practices) function. As a consequence, religious affiliation acts as a relatively poor predictor of other religious indicators.

An important and powerful attempt to rehabilitate self-assigned religious affiliation as a theoretically coherent and socially significant indicator has been advanced by Fane (1999), drawing on Bouma’s (1992) sociological theory of religious identification, according to which religious affiliation is defined as a ‘useful social category giving some indication of the cultural background and general orientating values of a person’. Bouma (1992) then posits a process through which cultural background and general orientating values are acquired and which consists of meaning systems and plausibility structures. He describes meaning systems as ‘a set or collection of answers to questions about the meaning and purpose of life’, and plausibility structures (borrowed from Berger, 1971) as ‘social arrangements which serve to inculcate, celebrate, perpetuate and apply a meaning system’ (Bouma, 1992). He maintains that people possess meaning systems from which
they derive their existential purpose. Although self-assigned religious identity might also imply commitment to a plausibility structure (practice) and adherence to its relating meaning system (belief), Bouma (1992) suggests that it might be equally, perhaps more, significant in terms of the exposure to the particular cultural background that it represents. Crucially, this alternative conceptualisation avoids the difficult terrain of religious affiliation as proxy for practice and belief by recognising that even non-churchgoers and non-believers ‘may still show the effect of the meaning system and plausibility structure with which they identify’ (Bouma, 1992).

Alongside Bouma’s (1992) theory of religious identification, Fane also draws on Bibby’s (1985) theory of ‘encasement’ developed from his empirical surveys in Canada. Bibby argues that Canadian Christians are ‘encased’ within the Christian tradition. In other words, this tradition has a strong influential hold over both its active and latent members from which affiliates find it extremely difficult to extricate themselves. Contrary to claims of secularisation theorists that low levels of church attendance are indicative of the erosion of religion’s social significance, Bibby argued that this trend is actually a manifestation of the re-packaging of religion in the context of late twentieth-century consumer-orientated society. Consumers are free to select ‘fragments’ of faith, and they are encouraged to do this by the way in which the churches have simulated the marketing strategies of the wider society. The central point made by Bibby’s analysis is that the potential for religion (in this case Christianity) to be a socially significant attitudinal and behavioural determinant has not disappeared. If anything, the Christian ‘casing’ may have been strengthened, because the ‘accommodationist’ stance adopted by the Churches has, according to Bibby, reduced the need for affiliates to look elsewhere.

Denominational affiliation among churchgoers

A key study examining the association between denominational affiliation and values among churchgoers was reported by Francis (1984b). This empirical survey of 1,328 young churchgoers aged between 13 and 20 compared the values profile associated with three different Christian groups: Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Free Churches. Distinctions between the three groups demonstrated significantly different outlooks with regard to the three value-domains of personal wellbeing, sexual morality, and right and wrong.

In the value-domain of personal wellbeing, Francis (1984b) found that Roman Catholics enjoyed lower levels of personal wellbeing than Anglicans and affiliates of the Free Churches. Thus, 82 per cent of 16- to 20-year-old Roman Catholics agreed that they found life really worth living, compared with 88 per cent of Anglicans, and 90 per cent of Free Church affiliates. Similarly, 69 per cent of Roman Catholics felt their lives had a sense of purpose, compared with 77 per cent of Anglicans, and 77 per cent of Free Church affiliates. Roman Catholics were also more likely to say they often felt depressed (34 per cent) than Anglicans (30 per cent) or Free Church affiliates (30 per cent). Roman Catholics were also slightly more likely to report suicidal thoughts (18 per cent) than Anglicans (14 per cent) or Free Church affiliates (14 per cent).

In the value-domain of sexual morality, Francis (1984b) found that Roman Catholics had stricter views on abortion than Anglicans and affiliates of the Free Churches. Three quarters (74 per cent) of Roman Catholics agreed that abortion was wrong, compared with 40 per cent of Anglicans, and 49 per cent of affiliates of the Free Churches.

In the value-domain of right and wrong, Francis (1984b) found that affiliates of the Free Churches had a stricter moral outlook than Roman Catholics and Anglicans. Free Church affiliates were most likely to agree that parking laws should be obeyed (65 per cent), compared with 53 per cent of Roman Catholics, and 60 per cent of Anglicans. Similarly, 87 per cent of
members of the Free Churches condemned travelling without a ticket, compared with 74 per cent of Anglicans, and 73 per cent of Roman Catholics. Affiliates of the Free Churches were also least likely to condone selling cigarettes to children under the legal age (2 per cent), compared with 15 per cent of Roman Catholics, and 9 per cent of Anglicans.

Denominational affiliation among general populations

The association between denominational affiliation and values among general populations has been explored in a number of studies by Francis and colleagues (Francis and Kay, 1995; Francis, 2001b, 2001c, 2008). In the first of these studies, based on a sample of over 13,000 young people aged between 13 and 15 attending schools across England and Wales, Francis and Kay (1995) distinguished between three Christian denominations: Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Free Churches.

In the value-domain of personal wellbeing, Francis and Kay (1995) found that affiliates of Free Churches were more likely to feel that their life has a sense of purpose (73 per cent), compared with 67 per cent of Roman Catholics, and 67 per cent of Anglicans. Affiliates of Free Churches were also more likely to find life worth living (75 per cent) than Roman Catholics (73 per cent), or Anglicans (71 per cent). Roman Catholics were more likely to feel depressed (59 per cent) than Anglicans (54 per cent), and Free Church affiliates (52 per cent). Yet, it is Anglicans who were most likely to consider taking their own life (25 per cent), compared with 20 per cent of Roman Catholics, and 20 per cent of Free Church affiliates.

In the value-domain of sexual morality, the findings confirmed the continued influence of clear emphases within denominational teaching. Thus, Roman Catholics were more likely to agree that abortion is wrong (66 per cent), compared with 38 per cent of Anglicans, and 47 per cent of Free Church affiliates; and more likely to agree that divorce is wrong (30 per cent), compared with 24 per cent of Anglicans, and 27 per cent of Free Church affiliates. However, teenage Roman Catholic views on contraception were similar to their contemporaries from other traditions. Only 5 per cent of Roman Catholics agreed contraception is wrong, along with 4 per cent of Anglicans, and 8 per cent of Free Church affiliates. On the majority of other issues relating to sexual morality, Free Church affiliates were found to be more conservative than Roman Catholics and Anglicans. For example, 30 per cent of Free Church affiliates agreed that sexual intercourse before marriage is wrong, compared with 22 per cent of Anglicans, and 22 per cent of Roman Catholics; and 38 per cent of Free Church affiliates agreed that homosexuality is wrong, compared with 30 per cent of Anglicans, and 35 per cent of Roman Catholics.

In the value-domain of right and wrong, Francis and Kay (1995) found that Roman Catholics were more likely to condone illegal behaviour than Anglicans and Free Church affiliates. Thus, whereas 2 per cent of Anglicans and Free Church affiliates think that shoplifting is wrong, 3 per cent of Roman Catholics do so; whereas 8 per cent of Anglican and 9 per cent of Free Church affiliates think that there is nothing wrong with travelling without a ticket, the figure for Roman Catholics is 13 per cent; and whereas 24 per cent of Anglicans and 22 per cent of Free Church affiliates think there is nothing wrong with buying alcohol under the legal age, 32 per cent of Roman Catholics take this view.

The second major study designed to enable empirical examination of the relationship between denominational affiliation and values, the Teenage Religion and Values Survey (see Francis, 2001c), run throughout the 1990s, provided a reliable and representative sample of nearly 34,000 young people aged between 13 and 15 attending schools throughout England and Wales.
Francis (2001b) drew on 29,124 respondents from the dataset to profile the differences in values associated with four different Christian groups: Anglican, Catholics, Protestants, and affiliates of sects. In the value-domain of personal wellbeing, the findings suggest that young people affiliated with sectarian groups record a significantly higher sense of purpose in life (76 per cent) than young Anglicans (59 per cent), Protestants (63 per cent), and Catholics (65 per cent). The findings also suggest that young people affiliated with sectarian groups have a much more conservative outlook on matters concerned with sexual morality. Thus, 57 per cent of young people affiliated with sectarian groups agreed that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse before marriage, compared with 13 per cent of Anglicans, 15 per cent of Catholics, and 19 per cent of Protestants; they were more likely to agree that homosexuality is wrong (71 per cent), compared with 34 per cent of Anglicans, 34 per cent of Protestants, and 37 per cent of Catholics; they were more inclined to believe that divorce is wrong (47 per cent), compared with 18 per cent of Anglicans, 23 per cent of Catholics, and 23 per cent of Protestants; and they were also more likely to agree that abortion is wrong (65 per cent), compared with 31 per cent of Anglicans, 38 per cent of Protestants, and 50 of Catholics. These findings were supported by further analyses of the dataset reported by Francis (2001c).

In a second paper pursuing this theme, Francis (2008) took an in-depth view of the association between denominational affiliation and values by extending the analysis to include a larger range of Christian groups. Francis’ (2008) study drew a sample of 16,581 female pupils (in order to avoid contamination from sex differences) from the dataset to compare the values profile associated with non-affiliated pupils with that of pupils affiliated with seven Christian denominational groups: Anglicans, Baptists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Methodists, Pentecostals, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics.

In the value domain of personal wellbeing, Pentecostals and Jehovah’s Witnesses recorded higher purpose-in-life scores than the other denominational groups. While 75 per cent of Pentecostals and 73 per cent of Jehovah’s Witnesses agreed that their life had a sense of purpose, these proportions decreased among Baptists (65 per cent), Methodists (64 per cent), Roman Catholics (63 per cent), Presbyterians (59 per cent), Anglicans (58 per cent), and non-affiliates (50 per cent). In terms of negative wellbeing, affiliation with a Christian denomination (any denomination) is significantly associated with a lower level of suicidal ideation compared to non-affiliates. While 32 per cent of non-affiliates have considered taking their own life, these proportions decreased among Roman Catholics (29 per cent), Anglicans (28 per cent), Baptists (28 per cent), Pentecostals (28 per cent), Methodists (27 per cent), Jehovah’s Witnesses (24 per cent), and Presbyterians (17 per cent).

In the value domain of sexual morality, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Methodists took a slightly more conservative line on their approach to sexual intercourse than young people with no religious affiliation. Thus, while 9 per cent of non-affiliated pupils believed that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage, these proportions rose to 12 per cent among Anglicans, 12 per cent among Presbyterians, 14 per cent among Roman Catholics, 16 per cent among Methodists, and 23 per cent among Baptists. These figures increased further to 54 per cent among Pentecostals, and 70 per cent among Jehovah’s Witnesses. This pattern is repeated with regard to views concerning homosexuality. The view that homosexuality is wrong was taken by 20 per cent of non-affiliates, 18 per cent of Presbyterians, 19 per cent of Anglicans, 20 per cent of Roman Catholics, 21 per cent of Methodists, and 27 per cent among Baptists. These proportions rose to 59 per cent among Pentecostals, and 81 per cent among Jehovah’s Witnesses. However, a different pattern was observed with regard to attitudes toward abortion. The view that abortion is wrong was taken by 38 per cent of non-affiliates, 34 per cent of Anglicans, 36 per cent of Presbyterians, and 37 per cent of Methodists.
These proportions rose to 45 per cent among Baptists, 53 per cent among Roman Catholics, 68 per cent among Pentecostals, and 82 per cent among Jehovah’s Witnesses.

The studies reported by Francis (2001b, 2001c, 2008) focused on the power of self-assigned religious affiliation within Christian denominations to predict young people’s values, without taking into account the extent to which they shared Christian beliefs. A key question concerns those individuals who claim religious affiliation but who do not share religious beliefs. This group of young people may be characterised as ‘belonging without believing’. The social significance of belonging without believing was explored by Francis and Robbins (2004), in a fourth study, selecting from the Teenage Religion and Values Survey dataset only males who reported that they did not believe in God. From this subgroup they then compared the responses of those who were affiliated with no religious group (6,647) and those who described themselves as affiliated with the Anglican Church (2,168).

In the value domain of sexual morality, the findings demonstrate little association among unbelievers between Anglican identity and sexual morality. Roughly the same proportions of non-affiliates and young male Anglicans agreed that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage (10 per cent and 9 per cent), that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (14 per cent and 13 per cent), and that homosexuality is wrong (51 per cent and 49 per cent).

In the value domain of right and wrong, the findings demonstrate that among unbelievers Anglicans hold a significantly more positive attitude towards the law. Thus, young male Anglicans are slightly less inclined than non-affiliates to take the view that there is nothing wrong in shoplifting (8 per cent compared with 12 per cent), that there is nothing wrong in travelling without a ticket (26 per cent compared with 29 per cent), and that there is nothing wrong with buying cigarettes under the legal age (27 per cent compared with 33 per cent).

### Faith-group affiliation

The association between faith-group affiliation and values has been explored by Francis (2001b). Drawing on the Teenage Religion and Values Survey dataset, Francis (2001b) compared the responses of the young people who self-identified as Christians (13,676), Muslims (349), Sikhs (125), Hindus (125), and Jews (71), alongside those who owned no religious affiliation (13,360). Distinctions between the faith groups demonstrated significantly different outlooks with regard to the value-domains of personal wellbeing and sexual morality.

In the value-domain of personal wellbeing, a clear association was found between faith-group affiliation and purpose in life, although levels of purpose in life varied from one faith-group to another. While 50 per cent of young people who belonged to no faith-group reported that life had a sense of purpose, the proportions rose to 51 per cent among Sikhs, 61 per cent among Christians, 62 per cent among Hindus, 64 per cent among Jews, and 68 per cent among Muslims.

In the value-domain of sexual morality, a clear association was found between faith-group affiliation and the issue of sexual intercourse before marriage. While 11 per cent of young people who belonged to no faith-group agreed that sexual intercourse before marriage is wrong, the proportions rose to 15 per cent among Christians, 23 per cent among Jews, 27 per cent among Sikhs, 29 per cent among Hindus, and 49 per cent among Muslims. A similar pattern emerged with regard to the issue of divorce. While 17 per cent of young people who belonged to no faith-group agreed that divorce is wrong, the proportions rose to 20 per cent among Christians, 20 per cent among Hindus, 21 per cent among Jews, 28 per cent among Sikhs, and 42 per cent among Muslims. However, on issues regarding abortion and homosexuality young Jews and young Hindus were found to have more liberal attitudes than those of no religion and the other
faith groups. While 27 per cent of Jews and 31 per cent of Hindus agreed that abortion is wrong, the proportions rose to 33 per cent among young people who belonged to no faith-group, 38 per cent among Christians, 40 per cent among Sikhs, and 58 per cent among Muslims.

Self-reported religious attendance and values

Francis and Kay’s (1995) study among 13,000 13- to 15-year-old young people demonstrated the significant impact church attendance has on personal wellbeing, attitudes toward sexual morality, and attitudes toward right and wrong.

In the value domain of personal wellbeing, the findings suggest that those who attend church weekly have a greater sense of personal wellbeing than those who never attend. While 49 per cent of those who never attend church agreed that their life had a sense of purpose, proportions rose to 60 per cent among those who attend church sometimes, and 68 per cent among those who attend church weekly. Similarly, while 14 per cent of those who never attend church and attend church sometimes are likely to feel they are not much worth as a person, proportions decreased to 11 per cent among those who attend church weekly. Those who never attend church were also more likely to have thoughts of suicidal ideation. While, 28 per cent of those who never attend church were found to have considered taking their life, proportions decreased among those who attend church sometimes (26 per cent), and those who attend church weekly (23 per cent).

The findings also suggested that weekly churchgoers were more likely to have conservative attitudes toward sexual morality. While 10 per cent of those who never attend church agreed that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage, proportions rose to 13 per cent among those who attend church sometimes, and 25 per cent among those who attend church weekly. Again, while 19 per cent of those who never attend church agreed that divorce is wrong, proportions rose to 20 per cent among those who attend church sometimes, and 27 per cent among those who attend church weekly. However, those who attend church sometimes were found to have more liberal attitudes toward homosexuality. Thus, while 43 per cent of those who never attend church and 37 per cent of those who attend church weekly agreed that homosexuality is wrong, this proportion fell to 35 per cent among those who attend church sometimes.

In the value domain of right and wrong, the findings suggested that those who attended church weekly were more inclined to keep the law than those who do not attend church. While 9 per cent of those who never attend church agreed that there is nothing wrong in shoplifting, proportions decreased to 5 per cent among those who attend church sometimes, and 3 per cent among those who attend church weekly. Similarly, while 31 per cent of those who never attend church agreed that there is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age, the proportions fell to 23 per cent among those who attend church sometimes, and 16 per cent among those who attend church weekly. A similar pattern emerged with regard to alcohol. While 44 per cent of those who never attend church agreed that there is nothing wrong in buying alcohol under the legal age, the proportions fell to 35 per cent among those who attend church sometimes, and 27 per cent among those who attend church weekly.

Francis (2001a) drew on the entire sample included within the Teenage Religion and Values Survey dataset to examine the impact of church attendance on young people’s values. The analyses excluded all those who identified with a non-Christian group and distinguished between three categories of church attendance according to frequency: never, sometimes, and weekly. This reduced the dataset to 32,743 cases. Clear and consistent relationships were found between frequency of church attendance and the three value-domains of personal wellbeing, sexual morality, and right and wrong.
In terms of personal wellbeing, the findings suggest that weekly churchgoers were much more likely to feel that their lives had a sense of purpose (70 per cent) than those who attend church sometimes (59 per cent), and those who never attend (49 per cent). Weekly churchgoers were also more likely to say that they find life really worth living (73 per cent), compared to those who attend church sometimes (70 per cent), and those who never attend (68 per cent). There was little variation in the levels of depression between weekly churchgoers (50 per cent), those who attend church sometimes (54 per cent), and those who never attend (52 per cent). However, such feelings of depression were less likely to translate into suicidal ideation among weekly churchgoers (23 per cent) than among those who attend church sometimes (26 per cent), and those who never attend (28 per cent).

In terms of right and wrong, the findings suggest those who never attend church were more likely to condone shoplifting (10 per cent) than those who sometimes attend church (5 per cent), and those who attend church weekly (4 per cent). Those who never attend church were also more likely to think that there is nothing wrong in travelling without a ticket (25 per cent) than those who sometimes attend church (17 per cent), and those who attend church weekly (13 per cent); and they were also more likely to find nothing wrong in buying alcohol under the legal age (47 per cent), than those who attend church sometimes (40 per cent), and those who attend church weekly (31 per cent).

In terms of sexual morality, the findings suggest that churchgoers hold more conservative views on heterosexual morality than those who never attend church. Weekly churchgoers were more likely to agree that sexual intercourse before marriage is wrong (28 per cent) than those who attend church sometimes (12 per cent), and those who never attend church (10 per cent); weekly churchgoers were more likely to agree that divorce is wrong (29 per cent) than those who attend church sometimes (17 per cent), and those who never attend church (17 per cent). Weekly churchgoers were also more likely to agree that abortion is wrong (47 per cent), compared with 33 per cent of those who sometimes attend church, and 34 per cent of those who never attend church.

Robbins (2000) used data from the Teenage Religion and Values Survey to investigate the impact of previous churchgoing on the worldview of adolescent church-leavers. The study examined differences in the attitudinal profile of four groups across a number of value-domains: attenders, those who attended church at least once a month; partial leavers, those who used to attend regularly but now only attend once or twice a year; total leavers, those who never go to church but used to attend regularly; and non-attenders, those who never go to church nor have ever attended church. Robbins’s findings suggest significant differences in attitudes toward personal wellbeing, sexual morality, and right and wrong. This was particularly evident in the observed differences between young church-leavers and those who have had no contact with churches (ibid.).

In the value domain of personal wellbeing, a strong relationship was found to exist between church attendance and sense of purpose in life. Young churchgoers were more likely to agree that their lives have a sense of purpose (69 per cent) than partial leavers (60 per cent), total leavers (51 per cent), and non-attenders (48 per cent). Young churchgoers were also more likely to find life worth living (73 per cent) than partial leavers (69 per cent), non-attenders (69 per cent), and total leavers (66 per cent). Total leavers were most likely to have considered taking their own life (31 per cent), compared with 27 per cent of both non-attenders and partial leavers, and 23 per cent of attenders.

In the value domain of sexual morality, the findings suggest that church attenders hold a more conservative morality on matters of sexual ethics in comparison with young people.
who have never attended church. Young churchgoers were more likely to agree that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse outside marriage (25 per cent) than partial leavers (11 per cent), total leavers (11 per cent), and non-attenders (9 per cent). Young churchgoers were also more likely to agree that it is wrong to have sexual intercourse under the legal age (37 per cent) than partial leavers (24 per cent), total leavers (20 per cent), and non-attenders (17 per cent). Similarly, young churchgoers were more inclined to believe that abortion is wrong (44 per cent) than total leavers (37 per cent), partial leavers (35 per cent), and non-attenders (32 per cent).

In the value domain of right and wrong, the findings demonstrated that young people who have never attended church have a more cavalier attitude to breaking the law than young people who are current church attenders (Robbins, 2000). Non-attenders were more likely to condone shoplifting (10 per cent) than total leavers (9 per cent), partial leavers (5 per cent), and attenders (4 per cent). Non-attenders were more likely to condone travelling without a ticket (26 per cent) than total leavers (24 per cent), partial leavers (17 per cent), and attenders (13 per cent). Non-attenders were more likely to find nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (48 per cent) than total leavers (46 per cent), partial leavers (40 per cent), and attenders (32 per cent).

**Conclusion**

This study set out to draw together and assess empirical research concerned with mapping the association between religion and values. Particular attention has been given to the research tradition in empirical theology developed by Francis and colleagues. A close look at key studies developed by this tradition among young people reveals three key findings with regard to the relationship between religion and values (assessed by the value-domains of personal wellbeing, sexual morality, and right and wrong).

First, the studies discussed in this chapter demonstrate that self-assigned religious affiliation is a socially significant predictor of individual differences in values. These differences are evident between Christian denominations as well as between faith groups. Self-assigned religious affiliation has significant power to predict the values held by young people, with or without additional information about their religious beliefs and their religious practices. In light of these findings, research within the social sciences would be wise to include self-assigned religious affiliation as a routinely collected demographic variable, with distinctions being made not only between faith groups but also between Christian denominations.

Second, the studies discussed by this chapter demonstrate the power of church attendance to predict individual differences in young people’s values. Collectively, the findings suggest that those who attend church on a frequent basis exhibit higher levels of personal wellbeing, less tolerance for liberal views concerning sexual morality, and a higher concern for obeying the law than those who do not attend church. Moreover, church attendance at an early age continues to influence the values of young church-leavers into adolescence. Future research would be wise to collect information about the frequency of church attendance.

Third, this chapter has considered two indicators of religiosity and their association with a select number of value-domains. The observed differences demonstrated between self-assigned religious affiliation and values, and church attendance and values, give weight to the argument that indicators of religiosity must be considered independently if research concerning the relationship between religion and values is to be as accurate as possible. Future research would be wise to take into account as well other dimensions of religion (belief, attitude, practice in terms of prayer, orientation) and their association with a different or similar set of value-domains.
References