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Author(s): Stephen G. Wieting
Source: Sociological Analysis, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 1975), pp. 137-149
Published by: Oxford University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3710476
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An Examination of Intergenerational Patterns of Religious Belief and Practice*

Stephen G. Wieting

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The paper presents data documenting adolescent-parent intergenerational patterns of belief and practice for a range of religious factors. Results show discontinuity in orientation toward the religious institution; partial continuity over religious beliefs; and similarity in meanings attached to classic religious symbols. The patterns suggest intergenerational differences may be more in the form of expression than in belief; and that symbolic data may be a useful complement to belief and behavioral data for making intergenerational comparisons.

Introduction

In Ivan Turgenev's classic, Fathers and Sons, we find an enduring theme of world literature, the relationship between generations. A recurrent focus of social philosophy since Plato's Republic has been the threat to society posed by the possibility that the young might not adopt the essential wisdom and values of that society. August Comte considered the action of one generation on the other a central question in the study of society, and the salience of the topic remains for contemporary sociological theory. The artistic, the philosophical, and the sociological concern with generational issues is easy to understand. If a society is to continue its existence beyond one generation, the members must transmit what they consider to be necessary knowledge and values. The continuity of a social system by definition requires transmission between generations.

Regardless of how intergenerational relationships are described, relationships do not appear uniform in all substantive areas. There are useful descriptions and explanations of intergenerational patterns in mobility values (Furstenberg, 1971), achievement values (Rosen, 1964), educational values (Kandel and Lesser, 1969), and political values (Jennings and Niemi, 1968; Flacks, 1967; Niemi, 1974; Thomas, 1971); but few are available in the area of religion.¹ In this discussion,

¹Whether cross-sectional intergenerational comparisons or intrafamilial comparisons are methodologically optimal is an unresolved issue. Intergenerational studies with both design options remain considerably more common in the content areas of politics, mobility orientations, and educational values. A recent, cross-sectional study, exemplary for its scope, care, and completeness in the area of religion, is Strommen et al. (1972). Besides some obiter dicta in articles about political transmission (Jennings and Niemi, 1968:179-180), I have not located any studies where a range of religious variables was investigated and where an intrafamilial design was employed.

*¹A version of this paper was presented at the meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society, Kansas City, Missouri, April, 1972. Funds for the research were provided by the Minnesota Family Study Center, Midwest Council for Social Research on Aging, and the American Lutheran Church. Donald G. McTavish, Arlene McLaren, and Hallowell Pope read and commented on portions of the material, and I am pleased here to acknowledge their useful criticisms.
then, I first seek to describe some intergenerational patterns of religious belief and practice among adolescents and their parents. The second focus in the discussion is theoretical, an attempt to examine the intergenerational patterns of religious belief and practice in order to identify theoretical dimensions for making comparisons. These foci are treated in three sections in the paper: a review of literature; a summary of a research project; and implications for continued theoretical work in the area.

Intergenerational Relationships: A Brief Review of Literature

1. Studies Emphasizing Discontinuity

An early sociological treatment of youth and other age segments is by Talcott Parsons (1961, 1943). He sees a "youth culture" developing in America characterized by a pre-responsible state of romanticism and levity.

It is at the point of emergence into adolescence that there first begins to develop a set of patterns and behavior phenomena which involve a highly complex combination of age grading and sex role elements. These may be referred to together as the phenomena of the 'youth culture.' Certain of its elements are present in pre-adolescence and others in the adult culture. But the peculiar combination in connection with the particular age level is unique and highly distinctive for American society (1961:91).

Kingsley Davis actually begins with intergenerational conflict as a premise and notes its high salience in Western society (1940). For him, there are constant intergenerational differences across cultures such as stage in the life cycle and decelerating rates of socialization. If social change occurs in conjunction with these constancies, then the cultural content that any one cohort learns will vary. The greater the rate of change (which he considers a variable across cultures), the greater the disparity in learning of successive generations.

Two additional examples of imagery connoting discontinuity are James Coleman's Adolescent Society (1962) and Theodore Roszak's The Making of a Counter Culture (1969). These treatments are not comparable with each other since they reflect markedly different research styles, kinds of data, and foci, but they complement one another. Coleman's study develops the point that the high school is a social system apart from adult society. Roszak's treatment concerns primarily the religious and philosophical characteristics of the young and the social changes that have affected the ideas of the young in the 1960's. Coleman's study is at the social systemic level: Roszak's at the cultural level.

2. Studies Emphasizing Continuity

Symbols common within discussions emphasizing discontinuity, such as "parent-youth conflict," "adolescent society," and "counter culture," have prompted research and comment oriented to investigating the continuous facets of intergenerational relationships. A portrayal at odds with those of Davis and Parsons is Elkin and Westley's "The Myth of Adolescent Culture" (1955). The authors detect in the language referring to discontinuity assumptions about a distinctive stress associated with the adolescent because of his position in the social structure between childhood and adulthood; about a youth culture distinct from the culture of adults; and about an "etiological and functional" connection between
the culture and the psychological needs of the adolescents. Their research results
do not support the imagery of conflict or generational discontinuity. In this way,
the ground is prepared for an alternative, an emphasis on continuity.

[In our data], we do not find the structural etiological elements which allegedly
produce this storm and stress. There is more continuity than discontinuity in socialization;
there are few sharp conflicts between parents and children; and there are no
serious overt problems of occupational choice or emancipation from authority figures.
Considering the tenor of these data, along with the knowledge that the child, the adult,
and the aged likewise have problems of adjustment, it seems logical to propose that the
emphasis in discussing storm and stress among adolescents should be more on their
participation in modern urban society than on the distinctive characteristics of their

Moreover, Bennett Berger (1963) has responded with considerable reserve to
Coleman's portrayal of an "adolescent society."

3. Approaches Emphasizing Both Discontinuity and Continuity

There is a growing recognition that a wide range of dimensions and facets need
to be given attention in the examination of intergenerational relationships. In the
work of Richard Flacks (1967) and Kenneth Kenniston (1967), there is the claim
that intergenerational differences may be not so much a matter of kind but of
degree. Their research with college students and their parents showed differences
between generations, but the values of the younger generation tended to be
a logical extension or a more extreme level of the values held by the parents. This
suggests that attention to intergenerational relationships should be sensitive to
both patterns of difference and commonality, a point also noted in Melford
Spiro's work with the Israeli kibbutzim (1963:42, n. 8, 51, n. 25). On the one hand,
members of a kibbutz in large measure embody the prototype of intergenerational
discontinuity in that the reason for their establishment of the settlement was a
departure from their parents' values and style of life. Conversely, during the
course of the development of kibbutz life several basic elements in common with
those of their parents were seen to emerge.

Research Procedures and Results

Data for this discussion were drawn from members of 66 family units, consisting
of mother, father, and oldest senior high adolescent. These 198 persons were a
sub-sample of completed family units from a larger sample drawn in a two-stage
cluster design from a pool of intact families who were members of Protestant
churches in a large mid-western city. Information came from responses to a
self-administered questionnaire mailed to and returned by each member of the
unit in separate envelopes. The overall return rates for 150 families in the sample
were, respectively, for adolescents, mothers, and fathers, 73%, 67%, and 55%.
The actual number of the full family sets that could be used for the analysis was
attenuated, of course, by the reduced probabilities of receiving back one, two, and
three responses from any family unit. Thus, while 109 adolescents were available
for single generational analysis, there were 82 adolescent-mother pairs, and 66
adolescent-mother-father units. To provide a range of factors on which the two
generations could be compared, several religious dimensions were measured,
some primarily belief components, some reports of activities relating to institu-
tionalized religion, and others a series of semantic differential formats.

Belief Dimensions

The conceptual orientation came primarily from the work of Peter Berger and
Thomas Luckmann (Berger, 1969; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Luckmann,
1967). Three dimensions of religious belief were defined and measured: the
importance of religion, the degree to which beliefs were oriented toward internal
or external control, and the degree to which beliefs are individualistic or insti-
tutionally oriented.

a. Religious Importance was defined as the generalized perception of importance an
individual attaches to religion in major spheres of activity, such as work and family. To
measure this factor, a series of six-point Likert scales was presented to respondents, with
the aggregate score from the scales denoting the level of religious importance.

b. External Control refers to a continuum bounded by two polar orientations. An
external control orientation refers to the tendency to consider a deity or some super-
natural entity as omnipotent, ordering, external, and controlling in human affairs. An
internal orientation refers to a tendency to place the locus of control of human affairs
with oneself. This was measured by a six-item Likert scale.

c. Individualistic Religion again refers to a continuum bounded by a primarily indi-
vidualistic and a primarily communalistic orientation. An individualistic orientation
refers to the tendency to value highly individualistic qualities of belief and private forms
of religious expression. The communalistic orientation values highly generalized forms
of religious belief, such as the doctrine associated with a particular denomination, and
communal or institutional forms of religious expression. This property was measured
by a four-item Likert scale.

Religious Activity Dimensions

a. Attendance at church services was measured by the number of times per month.

b. To measure the extent of communal involvement in the broad socio-religious group
"Protestant," a modification of Lenski's operationalization was used (1963). In this
study, the proportion of one's friends and relatives within one's broad socio-religious
community provided an index of the extent of the involvement of an individual in that
community.

c. A measure similar to Lenski's—to assess the extent of involvement in a particular
parish—was adopted, which operationally consisted of determining the proportion of
one's five closest friends also members of one's parish (Demerath, 1965).

2A comprehensive statement of the design in this study, conceptualization of "religion," and
information on the actual operations used in measuring the variables discussed here is provided in
Wieting (1971: "Appendix").

3Scales for measuring religious importance and level of external control were developed by the
present writer and Robert Clyde (Wieting, 1971). The source of the scale to measure religious
individualism is Brown (1962). To assess the reliability properties of the scales, a three wave pre-test
procedure was used. This procedure is discussed in Heise (1969) and provides a basis for separating
the reliability properties of the instrument from the stability properties of the phenomenon being
measured. For the three scales, respectively, reliability coefficients of .78, .71, and .92 were computed.
d. Using a paired comparison measurement format, the relative importance of church activity with four other kinds of activity was assessed.

**Semantic Differential Items**

The intention in the use of this technique was to provide concepts for the two generations, assess the meanings assigned them, and then compare meaning "spaces." Concepts were selected from a word-count of sermon titles listed over a six month period in a newspaper in the city in which the study was conducted. From this list, two of the most frequently used were selected (i.e., God and Faith). Also, I chose "Cross," one which has considerable visibility as a symbol in the Christian tradition but which was used infrequently in this source of terms. Adjective pairs for these concepts were drawn from the evaluative and potency dimension listed by Osgood et al. (1957). Three pairs were also drawn from an understandability dimension (Nunnally, 1961). Comparable scales were used with each of the three concepts.4

**Results**

The results of the intergenerational comparisons on the belief scales and practice dimensions are provided in Table 1. In the adolescent-mother comparisons on all dimensions involving institutional practice and selectivity of church activity, the mean scores of the adolescents were significantly lower at p < .05 or less. The same pattern of differences exists in the adolescent-father comparisons. The comparisons on the dimensions not concerned with the institution show a different pattern in both the adolescent-mother and adolescent-father pairings. On the dimension of religious importance, the adolescents are significantly lower

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<td>ADOLESCENT-MOTHER &amp; ADOLESCENT-FATHER COMPARISONS ON RELIGION COMPONENTS</td>
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Mean values for each group are recorded except in case of communal association.

For communal association, values represent proportions, z-values for differences of proportions, p-values, respectively.

4Reliability coefficients determined with the technique mentioned in n. 3 were: Concept #1 (Faith), range .33 to 1.00, mean .69; Concept #2 (God), range .29 to 1.00, mean .87; Concept #3 (Cross), range .40 to 1.00, mean .82.
in each instance, but there is no difference in either case on the religious individualism dimension. Mothers and adolescents show no significant difference in belief in external control, and in the adolescent-father comparison on this dimension the adolescents are actually significantly higher. While discontinuity is consistent in comparisons of practice and orientation involving the religious institution, the pattern of relationship involving dimensions of religious belief is hardly one of unequivocal discontinuity.

The comparison of groups in terms of some semantic, lexicographic, or syntactical characteristic of language usage has been undertaken with several kinds of techniques including content analysis (Holsti, 1969), multi-dimensional scaling (Friendly and Glucksberg, 1970) and the semantic differential (Osgood, et al., 1957). Tannenbaum and McLeod have advocated the use of the semantic differential for assessing the degree of socialization of new members by incumbents (1967). They suggest several strategies using semantic differential data for making comparisons between two groups and for determining the stage of a particular group in socialization. In several respects, the method of semantic differential generally and for their purposes is suggestive but poses some problems for interpretation. A major problem for the usage in assessing socialization, for example, is to arrive at criteria suitable for determining the nature and extent of differences of semantic spaces for two or more groups.

Of the several bases of comparison Tannenbaum and McLeod mention, the one used here is simply a comparison of the factor structures of the adolescents, the mothers, and the fathers. In Table 2 are the factor scores of the three groups for three concepts with nine adjective scales in each instance. In general, the respective factor structures show little contrast. While three dimensions of adjectives are used (i.e., evaluative, potency, understandability), in no instance is there more than a two-factor solution. In most cases there is one common factor on which almost all the adjectives load and a second factor which may provide a reference for a small number of adjectives. As the table indicates, the adjectives that generally load on the second factor are from the understandability dimension. In only two cases is some difference of factor structures evident. The existence of a one-factor solution for the mothers as opposed to a two-factor solution for the adolescents and fathers on the concept of “God” is one instance. While both mothers’ and fathers’ semantic spaces are best represented by two factors when the concept “Cross” is in focus, the structure for the adolescents consists of only one factor.5

With these results in view, attention can now turn to general implications of the patterns for making comparisons between generations. The three bodies of literature reviewed at the outset of this paper can be characterized as hypotheses about the dominant nature of intergenerational relationships. One states that continuity is dominant; another that discontinuity is dominant; and a third that some mixture of patterns is occurring, yet without a clear articulation of what class of phenomena is continuous or what class is discontinuous. On the basis of the

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5The existence of one or more factors is, of course, related to the prior criterion set for the extraction of the factors. The method used here was a principal factor solution, with the main diagonal of the original correlation matrix retained, where factors were not extracted having eigen values less than 1.0.
empirical material here neither a perspective exclusively emphasizing continuity nor one exclusively emphasizing discontinuity seems warranted. Within the more balanced alternative which is supported here, where elements of continuity and discontinuity are acknowledged, there remains a requirement to clarify the conceptual nature of the continuous and discontinuous elements. Walter Wallace suggests theory in its most minimal and unqualified sense is "any set of symbols that is claimed verifiably to represent and make intelligible specified classes of phenomena and one or more of their relationships" (1969:3). What in this minimal theoretical sense can be said regarding the empirical patterns?
Implications for Making Intergenerational Comparisons

1. Variability of Form of Religious Expression

The first point that can be made concerns the form of religion in the two generations. From the data presented in Table 1, the suggested generalization is that there is similarity (adolescent-mother/adolescent-father) in the level of belief in external control and an individualistic approach to religion. However, in juxtaposition with this pattern of similarity between adolescents and their parents is the tendency toward contrast between the two generations in their orientation toward and activity in the religious institution. This pattern could, of course, be due to the nature of the particular indices employed in the project. However, the relative consistency of the pattern of similarity in the belief areas but dissimilarity in the orientation of the adolescents and parents toward the institution provides some evidence for suggesting the major point of disjunction of religious expression between the generations is one of form of expression rather than one of belief.

In the eight intergenerational comparisons involving an orientation toward the institution, the parents scored higher (with a significant difference at least at the .05 level evident). In three of the six belief comparisons no significant difference was evident; in the adolescent-father comparison on external control the adolescents actually scored higher. The main result that does not fit this interpretation occurs in the measurement of the importance of religion. It was defined as a belief dimension, yet contrary to the suggested interpretation an intergenerational difference appeared. This lack of fit may, however, be related to the meaning of the term “religion” in the importance of religion scale. If the meaning of the term for the adolescents was an institutional form of religion, the contrary pattern would be a reasonable one. There is no clear guideline from studies of religious transmission for interpreting this pattern. However, there are some suggestive items in the theoretical and empirical literature about generations as a whole that indicate this distinction (that is, between these two classes of phenomena) may be a defensible and useful one for speaking about intergenerational relationships. Specifically, some theory about intergenerational relationships that is emerging provides a rationale for why the difference in orientation toward the institution may occur. Looking at some scattered but suggestive empirical work about religion among youth provides some clues for why belief continuity may remain alongside discontinuity in orientation to the institution.

There are four ways generational continuities and discontinuities might be understood (Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971). One is the role a person plays in a social system and involves life-cycle or age-status differences between generations. A second concerns the psychological development occurring at different stages in

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6One-tailed tests were not used in the data analysis reported here, nor were directional hypotheses about the intergenerational relationships discussed. However, a reasonable deduction from sociological theories of religion (e.g., Berger, 1969) would be that adolescents should score lower on the external control belief dimension than either parent (since, as conceptualized, it is a quite traditional type of belief). If the meaning of generational discontinuity is departure from traditional values held by parents, the higher level of belief in external control would not suggest discontinuity but continuity with tradition.
the life cycle, either cognitively (e.g., Piaget) or in terms of psychosexual development (e.g., Freud or Erikson). A third concerns the fact of different historical experiences that may affect a person's perspective (e.g., Mannheim, 1952). A fourth concerns changes that may have occurred in an institution over time that will lead to one generation experiencing the institution somewhat differently from the other. An example of this last would be the effect of Vatican II on the institution of the Roman Catholic Church, and the fact that the institution as a consequence may be experienced differently by a generation maturing before Vatican II and one maturing afterwards.

While all could provide some guidelines for interpretation of the results found here, the first is the most parsimonious about why some distinction between generations should exist and why the ones here in particular may have occurred. The first alternative implies that a person's perspective toward an institution will reflect the specific role played within it. If persons play different roles with variations of vested interests, power, and longevity, these differences should lead to different levels of involvement in the institution on the part of the individuals. This is one possible reason for the contrasting degrees of involvement with the institution by the parents and the adolescent groups. Though there are possibilities for variability within the two groups, in general the likelihood is that the role relationship and sense of vested interest would predispose the parents to more institutional involvement and the adolescents to less. Positions of institutional leadership will reside with the older generation; financial support will largely be assumed by the older generation; in short, they have a greater "stake" (Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971) in the institution. Despite the plausibility of this reasoning, the question remains, though, about the interpretation of the full pattern found here, namely, difference in institutional orientation but similarity in some basic belief components. To provide needed guidelines for resolution one might look at a wider range of information on religious experience among the young. Actually, the results found here are not inconsistent with other empirical literature.

One example is the phenomenon of the Jesus People where classic elements of traditional religious belief are retained but institutional expression varies (with the occurrence among these groups of a communal life-style). One of the early commentaries on this phenomenon observed that many adherents come from church affiliated families (Adams and Fox, 1972). Though there may be reluctance to accept the institutional form of the religious interest of the young, the parents may express a certain amount of relief at the resumption (after a period of drug experimentation, for example) by the young of an interest in traditional religious beliefs. Other examples are found in the interest by the young in Eastern-based religions, two of the more important being Transcendental Meditation and the teachings of Meher Baba. Some adherents of the first underplay its "religious" elements (see Wallace, 1971). However, the ideological elements, particularly in the writing of Maharishi Mehest Yogi (1966), are clearly religious. One of the striking facets of some recent analyses of followers of Meher

7In another formulation (Inglehart, 1971), the first two of these are subsumed within a "life-cycle" factor and the last two are subsumed within a "generational cohort" factor.
Baba (Robbins, 1969; Robbins and Anthony, 1972) is the way in which elements analogous to traditional Christian belief are manifested but within an institutional framework different from that which is usually associated with Christianity.

It may be the case that this combined empirical material, albeit only suggestive, should lead to some elaboration of the theoretical explanation earlier used to interpret the difference of the two generations toward the institution. It may simply be too unrefined to say that a young person’s role predisposes him to a complete rejection of or lack of identification with his parents’ ideas and practices. This flies in the face of the operation of the family in socialization. Even though the effects may vary and may be more or less effective from the parents’ standpoint, the family remains a focal point in all socialization theories. What may occur—and this is exactly Robbins and Anthony’s point (1969; 1972)—is that the role of “young person” simultaneously leads to divergent institutional practices but within some enduring and global sets of value and belief complexes that remain from early experiences. The common pattern of parents and the adolescents on the variables of external control and individualistic religion are possible examples of what such enduring factors might be. Another example may be the religious values and beliefs that are embedded in meanings attached to central religious symbols.

2. Linguistic Information as an Analytic Tool for Making Intergenerational Comparisons

As mentioned above, Tannenbaum and McLeod (1967) and Friendly and Glucksberg (1970) have argued for the use of some linguistic data for assessing the extent of socialization by an incumbent of an aspirant group and for making general inter-group comparisons. Tannenbaum and McLeod suggest the use of the semantic differential format, and the latter research team provides guidelines for the use of a multi-dimensional scaling technique. Both imply that linguistic information may be a useful analytic device which may complement comparisons between groups in terms of belief and activity dimensions. Gary Schwartz and Don Merten make the point more explicitly in suggesting some linguistic component is the critical differentia (i.e., rather than values, beliefs, or practices) that distinguishes youth cultures from adult cultures (1967). Given these emphases, it seems the intergenerational patterns of semantic structures obtained from semantic differential formats may provide a useful basis for making comparisons between the adolescent and parent generations.

At face value, the similarity of semantic profiles between adolescents and parents provides useful descriptive information on the relationship between the generations on this facet of religious orientation. These are central symbols within the Protestant tradition, and the high degree of similarity in the evaluations of the symbols made by the two groups indicates intergenerational commonality. The major proponents of a balanced perspective on intergenerational relationships such as Flacks (1967), Kenniston (1967), and Spiro (1963), do not explicitly describe the “underlying” property which they posit as providing continuity between generations in the midst of some intergenerational contrasts. It is tempting to consider some linguistic component as this property, but there is not a clear theoretical rationale nor empirical precedent for making such a judgment. Nevertheless, utilizing the arguments of Tannenbaum and McLeod and Friendly and
Glucksberg that success in socialization and inter-group continuity can be inferred when semantic commonality prevails, it is reasonable to assess the patterns found here as at least suggestive of an important area of continuity between these two generations.8

There are two kinds of advocacy for the role of language phenomena in social science investigations which differ in the intensity and scope of their claims. The first, a strong position, argues for the use of language since it allows for access to some “deep” region of the individual; ostensibly this characteristic would be particularly stable and hence a valuable focal point for study.9 The centrality of language and communication is also argued for by relatively new perspectives in sociology such as sytems theory, structuralism, and ethnemethodology. Structuralism, for example, sees social behavior and cultural products as a language system or a communication code. One user of systems theory likewise stresses the role of language and communication (Watzlawick et al., 1967:51): “One cannot not communicate.” In short, language and communication are seen by them as making up the quintessential aspect of human behavior; hence, here, by implication they would be logical candidates for making intergenerational comparisons.

While granting the plausibility of these strong advocations for the use of language and communication, there is another group which in a variety of ways suggests the role of language more reservedly. These are the conceptualizations that emphasize the interplay of language, mind, and social organization. Although the relative importance may be left unresolved by them, the strategic importance of language in the three-sided interface is universally underscored. It is only this strategic importance that is argued for here and hence a stress on the need for more regular use of language data in the study of religious phenomena. More specifically, language is the strategic analytical corner of this triangle since it is the most accessible of the three and can be used as a door to the others.

In the history of sociology the balance of this interface has shifted periodically. Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss in Primitive Classification (1967) argued that cognition was a reflection of the organization of society. The medium of the connection would be language as an embodiment of the experience of social organization. In contrast to this ordering of influence, Whorf (1971) hypothesized language as determinative of one’s thought and experience.10 Contemporary work on these factors varies somewhat in emphasis. Noam Chomsky (1966), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1964), and Jean Piaget (1971) are concerned with the

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8While the empirical pattern suggests this commonality, there are two related reservations that should be recorded. One is methodological: when using semantic differential profiles as an index of socialization, and the concepts used as stimuli become more familiar to respondents, the similarity of semantic profiles increases, seemingly as a result of the increased familiarity. Conversely, as terms become less familiar congruence diminishes commensurately with the decreased familiarity of the stimuli to the respondents.

9This is at least implied by Osgood et al. (1971), Tannenbaum and McLeod (1967), and Friendly and Glucksberg (1970). The issues are also discussed in Dascal (1973).

10An example of the productive way the interplay between language and religious belief may be studied is found in Uspensky (1974). He draws heavily on the perspective of Whorf, and his analysis is all the most pertinent here because of his focus on the use of words for the cross and the relationships of these words with other words having related meanings.
cognitive constraints imposed by mind on one's experience. At times Basil Bernstein and other sociolinguists have emphasized the social organizational influences (for example, the family in Bernstein's case), and at times the role of language in the interface of the three elements has been stressed. Some (for example, Hymes, 1967) have explicitly argued for a theory about the interrelationships. Despite these differences of emphasis what is critical to notice in this array of work is the assumption of the interface. It is becoming axiomatic that mind, language, and social organization mutually imply each other. What also is evident within the range of emphases is the agreement about the strategic analytical role of language because of its visibility and accessibility. It is the axiomatic nature of this interface and the agreement about the value of language for analytical purposes which, it is suggested here, lend support to the Tannenbaum/McLeod and Glucksberg/Friendly arguments mentioned earlier and underscore the potential of the kind of analysis undertaken here with the semantic differential profiles.

REFERENCES


11 Since Bernstein's early work in the late 1950s, he has been notably prolific. The most accessible form of the most important parts of his work is a recent collection (Bernstein, 1971).
12 A useful statement which relates to both of these implications in this last section is that of Yinger (1969). Substantively, he points out that young persons may be quite religious though their religion may assume innovative forms. Methodologically, he advocates the model of structural linguistics as the example to be used in the study of this religious phenomenon.


