

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/33066> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Millman, N.J.

Title: Beyond the doors of the synagogue : self-perceptions of Jewish identity in a modern Canadian society

Issue Date: 2015-05-26

Chapter 4

Religious Orientation and Religious Participation Styles

Abstract

Identifying with a religion in a secular context is an interesting phenomenon. Discussions like those of Marchisio and Pisati (1999) and Saroglou (2011) are two examples that highlight the ways that those identifying with a religion report belief and belonging. Allport and Ross (1967) discuss the idea that one can affiliate with a religion in different ways, or more specifically, different religious orientations. Through work on religious orientation, a scale assessing intrinsic (inherently enjoyable) and extrinsic (leading to a separable outcome) styles were developed (Allport & Ross, 1967; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Believing without belonging could show a trend toward intrinsic motivation, as there still may be a connection with respect to belief. Belonging without believing could indicate an extrinsic orientation, as the absence of belief points to additional external membership motivations. Members can vary in the degrees to which they participate and in their reasons for participation. For those who do not actively participate, where does their motivation to remain members originate? Through analysis of data collected from two studies of a Canadian Jewish population, religious orientation is assessed to further a discussion of membership and identity effects. The general expectation of this paper is that those associated with an intrinsic orientation are more likely to be actively religious, while those rating in an extrinsic orientation are more likely to affiliate with Judaism as an identity marker expressed through culture.

Keywords: religious orientation, Jewish, culture, social identity, motivation, membership, belonging, belief

Introduction

To belong to a religion or religious faith carries with it a certain connotation about what one may believe or how one chooses to live his or her life. Religion is not an “all-or-nothing” concept and, similar to what is discussed by McGuire (2008) in her book on Lived Religion, there are many personal ways in which one can express connection and belonging. A lot of young people who would describe themselves as being part of a religion in a secular context are at the same time very careful to note that they are not actively religious (following rituals, prescribed laws etc.) or are not necessarily devout. This phenomenon has been previously described as being related to the concepts of believing and belonging (Cohen & Blitzer, 2008; Day, 2009), which means that these young people may participate in some aspects but in more passive ways. As such, religiosity can also be important for their social identity (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). Following this line of thinking, let us clearly define what is meant by active and passive religiosity. Active religious participation for our purposes will be seen as a function of what one does pertaining to the law and rituals of a given religion. Does a person follow the dietary restrictions? Does a person dress according to written law? In this case, the answers to these sorts of questions and the extent to which these daily actions are carried out will assist us in giving an active designation with regards to religious participation.

Passive religious participation, on the other hand, should be thought of as a passive acknowledgement of religious membership. This is not specifically the opposite of active religious participation, but a recognition of that which one can do that expresses the passive aspects of faith as opposed to active ritual practice. A clear example within Judaism would be that there are dietary laws to be followed, describing which species of fish are acceptable, and following this is the active version of this religious behavior. The passive would be how to prepare the fish based on customs and recipes throughout the evolution of the culture. Thus, while there is an overlap concerning what one eats, the difference lies in the passive aspect of how we traditionally eat it.

These assumptions need to be tested by looking at how believing, belonging and religious motivation are related. It can be argued that believing is more associated with intrinsic religiosity, a feeling from within, and that belonging is more associated with extrinsic religiosity, external benefits leading to continued participation. According to our reasoning, current Jewish religiosity can be related to both intrinsic (following laws and belief from within) and extrinsic religiosity (for example, falling back on your faith after a tragedy, without changing the ways in which one follows the laws). Religious faiths, like Judaism, thrive as much on culture as they do on religious practice (Weinfeld, 2001), and with diverse discussions like those of “unsynagogued Jews” (Davidman, as cited in Ammerman, 2007) and sections on “Jewish Buddhism” in volumes on Judaism (Cohn-Sherbok, 2010), there is

no doubt that varying opinions on why, when and how to be Jewish is at the forefront of debates of Jewish identity.

One measurable way to consider Jewish identity is with respect to how one connects to their religion with regard to this idea of religious orientation. This term, popularized through Allport and Ross's (1967) classic article, is still used today as a tool to discuss motives behind religious identification. Considering religion in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic orientation, Allport and Ross (1967) relate that, "perhaps the briefest way to characterize the two poles of subjective religion is to say that the extrinsically motivated person *uses* his religion, whereas the intrinsically motivated *lives* his religion" (p. 434). This may be slightly simplistic, but for the time being it will be a general guide for comparison. We may later come to define these orientations in softer terms, but the classic definitions must be considered first.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) delivers a model by which one's identity can be expressed as a function of subject uncertainty reduction (comfort with the predictability of a social group situation) and increased positive self-esteem through intergroup comparison. Through the eyes of this theory, religious orientation may be a key to the expression of Jewish practice and motivation. As Jewish identity is complex, and there are many ways in which one can identify with any number of denominations or interpretations, this paper strives to look at reasons for continued identification among those who identify as Jewish but may not participate actively. As Cohen and Blitzer (2008) show us with a discussion of belonging without believing, it is expressly important to consider the mechanisms by which Jews continue to identify with Judaism and how this may be happening. This study will also look at how an intrinsic or extrinsic orientation may be related to the discussion of continued identification or projection of "Jewish" as an optimal distinction (Brewer, 1991) instead of a minority position in a Canadian setting. This is due to the idea that customs and traditions seen as passive participation come from the same sense of belonging as do forms of active participation like ritual participation and synagogue attendance. It is too simple to say that once someone is born Jewish, they will remain identifying with Judaism forever. Perhaps the notion that they were originally Jewish may linger, but the decision to connect, participate, engage and identify socially/passively is what leads to continued membership. The importance of the following study lies in an empirically traceable discussion concerning how people are connecting and to what extent this participation may be passively or actively based.

Religious Orientation

Religious orientation, a concept routinely linked to Allport and Ross (1967), has been a standard by which religious participation has been discussed. It has taken many classic forms (Wilson, 1960; Feagin, 1964; Allport & Ross, 1967) and has been validated, discussed, and re-evaluated countless times (Hoge; 1972; Gorsuch & Venable, 1983; Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990; Leong & Zachar, 1990; Trimble, 1997; Raubenheimer, 2004 are just a few of

many examples). What remains is that for the most part, authors refer back to the Allport and Ross (1967) scale and for the purposes of this discussion, the classic article and original scale will be used.

Intrinsic Religious Orientation

Often considered to be the more noble of the two religious orientation styles discussed by Allport and Ross (1967), Feagin (1964) also agrees that one who is intrinsic, "lives for his religion; his creed is a part of the pattern of his personality. He will have a tendency to be more mystical and more devout" (p. 3). Religion in this case is lived through internalized belief and not secular or passive expression. Batson (1976) relates that with respect to Allport and Ross' (1967) definition of intrinsic, one who is extremely devout or a "saint" may agree with some statements "but so might a religious conformist who identified with religious dogma, persons, or institutions in a rigid, unthinking, dependent fashion" (p. 32). This could hint at social desirability (this will be discussed in detail further on, but is a state where one answers questions with what he or she considers to be a socially acceptable response) as a function of any identification with a given religion, influencing responses. The problem with considering intrinsic religious orientation as a report card of sorts for those who are actively religious is that we may refer to Kirkpatrick and Hood's (1990) mention of Hoffer's (1951) definition of intrinsic as "rigid adherence to doctrinal orthodoxy" (p. 447). This would be too strict an explanation of what it means to be intrinsically oriented. Kirkpatrick and Hood (1990) go further in agreeing with Donahue (1985) that this intrinsic scale may indeed be more of a comment on religious commitment in general.

The hypothesis and expectation for an intrinsic religious orientation, with relation to the above stated expectations, will be that an intrinsic orientation is correlated with active participation as well as passive participation. More specifically, participating in either of these ways could show an internal commitment to religious membership due to active religious participation or even familial cultural religious roots. As far as passive participation or cultural roots are specifically concerned, the ingrained cultural aspects of belonging to a religious faith may cause these seemingly extrinsic-based activities to also relate to an intrinsic religious orientation style.

Extrinsic Religious Orientation

In their 1967 article, Allport and Ross present extrinsic religion as relating to those who "are disposed to use religion for their own ends" (Allport & Ross, 1967, p.434). This is similar to Feagin's (1964) use of the term "irregular attender" (p. 3), for those who are considered extrinsic, likening religion to a "tool". Hoge (1972) continues by addressing two possible extrinsic types: the inner type, "the use of religion as a personality support or a help in crisis" (p. 375) and the outer type, "use of religious membership and participation for social purposes" (p. 375). While it does not necessarily need to be seen as a negative, it can be

difficult to describe religion as self-serving without appearing to make motivations seem at least slightly negative or selfish. One way that this term can possibly be considered with respect to the question of Jewish belonging may be that extrinsic orientation can explain "culturally" or "socially" inclined practice. In work on belief and belonging by Cohen and Blitzer (2008), we can see a difference, or at the very least a separation, between religious devotion, such as following dietary laws and a cultural means of preparation. One further example would be having a kosher house for Passover and cleaning it of all products seen as non-kosher for the holiday and strictly following these dietary laws on special dishes, using ingredients indicating that they are specifically for Passover on the one hand, and the cultural practice of having people over for a traditional Seder meal and avoiding bread on the other.

One is religious, intrinsic and highly faith based, while the other is traditional, extrinsic and highly passively based. By nature, those who do not believe or practice may score low on a scale of religious belief or practice. However, an extrinsic scale, one that looks at religion through a social or personal lens, may prove important as a secondary measure of religion as an identity marker. Should one's intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientation scores be low to zero, it could be debated to what extent this person truly identifies or feels a part of their faith or religious group. It is expected for this sample that extrinsic orientation will be associated with passive participation, however what will remain to be seen is if it is an extrinsic orientation alone that will be associated with this participation style. Should we see passive participation associated with an intrinsic orientation as well, we open the discussion that passive participation may be operating on a deeper level than we may initially expect. Looking at religion from a passive or social point of view, extrinsic religion should not be seen as a negative, but as a defining characteristic of those who find these cultural and social aspects of Judaism as the major draws and motivations for continued membership.

Although it has been shown that intrinsic scores are more often associated with prosocial motivation than extrinsic scores (Batson, Schoenrade & Ventis, 1993), there are times where this is not always the case. For example, within one study, Batson, Floyd, Meyer, and Winner (1999) demonstrated that those scoring above a median score with regards to an extrinsic orientation were more likely to help (p. 454). The hypothesis and expectation for religious orientation, with reference to the overall hypothesis for this discussion, is that extrinsic and intrinsic orientations will be associated with both active and passive participation styles.

As mentioned above, both practice styles can be considered to be both self-serving and integrated as a result of belief and belonging. We would expect to see a relationship between the Religious Commitment Inventory (RCI-10) (Worthington et al., 2003) measure of active religious participation and intrinsic orientation because, as it is a scale of active practice, this relationship would be the most straightforward. We see this demonstrated in Steger et al. (2010), where there is a small but significant correlation with extrinsic religious orientation and the RCI-10, and at the same time a larger significant correlation with intrinsic religious

orientation and the RCI-10 (p. 212). We could also expect to see a relationship between the RCI-10 and an extrinsic orientation due to possible religious cultural expressions rooted in ritual. However, it has been shown before (Rosik, Griffith, & Cruz, 2007, 13) that there is no extrinsic correlation with the RCI-10, while there is a correlation with an intrinsic orientation. Due to this, it is anticipated that there will be a relationship between this religious orientation and these different participation styles.

See Figures 1 and 2 below for a visualization of the above explanation concerning relationships between variables.

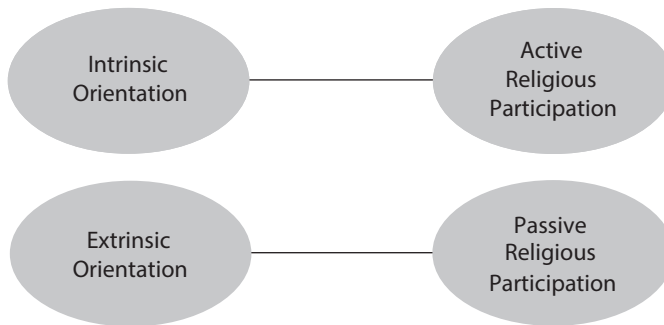


Figure 1. Hypothesized relationship between tested variables

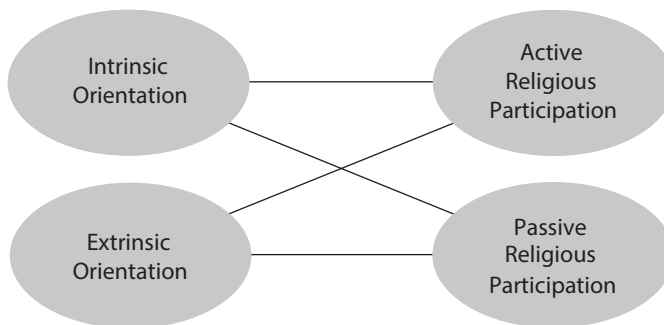


Figure 2. Hypothesized relationship between tested variables with reference to social identity

Methodology

In order to assess religious orientation to facilitate a discussion of “Jewish” as a social identity, participants were given a set of scales as part of a larger study. These scales include:

- 1) **The Religious Orientation Scale (ROS)** (Allport & Ross, 1967): used to assess intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientation. This scale will be given in its original form; however, as this is a Jewish sample, there will be a note that the word church may be substituted for synagogue or general place of worship. Khodadady & Bagheri (2012) still found high reliability when modifying the scale for Muslim participants, and as such this substitution is not predicted to have an effect.
- 2) **The Religious Commitment Inventory-10 (RCI)** (Worthington et al., 2003): used to assess active participation.
- 3) **New scale of passive participation:** a survey that will be used as a measure of passive participation for comparison. It was created within this project as a compliment to the RCI-10.

The sample considered for this study is comprised of 110 self-identifying Jews living in the Lower Mainland (Vancouver area) of British Columbia, Canada.⁵ The survey was distributed online and was available in English. It was not sent specifically to synagogues or other places of active prayer. The majority age of participants was 26-35. Most participants were educated with at least a bachelor's degree.

Scale Reliabilities

The RCI-10 showed a Cronbach's alpha score of $\alpha = 0.94$ for this sample ($n = 110$). This relatively high alpha scores matched the high $\alpha = 0.93$ reliability score reported by Worthington et al. (2003) in their analysis of the full RCI-10 scale. The new scale showed a Cronbach's alpha $\alpha = 0.91$ for this sample ($n = 110$). The ROS, split into intrinsic (IOS) and extrinsic (EOS), showed a Cronbach's alpha score intrinsic: $\alpha = 0.91$ for this sample ($n = 110$) and extrinsic: $\alpha = 0.78$ ($n = 110$).

Results

Mean Scores

Mean scores represented in tables below show extrinsic scores (EOS), intrinsic scores (IOS), active religious commitment (RCI-10) and passive religious commitment (NS).

Concerning mean scores for active religious commitment (see Table 1), results for this group show a 2.90 out of the possible 5 for this measure and this can be predicted by the fact that simply identifying with Judaism may influence religiously oriented responses. Passive religious participation scores for this group was 3.78 out of the possible 5, making this mean score 0.9 points different from the active scale. This was expected from a sample

⁵ Original sample was 206 participants, featuring a sample of 96 non-Jewish participants as part of a larger study. For the purposes of this chapter, only the Jewish results are relevant.

of self-identifying Jewish participants, as simply identifying should show elevated passive connection scores because religious salience would be expected.

Table 1. Sample means for four scales: (EOS), intrinsic scores (IOS), active religious commitment (RCI-10) and passive religious commitment (NS)

	Mean	SD
EOS	2.78	.62
IOS	2.73	.99
RCI-10	2.90	1.07
NS	3.78	.87

Note. $n = 110$.

Religious orientation scores show general stability between intrinsic and extrinsic scores. This Jewish sample intrinsic score was 2.73 and the sample extrinsic mean score is 2.78. It is likely that the extrinsic score is slightly higher due to the passive elements within their religious practice, but as they are generally low on religious participation scales, this same low score can be expected. What is important to note is that as with the RCI-10/NS scores, we also see a difference among this sample in the same direction concerning EOS/IOS scores. This means that passive commitment and extrinsic orientation scores are stronger.

Correlational Data

This study sample ($n = 110$) shows an unexpected small but negative correlation between original extrinsic scores and active religious participation ($r = -.283, p < .003$). Intrinsic orientation scores were correlated with both active ($r = .885, p < .000$) and passive ($r = .575, p < .000$) scales. This echoes results of Musgrave and McFarlane (2004), who found when surveying secular and religious Jewish nurses that there was an association with an intrinsic religious orientation and what they call being secular. The active and passive scales also show a strong correlation ($r = .662, p < .000$). While there was not a correlation with extrinsic scores and passive participation, there was a negative correlation between extrinsic orientation and active participation, leading to a possible conclusion that more socially based religious identification may be the intrinsic religious participation style we are seeing (see Table 2).

This would make sense if we consider the position of Cohen and Blitzer (2008), when they relate in their analysis of belief and belonging of Jews that:

Compared to Christians, Jews are much less likely to say they believe in God in general or in a personal God, in the Bible as the word of God, in life after death, in heaven or in hell, and in miracles...although Jews usually, as a group, score above the unaffiliated, their scores on

religious belief items sometimes trail those of even this very secular slice of the American population. (Cohen & Blitzer, 2008, p. 4).

This is also in line with previous research, for example Genia and Shaw (1991), who found that Jews (along with Catholics and Unitarians) ranked as more extrinsic than Protestants (and Evangelicals). The stronger correlation between intrinsic orientation and active participation speaks to the stronger relationship between these two variables. This echoes a discussion by Pargament, Steele, and Tyler (1979), in which they look at intrinsic religiosity and what they call frequent versus infrequent attenders to see an association in line with what we found here.

Table 2. Correlation table

	1	2	3	4
1. EOS	-			
2. IOS	-.254**	-		
3. RCI-10	-.283**	.885**	-	
4. NS	-.006	.575**	.662**	-

Note. ** $p < .000$. EOS: Extrinsic orientation scale, IOS: Intrinsic orientation scale, RCI-10: Religious commitment inventory-10, NS: New scale.

Discussion & Further Research

When considering the overall results from this study, there are some findings that seem intuitive, for example the significant relationship between active participation and intrinsic participation and passive participation and extrinsic participation. This is because, as was suggested above and due to their nature by definition, the idea that intrinsic participation relates to active belief should indicate a relation, just as extrinsic participation relates to social/passive participation. Some results are more surprising. For example, we expected that there would be a correlation with EOS and the new scale, yet there was an absence of a correlation with extrinsic orientation for this Jewish group. This may call for further research, but nonetheless, all results are interesting in furthering the discussion of how and why some may hold a “Jewish” label as an important identity marker and how this identity marker may manifest itself. More specifically, perhaps this calls into question the ways in which religious cultural roots are perceived as either active or passive by group members. It may be that, looking in at this group from the outside, we assume an aspect of passive practice to be extrinsic, when in reality the group does not see it this way. Correlations between variables speak to these same discussion points within this Jewish group. The negative correlation found between original extrinsic scores and active religious participation could

speak to overcompensation by social activities. Phrased more specifically, a consciousness of belonging and not believing may account for this, as the more extrinsically oriented someone is, perhaps the less likely they are to be actively religious. How can we further interpret these results? What we are seeing in this case, and what we have seen similarly in the above mentioned examples, is that religious orientation, when it comes to passive participation, seems to be perceived by the participants (at the very least internally) as actions that are just as important to Jewish identification as going to synagogue or eating kosher for example. Ryan, Rigby, and King (1993) show a positive correlation with religious identification and intrinsic orientation and a negative correlation with extrinsic orientation. This is interesting for this study as by comparison, we also see that identification can be seen as an indicator of intrinsic motivation. Why is this important? At its most basic, we set out in this study to see how religious orientation may or may not be associated with different participation styles. In finding that at a cultural (passive) level there is an intrinsic association, we can more properly understand how those who connect or identify with a religion on a strictly passive level still find themselves feeling connected or internally attached, beyond "a means to an end" extrinsic orientation.

Future studies would test religious orientation with respect to newer and more evolved scales, as this study concentrated on the original Allport and Ross (1967) version. Furthermore, a more comprehensive test of religious participation could be used in conjunction with the Worthington et al. (2003) RCI-10 scale for the sake of accuracy. A larger sample and a more defined secular control for comparison could also be helpful for further discussion.

