DONALD SWENSON

RELIGION AND FAMILY LINKS

Neofunctionalist Reflections

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Preface

Texts are like rabbits: they proliferate in abundance. Choices in books, then, tend to overwhelm the interested reader. If a book is to be successful, it needs to offer something that is unique and different from competing works. This summary text is an attempt to do that.

If one is to peruse textbooks, a common feature is that the authors document the current and the most valuable studies on any one topic or discipline. Few if any attempt to use a **theoretical framework** to synthesize the wide range of literature. I propose a difference – to utilize a theoretical framework to combine diverse conceptions and studies into a coherent whole. The one selected is a sociological one termed Neofunctionalism. I make use of a published work (Swenson, 2004) to pull together salient literature on religion and the family.

I initiate this work with an outline of a Neofunctionalist theoretical framework of the family that is linked to a multidimensional interpretation of religion. The focus of the framework is on systems: the chrono, organic, personality, social and cultural systems. Both religion and the family can be separately categorized into these systems.

Thereafter, under the caption of the chronosystem, I link this system to the life course perspective in family studies to trace the history of the family from the Roman era to Early Christianity, Early Medieval, Central Medieval, and Late Medieval societies and the genesis of the early modern period through to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in England.

The rubric of the organic system captures the historical and empirical relationship between religion and sexuality that implies the reproductive capacities of men and women. The focus on the individual embedded in the family system is the personality system. Topics such as conversion, gender, intimate violence, sexual orientation, family stress and spirituality are synthesized in this chapter.

There are two major dimensions of the social system: ritual and sacred social organizations. Covered in this title is ritual in context and its impact on child outcomes in family contexts, adolescent substance abuse, child outcomes in a longitudinal study and ritual, divorce and remarriage, marital fidelity, social networks and religion, family structure and ritual participation, and religious homogamy and marital quality.

The final chapter is devoted to the cultural system which subsumes both mythology (sacred belief systems) and ethos (sacred moral systems). Another theory is introduced here, attachment theory, which is embedded in Neofunctionalism. The focus in presenting attachment theory is to document the empirical research of childhood attachment security and concepts of the divine. Additional topics reviewed include parental and self origins of young adults' God concepts, images of the divine in marriage and beliefs and ritual in resolving marital conflict. In view of the fact that Islam is becoming more and more a salient religion, several articles were reviewed that link Islam and the family. Additional topics covered in the final chapter include conversion and women's public employment, moral cosmology, and the success story of how parents socialize their children into accepting and continuing their parents' faith.

To make the text more user friendly, I have included many tables and figures to illustrate the dense text. In addition, a glossary is provided that provides meaning to the bold words that appear throughout the work.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to honour my wife, Angela Swenson, who has not only supported me in this project but gave up time in being with me for me to complete this work. Also, recognition is given to our common children their spouses and children: Niall (Linda), Stephanie (Tim), Catherine, Rachel, David, Jared and Joel. I also thank Drs. Ken Hoeppner, former Associate Vice-President of Research and Manuel Mertin, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, of Mount Royal College who gave financial assistance in the form a grant for a research assistant and course release to enable me to complete this document. The person to be thanked most of all is my research assistant, Mr. Kenneth Yu, BA, who read and gathered a significant amount of literature that forms the basis of the work.

Contents

Chapter 1
Familial Links to the Sacred Neo-Functionalism and Religion

Overview

Chatters and Taylor (2005), citing, for example, Thomas and Cornwall (1990), argue that the relationship between religion and the family is unclear and that there is a need to develop coherent theoretical and conceptual frameworks that describe the various linkages and mechanisms between the two institutions. They endeavour to do this and synthesize the links between religion and the family using three theoretical frameworks: role theory, stress and coping, and social networks/social support orientations. In the spirit of using theory to guide a synthesis that they have done, I intend, in contrast, to use one theoretical framework, Neo-functionalism, to accomplish this synthesis.

First of all, an extended definition of religion will be presented followed by how the family is defined. Then, Neo-functionalism will be outlined from the work of Swenson (2004). I will argue that one important aspect of the framework is the locus of culture and the kind of relationships within the family wherein the sacred has a home. Further, after the development the framework of which religion is a part, I will create a theoretical model.

A Multi-Dimensional Interpretation of Religion

To cover all the major or essential features of religion, the following multi-dimensional definition is presented: "Religion is the individual and social experience of the sacred that is manifested in mythologies, rituals, ethos and integrated into a collective such as a community or an organization" (Swenson, 1999:69).

The heart of religion that distinguishes it from all other forms of human life is the necessary element of the sacred. From an anthropological approach, the sacred is a phenomenon that inspires awe as well as attraction (Durkheim, 1915).

Otto (1958), from a comparative religion perspective, adds to the interpretation of the sacred (in Latin, *numen*). There are two dimensions: *mysterium tremendum* and *fasciandus* (similar to Durkheim). As a believer approaches the sacred, two kinds of experiences are elicited. The first one is awe and distance. The religious person is

D. Swenson, *Religion and Family Links.*

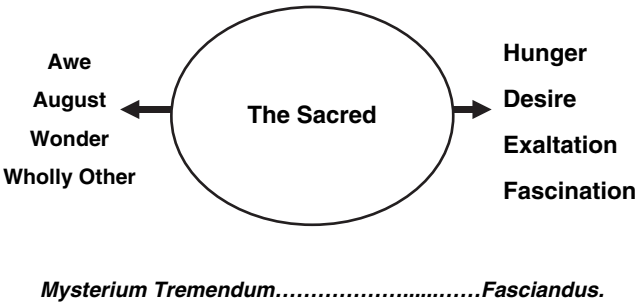

Fig. 1.1 The sacred or the *numen*

in touch with a power, a force that is illustrated by terms like: august, a shuddering, dread, fear, being overpowered, a sense of being a creature and of relating to the sacred as being wholly other. The other dimension is one of fascination, attraction, and hunger to be one with the *numen*. Note that there is an implicit tension, a dialectic even, within the experience of the sacred. One may consider religious experience flowing along an implicit continuum within the sacred. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate the heart of the sacred:

The individual experience of the sacred refers to the personal encounters that participants have with the sacred. This may be named as the "sacred within" (Swenson, 1999:101) and is expressed in terms such as conversion, spirituality, religiosity and the like. Psychology of religion expands this dimension of religion.

The social experience of the sacred or ritual means all those activities and behaviours which symbolically express the sacred such as dance, dress, meditation, reading sacred texts, and participating in religious services. From several sociological and anthropological works, one may describe ritual as:

> repeated consecrated (sacred) behaviour that is a symbolic expression of the moods and motivations of religious participants and unseen powers. Ritual forms a bond of friendship, community and unity with the believer and her/his god. Finally, ritual transports the participant into another world (the world above) wherein there is peace and harmony (Swenson, 1999:185).

This may be described as the "sacred between" (Swenson, 1999:22 and 387) and is investigated by social psychology.

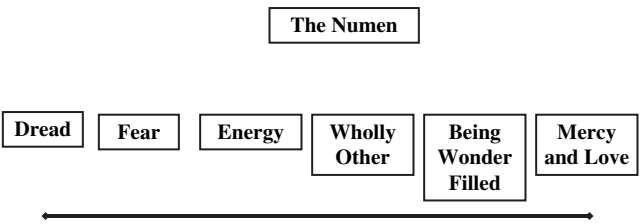

Fig. 1.2 The continuum of the numen

A third dimension is mythology and is defined as:

> In short, myths describe breakthroughs of the sacred (or the supernatural) into the world. It is this sudden breakthrough of the sacred that really *establishes* [italics in the original] the world and makes it what it is today. Furthermore, it is a result of the intervention of supernatural beings that man himself is what he is today, a mortal, sexed, and cultural being (Eliade, 1973:70).

Part of its function is to tell the story of the sacred that may include hero and heroines, creation themes or historical events defined as supernatural (the Israelites crossing of the Red Sea, the empty tomb of Jesus after his death, and the pilgrimage [The Hajj] of Muhammud from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD). Frequently, these stories are written in sacred texts and are read and commented on in various rituals.

A fourth dimension of religion is ethos. Geertz defines it as:

> A people's ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetics style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. Their world view [in my terms, myth] is their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order...the ethos is made intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life implied by the actual state of affairs which the world view describes, and the world view is made emotionally acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs of which a way of life is an authentic expression (1973:127).

A key feature of ethos includes codes of behaviour such as morality, norms, laws, customs, folkways and sanctions. One may add to that attitudes and values that inform our actions in daily life.

The fifth dimension is how all of these previous elements are integrated into some form of a manifestation of social life. Sociological and anthropological scholars have well documented that human life is essentially social in nature. Since this is true and because religion is also a common feature of the human species, a necessary feature of religion is also social. One may describe this as "the sacred among" (Swenson, 1999:387) and is the proper domain of sociology and anthropology.

Sacred organizations are rooted in charisma and its routinization as inspired from the work of Weber (1978). This routinization takes on two different kinds of transformation: to traditional or rational/legal social action. This is the heart of the process of organization or the construction of religious institutions. When charismatic or affective social action becomes regular and consistent, norms, roles, and ranks emerge. A simple definition of a religious organization as a routinized form of charismatic social interaction.

Two kinds of definitions of religious organizations are presented: a substantive and a functional one. Substantively, a religious organization is the construction of charismatic social action that enables a participant to be in touch with the sacred. A functional definition consists in the functions a community or an organization does for the participants. They consist mainly in: belonging, being accepted, creating a self-image through positive, provide social solidarity, integration, global well-being, and meaning. In a routinized form, participants can also be controlled and used by the organization.

These dimensions appear to be the essential elements in religion. After presenting insights from a Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework of the family, links will be presented to each of these dimensions.

A Neo-Functionalist Theoretical Framework

Before the framework is presented, it is in order to give a definition of the family. Using the parameters that Larzelere and Klein (1987) and Klein and White (1996) have put foreword, the family is defined as:

> a hierarchical, gendered, inter-generational, private and value-laden, time-ordered, intimate social group and institution, having a dialectical quality that has potential for conflict that is composed of biologically, adopted and/or affinely related persons, embedded in a social context of kinship networks and other social institutions and functions for the well being of adults and the physical and social reproduction of children (Swenson, 2004).

Beyond the definition of the family, the term **theoretical framework** should be presented. Klein and White (1996:9) describe the term as having at its core a set of theoretical assumptions and propositions that are sufficiently general to give rise to a number of theoretical variants. The propositions, linked together into a coherent whole, are concatenated to the empirical world. These types of theories accumulate and organize research findings, provide precision in what concepts mean, guide researchers to develop and test hypotheses, connect concepts together in other theories and describe, predict and explain phenomena (1996:18–21). Neo-Functionalism may be considered to be a framework because it includes all the elements as outlined by Klein and White.

The roots of this framework lie primarily in the work of Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) who made popular a functionalist perspective in sociological theory from the scholarship of Emile Durkheim, especially in his publication of the division of labour (1911/1933). Building on and critiquing Parsons, one may define Neo-Functionalism from the work of Alexander and Colomy: "the emergence of a self-critical strand of functional theory that seeks to broaden functionalism's intellectual scope while retaining its theoretical core" (1985:11). The following elements are what I consider to be most salient:

Multi Dimensionality[1]

This consists of various kinds of social action and social order. Social action is either rational, non-rational (affective or normative). In families, there is an accent on the affective type of social action. Social order is both created by interacting individuals (the social construction theme) but are also constrained, coerced by a collectivist order. This collective order is present before any social actors enter into

[1] The inspiration for this comes from Alexander (1982).

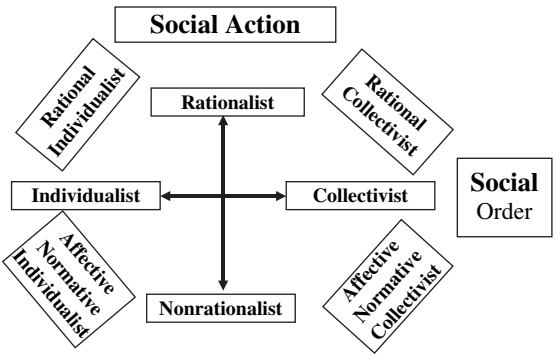

Fig. 1.3 Multidimensional sociology

social relationships – that order is created by a collective social phenomena. In relation to families, social order necessarily includes the family as both constructing itself through its members as well as being constructed by the social and cultural environment in which it is embedded.

Further, as Fig. 1.3 illustrates, social life (and here, familial social life), is constructed by rationalist individualist relationships which accent rational social action constructed by the social participants (the upper left quadrant). An example of this is how women and men discuss, argue and agree to ways of acting in their familial roles. Rational social action is also collectivist in that the social system the family is embedded within has already constructed familial models that actors need to negotiate in their everyday lives (upper right quadrant). This is exemplified by rationalist social conventions and traditions that impact family life. The lower right quadrant depicts affective-normative social action such as love, care, nurture and codes of behaviour that are created by the participants themselves. Expectations of love, care, norms, values and laws created by the larger social-cultural system inform family actors in their quotidian worlds that is reflected by the lower left quadrant.

Multi-Level

The theory is multi-level in that the family is posited as a micro level social system that both impacts higher levels of social systems or social collectivities and is modified by them. One might argue that the family is the classic social system that concatenates the individual to all the other levels of social life in a society and, indeed, in the world. Figure 1.4 is a depiction of this.

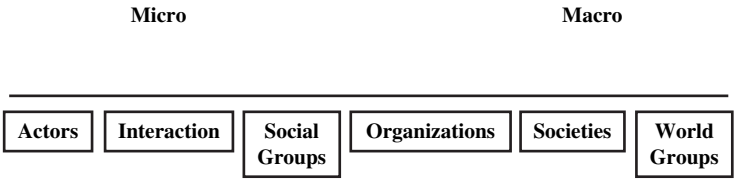

Fig. 1.4 Micro-macro dimensions of social life, Ritzer 1996:647

A Systems Perspective

The third feature of the theory is that of a systems perspective. This is the main thematic theme of Parsons (1977)[2] that is more central to his theory than all other features. I posit that the perspective includes all the significant systems of human life: the organic, personality, social, cultural, and physical systems. Parsons considers four of these systems. A fourth system Parsons (1951) presented was a combination of the organic and physical systems into one. It appears that Parsons combined the organic and physical system in order to retain his four-fold functions of several systems (AGIL).[3] Alexander (1983) argues that only three are central: personality, social and cultural systems but leaves it unclear why he retained only three. I believe that the five given above reveals a greater level of dimensionality to human life. From the work of Bronfenbrenner (1986), a sixth system is added, the chronosystem. This is similar to Parsons who considers that time and history (1937/1968:768) is central to structural functionalism. One cannot account for growth unless one considers time. Further, familial life is affected by major macro events like economic cycles, wars, natural disasters, and, more recently, terrorism. Figure 1.5 depicts this textual explanation.

Alexander (1983) criticizes Parsons for accenting the cultural system and the marginalization of all the other systems. He further challenges Parsons for being Procrustean and trying to "push" his four-fold functional model that is applicable only to the social system into the other systems. This version of Neo-Functionalism will present equal weight to all the systems and refrain from having any Procrustean tendencies common in Parsons' functionalism.

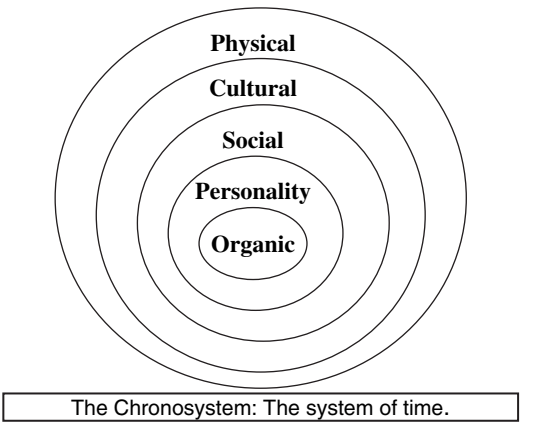

Fig. 1.5 Neo-functionalism, and the six systems

[2] Parsons describes the system as the indispensable master concept (1977:100)

[3] A refers to the function of adaptation; G, goal orientation of actors; I, the function of integration of societies, and, L, Latency or pattern maintenance (the integration of codes of behaviour in cultural systems).

The Inter-Penetration of the System of the Systems

The fourth element in Neo-functionalism in general is the importance Parsons put to the concept of inter-penetration of all the systems. This has been elaborated by Munch's (1981–1982) article on Parsons wherein he argues that the concrete action unit, an actor in a situation, can be only explained as an inter-penetration of the cultural, social, and personality sub-systems. The term that Parsons and Shils (1951) use is homology which is an aspect of this inter-penetration is that elements of one system can becomes elements of another system. This is exemplified by illustrating how the cultural system is characterized by a general system of values as well as by beliefs and symbols that undergo modification by its penetration of the social and personality systems. The social system's central characteristic is the obligation imposed on the members of the society to accept a certain variant of the basic cultural pattern. The function of this mutual inter-penetration is social solidarity.

Multi-disciplinary

Parsons' postgraduate work was in economics and his first position at Harvard was in this discipline. Later in his early career, he spent one year studying Freud. From this initial point, a feature of updating Parsons is to continue and to extend his multi-disciplinary approach to the family. This summary accents sociology as the core discipline with auxiliary links to psychology (with subsets of child psychology, family psychology attachment theory and developmental psychology), social psychology, sociobiology, and anthropology.

Integrative of Extant Family Theories

An attempt has been made to create a theoretical framework that integrates other family theories. It has been argued that current theories are not multidimensional in that they tend to accent only one or several of the dimensions outlined above.[4]

From this, combined with insights from Parsons, Figures 1.6 and 1.7 are the author's attempt to present an image of a Neo-functionalist theoretical framework of the family. Figure 1.6 presents a micro image of the family this is seen as a social system consisting of interactions that reveal relationship quality, parental adequacy, the attachment of parents to children that results in security and role differentiation that includes expressive and instrumental roles. The family, is a differentiated social system that has a unique dual function of the socialization of children and the stabilization of adults. The family as a social system is impacted through several other

[4] See Swenson (2004).

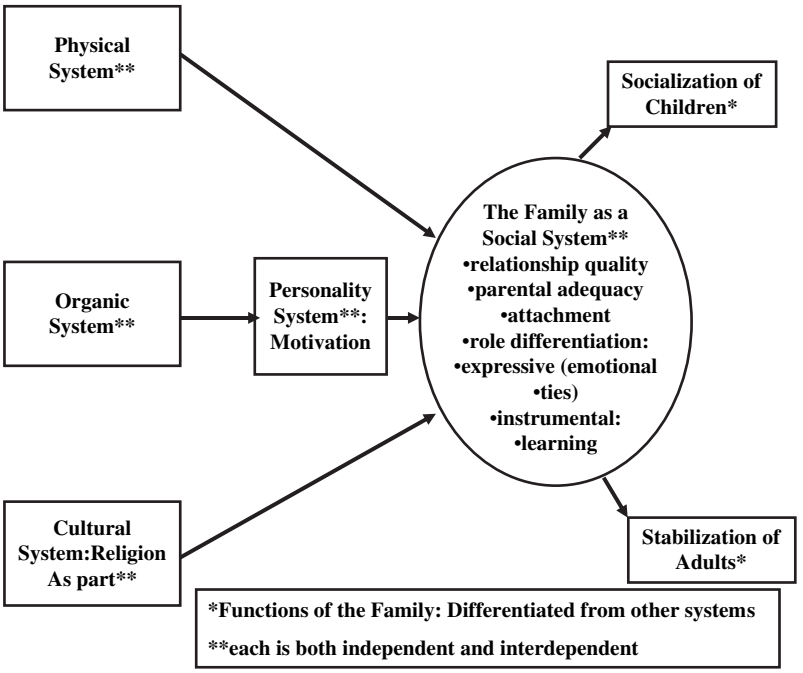

Fig. 1.6 A Micro image

systems: physical, cultural, organic and personality. A special element of the personality system is motivation while one, but salient, characteristic of the cultural system is religion. Note that each of the systems are independent as well as interdependent with other systems.

Figure 1.7 illustrates how the family is a locus, a vehicle of the link between micro and macro social phenomena. The boxes illustrate a macro level phenomena (cultural and physical systems) and the mutual influence between them and the family. Similarly, the ellipses refer to the organic and personality systems which are on the micro level of analysis. See that their influence on the family system is interactive – indicated by the double arrow lines. Lastly, the dashed arrow is unidirectional that is functional and not causative.

Several of these dimensions of the framework may be linked to the essential dimensions of religion. A framework that integrates religion into Neo-Functionalism includes elements that are multi-level, contextualized in a systems perspective, presents a view that considers human life interpenetrated of all systems, and is multi-disciplinary. The next section will present a multi-dimensional understanding of religion and present how these dimensions are concatenated to the theoretical framework.

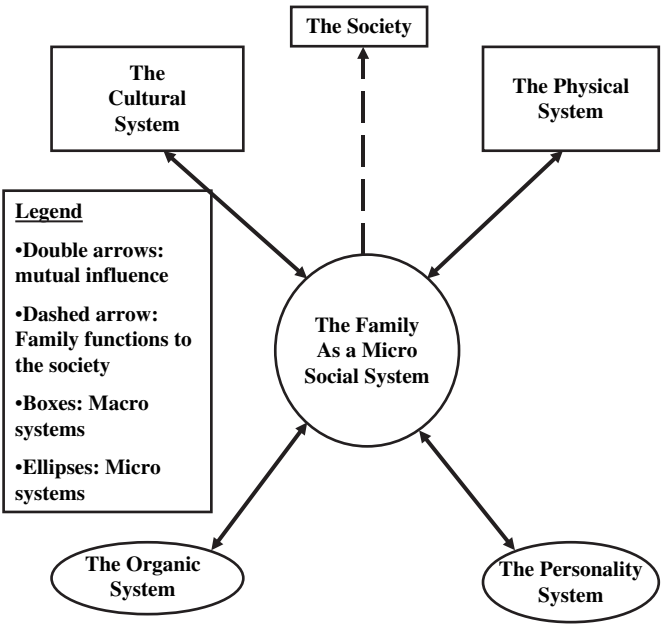

Fig. 1.7 A micro-macro link

Theoretical Links Between Religion and the Family

To link familial phenomena and religious phenomena together, one may consider that the links exist at all levels of human life: the personal (intra-personal elements both of the family such as a motivation to act and religion, for example, spirituality); the inter-personal levels are reflected in marital quality and parenting in the family and ritual in religion; the level of the group such as family functioning and the congregation in religion; and the society which is reflected by family law such as freedom of choice in regard to abortion and a challenged of that choice from the religious establishments.

Again, the systems approach is considered to be the main thematic dimension of the Neo-Functionalist framework.[5] At the level of the organic, one may consider the question of reproduction to be of vital interest to religion (Reynolds & Tanner, 1995). The link at the personality system would consider the concatenation between spirituality and, for example, attitudes towards parenting. The social systemic relationship would be the mesh of the family as a group or and institution and religion as a group or an institution. The cultural system is a reflected in the importance of mythology, ritual and ethics to religion and its link to familial world views, the link between marital quality, for example, and ritual

[5] Implied is the inter-penetration of all systems.

participation, and a common ethic of faithfulness in marriage that is substantiated by all of the major world religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam).

The physical system is central to the ability both of the family and religion to exist. Beaujot (2000) describes the family as a juncture of earning and caring. Wuthnow (1987) considers religion to be a social organization necessarily linked to the external environment in order to allocate necessary monetary and infra-structure resources.

In summary form, religion and the family can be linked on all levels of observation, are amenable to a systems approach within both religion and the family and bear an inter-disciplinary approach that is assumed to be vital to both social phenomena.

One final note on multi dimensionality linkages emerges from the discussion surrounding Fig. 1.3. The most important (but not exclusive) quadrants pertinent to religion are the lower left (the affective-normative individualist) and lower right (the affective-normative collective). One subset of affective social action comes from the work of Weber (1978) wherein he describes the heart of religion to be the contrast between charisma and the routinization of charisma.

It is in context of religion being a source of social change that the terms *charisma* and the *routinization of charisma* (Weber, 1978:1111–1148) emerge. Weber restricts their usage to religious leaders who are initiators (as in founders of religion like Abraham or Zoroaster), innovators (like Joseph Smith Jr. of Mormonism), renewers (as in the case of Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the Benedictines), or reformers (like Martin Luther or John Calvin). He situates the charismatic stage to the era of these kinds of leaders, and routinization to successors (and followers) who, in many cases, effectively loose the charisma and routinize the sacred. One may also include communities and organizations which encase charisma, the routinization of it or combinations thereof. I would add that charisma is an aspect of the personal experience of the sacred.

As applied to Fig. 1.3, charisma and its routinized variant may be understood as created by individuals as well as being a consequence of the collective order. In a propositional form, the charismatic dimension of religion produces positive effects in the family whereas its routinized form results in negative effects.

A Summary Theory and a Theoretical Model

A comprehensive theory that posits functional outcomes of families linked to various dimensions of religion would be to create a systems perspective of the family as well as religion. A fundamental assumption is that various dimensions of religion predict cognate dimensions of the family.

At a higher level of theory, it is suggested that there is a symmetry between the various systems of religion to the familial systems. In a graphic form that appears in Fig. 1.8 that is superimposed upon the familial systems as illustrated in Fig. 1.9.

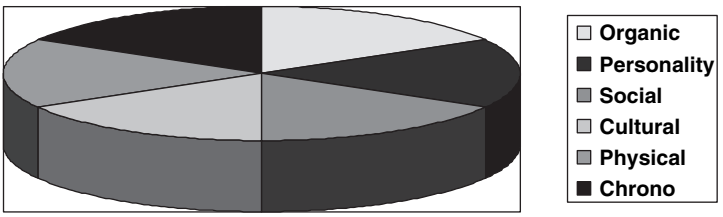

Fig. 1.8 The sacred systems

Potential links[6] of the family to the sacred systems appear as:

- *The Organic systems*: Sacred interests in reproduction are linked to parental attitudes and behaviours surrounding reproduction decisions.
- *Personality and social systems*: The more secure parents are in their sense of God's love for them (from the personality system of religion and from Christianity), the more attached they will be as parents to their children (an aspect of the social system in families). Children, in turn, will be more secure (familial personality system) and more likely to bond to others (familial social system).
- *Social and Cultural systems*: Those who participate in religious ritual (social and cultural systems of the sacred) will be more empowered as parents (social system of the family) and, the children will be more likely to conform to cultural norms.
- *Cultural*: Those who view God as love and as a protector will be more likely to be happy in their relationship quality (social system of the family) and, in turn, be more adequate in their parenting capacities.
- *Physical Systems*: Those who are more likely to adhere to an ethic akin to the Protestant Work ethic will be more likely to augment their earning resources. This in turn increases levels of economic adequacy that predict relationship quality, parental adequacy, and children's higher levels of motivation resulting in conformity to cultural norms as well as more prosocial behaviour.

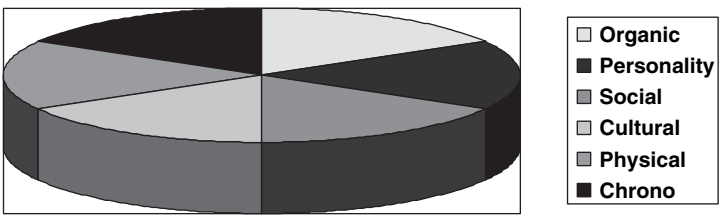

Fig. 1.9 The familial systems

[6] These propositions are for illustrative purposes and there may not be any literature to substantiate them.

- *The Chronosystem*: How families are linked to religion over the Life course and the social history of the link between religion and the family. This will be discussed in Chapter 2 when this system will be outlined in greater detail that will be augmented with both historical and empirical evidence.

From these various links, the following (Fig. 1.10) was constructed.

The following pages will expand on the Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework with a special accent on the systems perspective. It will be structured according to five of the six systems as presented from the family-religion link as well as the multi-level dimension of the two institutions. The research literature on the relationship between religion and the family will be structured under these six family systems. Where appropriate, the five systems of religion will also be integrated into the family systems. The fifth system, the physical, assumes the family is linked to the economy. In searching for research on links between the family, religion and the economy, there appeared to be little substantial literature on the threefold link. This is, indeed, a major lacuna in this summary and the author, from the outset, apologizes for this. Thus, using the systems perspective from Neo-Functionalism is helpful but it still does not cover the whole story of the links between religion and the family.

Wherever possible, the text will be inclusive of many traditions of religion. For the sake of brevity, literature will be drawn from folk societies, Islam and Christianity.

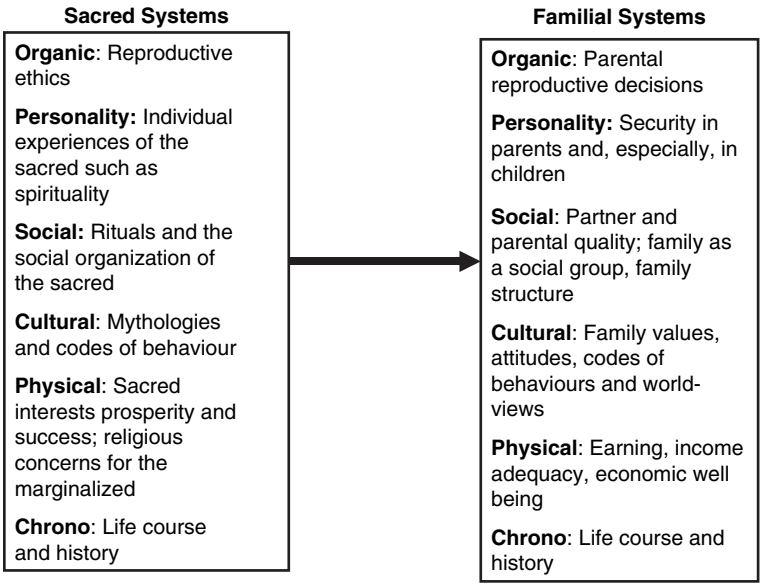

Fig. 1.10 Potential topics of links between religion and the family

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Chapter 2
The Chronosytem: A Social History of Religion and the Family Orientation

This chapter is an accent on the construction of a social-historical theory of family change using the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 1. The theory will be illustrated by changes in the family in the Occident and how they are accounted for by using social-historical data. The first part will focus on theoretical construction that is to undergird what were the sources of family change through Western history.

The second part will focus on five periods of the evolution of the family in the Occident: Roman, early Christianity, Early-Medieval, Central Medieval, and the Late Medieval family that is inspired, in part, by the Medieval scholar, McKitterick (2004). This will be followed by a social history of the family in England–from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Key scholars will be used to document patterns of the link between religion and the family in each era. They, and others, give us macro-sociological reasons for changes as families migrate from one era to another.

The Neo-Functionalist Theoretical Framework and Historical-Longitudinal Reflections

Equally important as the systems are, so also is central to the Neo-Functionalist framework the theme of history and time. Time is key to Parsons (1968) who argued that the most basic system is the unit act of what he terms an action system. Using the space-time categories of the philosopher Kant, he considers the unit action system (the space category) to be social and cultural objects, personalities, organisms and the physical environment (Parsons, 1991). In Neo-functionalist language, the action system and the five systems – organic, personality, social, cultural and physical-would be *space.* Figure 2.1 illustrates this. These systems would be contextualized in the *time* category that consists in history and in chronology.

Munch's (1981) reading of Parsons takes the scholar back to Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), through to Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), Max Weber (1864–1920), Georg Simmel (1858–1918), George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). Parsons focused, among other things, Kant's notion of space and time. For Kant (1787/1965), space and time are at the very heart of human knowledge and form the basis of perception and reason. Both are a priori, intuitive,

D. Swenson, *Religion and Family Links.*

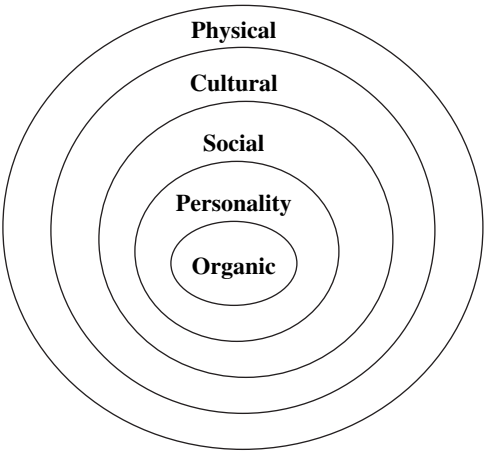

Fig. 2.1 Neo-functionalism and the five various systems

and internal to the human person. Space has both an empirical and transcendental reality. By this he means space is an internal form that gave shape to the external experience of spatial objects. In a similar way is time. It is also a priori, intuitive and internal that is a form to which the experience of time is categorized. For the theoretical development of Neo-functionalism, Kant's insights inform us that at the very heart of the human experience of social life is both space and time.

The contribution that Luhmann (1982) makes is his reading of Parsons to assist us in accenting the time dimension – families move through time and, in so doing, change. Luhmann (1982:54) argues that the most basic problem of an action system is that of time and of the differentiation between a system and its environment. This covers both the systems elements of the framework as well as history and time.

Of more recent scholarship, the British sociologist, Anthony Giddens (1984), also considers space and time to be at the most basic element of social structure. Giddens attempts to bridge the contrast between the subjective experiences of the actor (as expressed in hermeneutics and interpretive sociology) and those theories which valorize structure more importantly than agency and social action (he mentions structural functionalism). He names his theory *structuration* and notes: "The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across *space* and *time*" (1984:2 and italics added). Giddens avers that all social action involves structures and all structure involves social action – both agency and structure form a common reality that are contextualized in space and time. Ritzer (1996) adds that one of Gidden's most important achievements in social theory is his desire to centralize the issues of time and space.

Ritzer interprets Gidden's use of the term system (which he means a social system) that includes both agency and structure that not only constrain behaviour but also enable it. The most basic system (similar to the action system of Parsons) is the primordial condition of face-to-face interaction in which others are present at the same space and the same time.

More recent family scholars call for the need to include the dimension of space and time in understanding the family. Demo and Cox (2000) did a decade review of children and divorce and say that: "Few researchers, however, have employed more sophisticated person-process-context-time models to the study of family structure and well being" (2000:887). Bronfenbrenner (1986) adds another system (beyond the micro, meso, eco and macro systems) which he terms the *chronosystem*. This system pays special attention to the dimension of time wherein developmental changes are triggered by life events or experiences such as the birth of a child, entering school, marriage, divorce, a gain or a loss of employment, or the onset of menarche. Figure 2.2 illustrates this sixth system as part of the more inclusive Neo-Functionalist framework.

In a more recent piece, Bronfenbrenner (1995) attempts to link space (using the system concept) and time (both chronological and historical). He terms a new model "the bioecological paradigm" and utilizes the connections between process-person-context and time. It consists of the following elements: full integration of family phenomena; a covering of biology, sociology, cultural anthropology, history and economics; a link of beliefs and behaviours; and the vitality of the person as a free agent. His observation on the importance of history is telling: "developmental life is an effect of the historical period through which the person lives" (1995:641).

Belsky builds on the ecological systems theory of Bonfenbrenner and uses his link – the process-person-context-time model (1999:620). In Neo-Functionalist sociological language, this includes social action and social structure (implied by process), context (social, cultural, and physical) and time. The psychological compliment is the person who is considered to be an active agent who contributes to her or his own development.

A combined systems-time causal-path is illustrated by Fig. 2.3.

To extend the model include history as time, one may theorize that changes in family life are predicted to be a consequence of major macro events in the development of whole societies. Figure 2.4 depicts this.

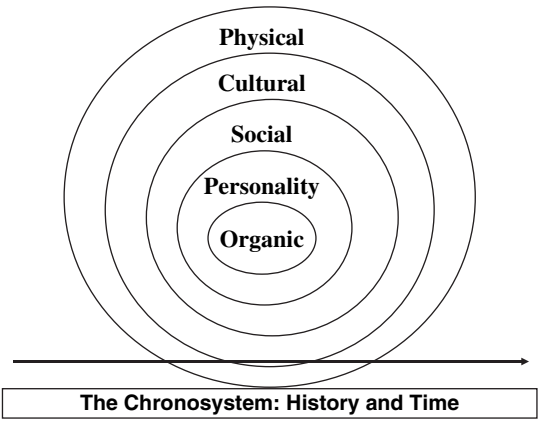

Fig. 2.2 Neo-functionalism and the additional chronosystem

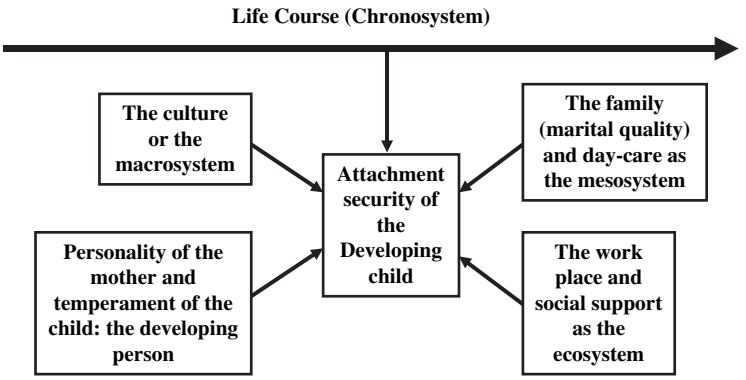

Fig. 2.3 An Neo-functionalist-ecological model

This extension of the time dimension of Neo-Functionalism can be applied to the family throughout a particular epoch or era of the development of the Western World. Parsons (1977) offers insights even into a longer perspective. It is theorized that macro factors in the cultural system (religious and philosophical), the organic (plagues), social (wars and political revolutions), and the physical system (economic transformations) have an effect or impact family change or transformations.

Part of the goal of constructing the Neo Functionalist framework was to integrate the majority of the extant theories of the family (see Swenson, 2004). The theory which seems best to fit with the time or history dimension discussed is *The Life Course Perspective*. The essential features of this perspective is provided by Bengston and Allen (1993). They initiate their article by contrasting it with "life span development" which is informed by psychology and is focussed on the **ontogenetic** development of the child. A summary of the critical themes of the perspective consist of the following.

Time is the central concept that is characterized by ontogenetic time, generational time, and historical time. Time that is ontogenetic is the personal biography of an individual that affect behavioural processes such as variation of infant, toddler, child, youth, adult or elderly responses to, for example, the exit of another person from the nucleus of a family. Generational time are family events or transitions

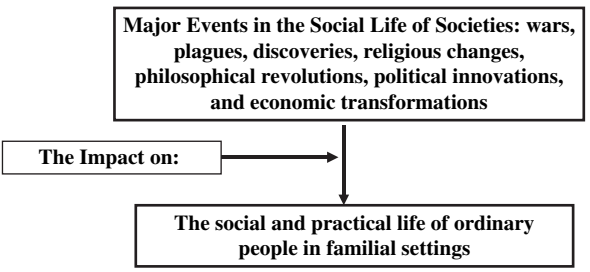

Fig. 2.4 An historical perspective on changes in the family

that affect the self. Time that is historical is focussed on the effect that macro social/cultural factors have on individuals and families. The kind of time that is most applicable to the subsequent statistical analysis is generational time.

The second theme is the social/cultural context or ecology. Bengston and Allen (1993) mention four points:

1. The location of the individual within the larger social structure has an impact on the same individual.
2. The individual is viewed as an active agent in interaction with the familial and social/cultural environment. In other words, this person is not a passive agent in the face of macro structures.
3. The social and cultural structures are in constant flux and can ameliorate or attenuate individual outcomes throughout the development of the person.
4. Both micro and macro levels of influence affect individual actors.

Theme number three focuses on process and change that takes on a dynamic (**diachronic**) course rather than a static of **synchronic** approach. Closely related to this theme is: that the macro social structures are heterogeneous and that their effects on persons may produce changes that are not normal and thus these changes may have important features one could miss if the researcher only focussed on the modal or the average.

Theme number five addresses the question of multidisciplinarity. The life course perspective integrates information from biology, psychology, sociology, history, economics, and demography.

In summary, the authors write: "The life course perspective, as applied to families, suggests the interlocking forces of individual, familial, generational, and social-historical structures and processes" (Bengston and Allen, 1993:493). How would one place the life-course theory within a Neo-Functionalist framework? It would operate on three fronts: the basic social action theory of Parsons, differentiation, and the various systems.

Built into the action theory of Parsons and Neo-Functionalism is a dimension of time or the chronosystem. As an actor is orientated to a situation, not only in the context of space (measured by the situation), but also in the context of time (an actor positions him or herself towards an end according to several means to achieve that end). As families change through time they are differentiated by age, role position, gender, history, and generation. Besides the chronosystem, five systems are relevant to this perspective: the organic (ontogeneity), the personality system (how the actor changes through time and individual development), the cultural system (the changes in roles at each stage of the family life cycle that are specified by cultural norms), the social system (various immediate – micro – and distal social ecologies – macro) and the physical (variations in the economic basis of a society). This perspective gives relatively equal credence to multidimensionality (see Chapter 1); is a macro-micro framework, and includes a systems perspective.

In tracing the history of the family in the Occident, I trust that the major feature of this perspective becomes relevant in arguing for major macro factors affecting the family.

The Roman Family

This discussion lays the background or the starting point for the history of the family in the West. I begin with an introduction of the general history of the Roman Empire that will be followed by characteristics of the family, marriage, and children. Roberts (2005) will inform the first section and Dixon (1992) will instruct us about familial themes. I will not focus here on religion and the family but will base use the Roman family as the benchmark form of the family of the Occident. The rest of the development of the family in the West will include many references to how religion has affected the Western family.

A Concise History of the Roman Empire

A whole course and large tome would need to be used to explicate this history. I am to use several dates and indicate major epochs in the rise and the decline of this remarkable empire.

Religion was important to the Romans. Thus, it was believed that Rome was founded by mythical figures, Romulus and Remus. They were born twins (whose father was the god Mars) and exposed to death on the river Tiber. Miraculously, their basket came ashore near the Palatine and were nurtured by a she-wolf until they were found by a Faustalus who raised them to adulthood. The legend continues that they founded Rome (Roberts, 2005).

Much less prosaic was the actual history. Around 700 BC, according to Roberts, a Palatine settlement, near the river Tiber, was founded and it soon became a city-state. In 500 BC, an early republic was constructed with the emergence of two classes of people: the patricians (rulers) and the plebeians (the rest of the city). The plebeians suffered much until they took initiative to participate in the economic-political affairs of the city-state. From 367 BC to 326, the *Struggle of the Orders* was orchestrated until a new class of elites, the patricians and the plebeians was created.

Thereafter diplomatic and military expansions continued without abatement until the whole of the peninsula of Italy was under Roman control by 275. From 264 to 146, the Romans broke beyond their shores to conquer the Carthigian empire and then to Greece, Africa and Asia. During this time, the ideal of the republic eroded until 62 BC when the first triumvirate was created. This too eroded until in 27 BC when Augustus Caesar Octavian (63 BC–14 AD) became the supreme Emperor which marks the period of Imperial Rome.

Through many struggles (epidemics, continued assassination of emperors, a decline in fertility, and the employment of barbarian mercenaries), the empire came

to a fatal wound in 378 when the Goths defeated the Roman army in Adrianople. The population of the fifth century witnessed the invasions of the Goths, the Franks, the Suebi, the Vandals and the Avars. It was in 476 that the last emperor in the West, Romulus Augustus (emperor from 475 to 476) stood at the pinnacle of political power.

General Characteristics of the Family

Although the household (the *domus)* looked like a concertina, the actual family unit was a stable, relatively unchanged, and vital unit of the Roman society. The nuclear family was the standard and the pattern of familial configurations with a densely populated circle about it. The household, especially among the elite from which we know the most about the Roman family, was inhabited by nurses (some of whom wet-nursed infants), attendants, pedagogues and teachers, all from the class of slaves. Figure 2.5 illustrates this.

Dixon (1992) cautions us to realize that even though this was a pattern, the Roman Empire was extensive (covering 5 million km) with a population, in the first century AD, of 55 million people. Thus, there were myriad variations according to customs and values of various cultures.

During the Imperial period, there appeared many writings contrasting the contemporary family with the family form of the republican era. The family of the republican era was depicted as virtuous, without adultery or divorce, where children honoured their parents and parents were exemplary. Dixon notes these as

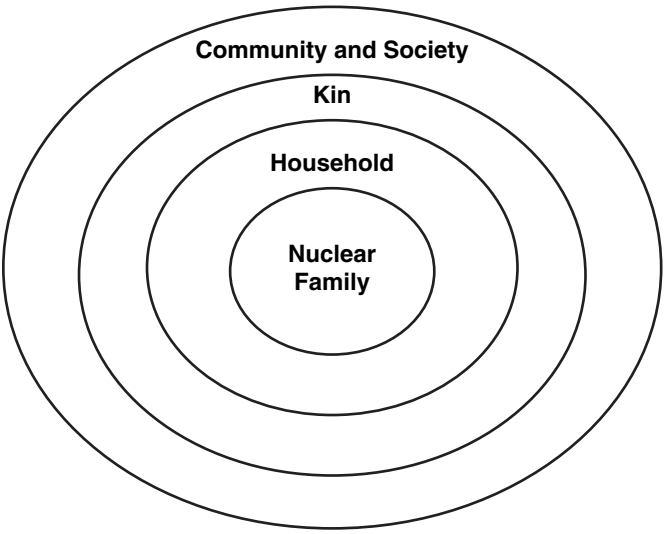

Fig. 2.5 The Roman family and household

exaggerations and were designed by ethical ideals of the Stoics to change familial moral practices of their contemporaries.

Unlike the Canadian family, the Roman family had a legal status constructed to ensure social status of the state's citizens and to guarantee proper inheritance practices were followed. A false image of the husband-father (*pater familias*) has been circulated that has considered him to be a tyrant with unlimited power over his wife, his children and his household. Legally he did have this but it was rarely implemented as it would destroy the internal mechanisms not only of the family but also the household. A truer image of the father was: that he was also governed by socially acceptable and less punitive customs; that he consulted with his wife on matters relating to the children; that he treated the children with kindness; and that he practiced mercy towards his household and familial relations.

Marriage

Marriage was seen to be central to the nature of the social fabric of ancient Rome. Dixon describes it:

> If two Roman citizens with the legal capacity to marry one another and each had the consent of the *paterfamilias* and lived together with the intention of being married, that was recognized as a valid marriage and children born of the union were Roman citizens in the power of their father (1992:61).

In contrast to the modern Western view of marriage, two necessary elements surrounded it, the dowry and inheritance. The dowry was monies given to the groom from the family of the bride that was not to be used but put aside in case of the death of the husband or divorce. Inheritance not only referred to capital being given to the next generation but also the passage of the status of the family of orientation. If a dowry was not present or inheritances were to be given to non kin or not the next generation, a marriage was considered void. Figure 2.6 depicts this image.

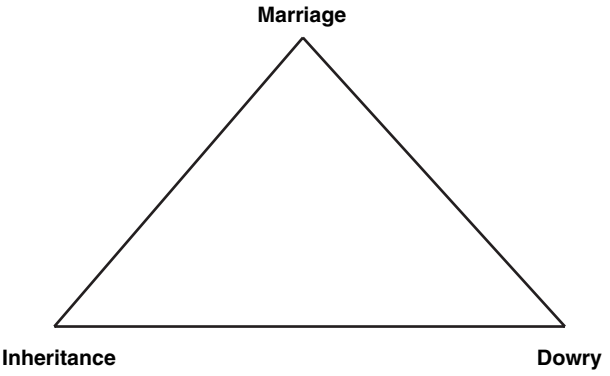

Fig. 2.6 The image of marriage

A further contrast to the modern family in the Occident is that marriage was clearly perceived as a family affair and not based on an individual-romantic decision. Although marriage was seen to be a private affair, a ceremony was celebrated. It consisted of these following elements: the bride was escorted to the home of the groom with fanfare and hilarity; at the home of the groom, the couple partook of a religious rite to mark the bride's entry into her new home; no state official was present but as long as the paterfamilias (of both the bride and the groom) approved of the marriage, a dowry was exchanged, and the two families were present, a marriage had occurred.[1]

Religion played a role in the marriage. An ancient frieze depicts the presence of deities in the ceremony: From Fig. 2.7, one can see the bride in the bridal chamber with all the appropriate clothing who is comforted by a goddess. Another woman, veiled, makes a sacrifice of some kind on the domestic altar.

The image of the paterfamilias conjures up the woman as being totally under the control of her husband. Dixon offers another image. By law the father-husband was a patriarch but the local social customs modified this. For example, by the mid-Republic, women could make wills and in the early years of the Imperial era, women arranged marriages as well as maintain a legal link to their family of orientation. Yes, marriage was a social contract whose purpose was primarily to have children but it did not mean that there was no romantic love and sentiment. Dixon provides evidence that enjoyable sexuality and affection was common.

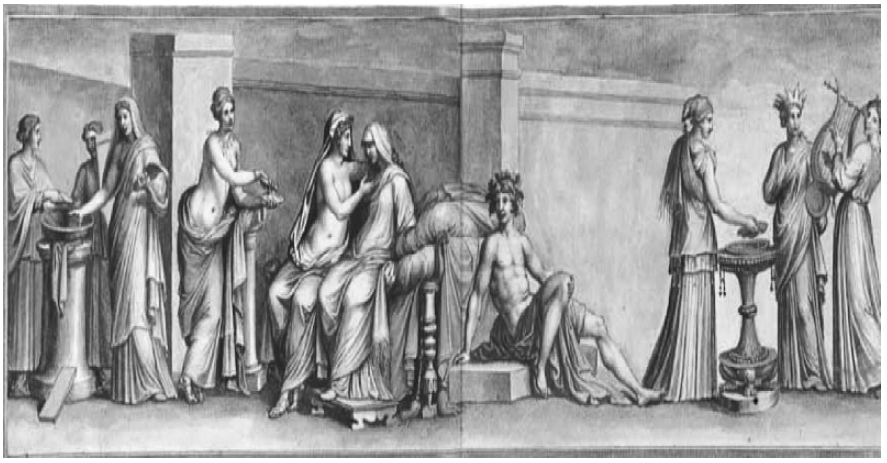

Fig. 2.7 The Roman Aldobrandini wedding, Roman fresco; Vatican Museum, Vatican City: Aldobrandini Wedding (1st century BC). Wikimedia® is a registered trademark of the Wikimedia Foundation, In

[1] The actual ceremony was not necessary for a valid marriage.

Augustus Caesar was not only first emperor, he was also a moral crusader for marriage and reproduction. He offered monies and status enhancement to the elite who did marry and have children. Caesar introduced laws as to require a legal document of divorce. All this crusading was done under the ideal of the early Republic which he deemed as being morally superior to his own time. His plans did not work and seemed not to have made a difference in the familial (or lack thereof) lifestyle of the Roman elites.

Children

Children were of value to the Romans as they are of value to modern peoples. However, the reasons are different. The child of ancient Rome as valorized not because they were "cute," "priceless," or innocent but for their usefulness not only to the state but to the family itself. Table 2.1 illustrates this.

This does not mean, however, that children were not a source of joy, delight, and sentiment. Dixon documents many literary data to substantiate this image. It was further understood that parents played a vital role in the development of the child and remained active in their lives as long as the parents lived.

Another contrast to the modern family was the fluidity of the household. As seen from Fig. 2.5, there were many other persons in the household – there to assist the parents in the management of the house and the socialization of children. The others included nurses (mothers frequently had slave wet nurses), attendants, pedagogues and teachers. Further, the paterfamilias often adopted others – male children and adults as well.

In regard to fertility, Augustus Caesar was correct. The elite of Rome were notorious in not reproducing themselves and the males held marriage in low esteem. The sociologist Stark (1996), using scholarly materials, estimates that not only was there a low fertility rate but also there was a chasm in the sex ratio: about 140 men to 100 women. Why the discrepancy? Stark gives two reasons: female infanticide and abortion. In the case of abortion, not only did the unborn child die, the woman's life was frequently in jeopardy. This accounts for fewer women, but why the general low fertility rate? The Romans practiced various kinds of birth control: fluids from plants

Table 2.1 The functions of children

For the state	For the family
Necessary for new soldiers and tax revenues	Economic gain
Natural reproduction	Emotional support-especially in times of trouble and crisis
The reproduction of culture	they with the wife-mother offered a haven
For the production of property, honour, the family name and cult	the passage of capital and cultural inheritance
For the production of clothing, food and shelter	

and sexual variations that kept sperm out of the vagina. These variations consisted of: *coitus interruptus*, mutual masturbation, anal sex, bisexuality and homosexuality.

Could it be that this is one factor that led to the decline of the Roman Empire? Steyn (2006), in writing of Europe in the twenty-first century, considers that the reproductive rates of these countries is way below fertility and the typical French, Italian, Spaniard, or Greek is on the way to extinction.

Some Conclusions

The ideal family for the Romans, Dixon acknowledges, is that a free couple would marry, have children, live to a happy old age, and be cared for by their adult children. The reality was different but the ideal was never gone.

The patterns of the family include: arranged marriages, the frequent death of infants, slave children inducted into labour and being vulnerable to sexual abuse, strong sentiments between family members, an expansive household that included foster parents, servants, apprentices, nurses and pedagogues. There is also substantial evidence for kin parenting children, stepparents, and family disruption through death and divorce.

I offer a larger quote from Dixon on her observation not only on the Roman family but the family of all times and places:

> The family is a very flexible institution, and change as it may, it seems to satisfy certain constant human needs, especially the need for material aid and the sense of belonging and mutual emotional support. It provides a moral and economic structure from which individuals can operate – not always happily – but the family also withstood constant and cyclic internal conflict.... The family is more than a summary of legal relations or moral obligations, more than the focus of constant conflict, more than an economic and reproductive unit and the basis of mutual support. Any picture of family relations needs to take all of these aspects into account to acknowledge the complexity, resilience, and endurance of this basic human institution (1992:162–163).

Early Christianity and the Family

According to Stark (1996), the central reason that families, communities and societies were revived with the coming of Christianity was that the central mythologies of the religion prompted and sustained attractive, liberating, and effective social relations and organizations. The core mythology of the faith is that "God is love" (I John 4:9)* that, in turn, led to subsequent beliefs such as:

- God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son (John 3:16).
- Think of the love that the Father has lavished on us by letting us be called God's children (I John 3:1).

* All scripture quotes to *Bible* are from Jones (1966).

- God's love for us was revealed when God sent into the world his only Son so that we could have life through him; this is the love I mean: not our love for God but God's love for us when he sent his Son to be the sacrifice that takes our sins away (I John 4:10).

As noted by Stark and other students of religion, sacrifice is a common feature in most sacred traditions. Sacrifice may include the giving of food, goods, or money to the deities. It may also involve the slaughter of the killing of animals. The Mayans of ancient Meso-America sacrificed humans as did the Sumerians of Mesopotamia (Cahill, 1998). What is so radical, new and unparallel among all other religions is that the deity is the sacrifice for humans. This becomes the master narrative which, in turn, emerges as a model for Christians.

This master narrative was to become the central ethos of Christianity. In relationships, it called the disciples of Jesus to love each other (I John 4:11); to serve each other as Jesus serves them (John 13:12–15); to support the weak (Luke 16:19–31); and to share with those who are in need (Acts 2:44–45). This self-giving love, however, was not to be restricted to fellow Christians. It was to be extended to the whole human race (I Thessalonins 3:12) and even to one's enemies. Jesus was reported as saying:

> You have learnt how it was said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say this to you: offer the wicked man no resistance.... Give to anyone who asks, and if anyone wants to borrow, do not turn away. You have learnt how it was said: You must love your neighbour and hate your enemy. But I say this to you: love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you; in this way you will be sons of your Father in heaven for he causes his sun to rise on bad men as well as good, and his rain to fall on honest an dishonest men alike (Matthew 5:38–45).

Stark and other scholars have documented that this was not restricted to the ideal world but was practiced by the early Christians and samples of Christians throughout the centuries since the time of Jesus.

This ethos had a radical effect on familial life. Husbands were called to love their wives and wives to respect their husbands. Children were welcome and were to be cared for and honoured (Ephesians 5:25–33 and Colossians 3:19–21). This is evidenced from the contrasts in fertility among the Romans already mentioned by Dixon and the number of children being born to the early Christians.

The Role of Women

Many authors provide evidence for the vital place that women played in the early years of Christianity. I shall offer a sample of their observations.

Heine (1987), in her study of women and early Christianity, documents that the praxis of Jesus was in radical contrast both to the host Roman and Judaistic cultures in that he came to serve and not be served. Women were partners in his enterprise and many were his personal friends. His motif was "...inclusiveness and not exclusiveness as the criteria" (1987:63). Individuals were not judged by their ethnicity, political leanings, social status or gender but by how much they believed. In his

mythology, all people are equally in need of salvation, men no less or more than women. Indeed, it was women who first witnessed the resurrection epiphany and not the male disciples.

It has been suggested by some that women's roles and voices begin to be attenuated during the first century through the work of Paul the apostle. Reference is usually given to the first letter of Paul to Timothy wherein Paul counsels women to dress modestly, should be quiet and respectful, are not to teach, and are best suited for domestic responsibilities (I Timothy 2:9–15). According to Heine (1987), to use this text as the total mind of Paul on women is to use Paul as a scapegoat. She goes on to cite evidence that women, under his ministry, become the first converts, are active collaborators with him (she estimates that about 25% of them were women), serve as apostles, missionaries, and deacons.

The theologian Frend (1993) presents examples of two, courageous women, Blandina and Perpetua, who faced fear and hatred with prowess and strength in martyrdom. They dared to challenge the patriarchal ideology of *paterfamilia* and their lives were forfeited. Frend writes that "Christianity provided scope for the human need of achievement and daring for a cause" (1993:95) and the equality practised by the Christians offered fulfilment to many women. Further, women joined a society without social and gender distinction that the Greco-Roman society could not offer.

In a work on independent virgins, Salisbury (1991) comments that for women, because they renounced their sexuality, they no longer had to obey the Old Roman traditions of gender. Chastity allowed women to control their lives in the face of Roman expectations of what was appropriate women's behaviour and role. She tells of Constania, the daughter of Constantine the Great, and a Mary of Egypt, a reformed prostitute, who renounced their social privilege to become ascetics. She further writes of women named Egeria and Melania the younger who travelled alone without male escort to the Holy Land. Pelagia, a beautiful prostitute, left her wealth and lived in cell on the Mount of Olives. Finally, Costissma, a daughter of a wealthy family of Alexandria, was trained to read the scriptures by her father, left the socially distinctive life-style and became known as a saintly and learned woman near the city.

What of more official roles or ministries in the Church? According to Torjesen (1993) and Eisen (2000), there were many functions that women had an active role to play. Eisen's (2000) thesis is that in Early Christianity, women appear as independent subjects, demonstrably active in important Christian positions. Torjesen (1993) adds that they were preachers, pastors, priests, prophets and patrons. The documentation of the evidence for this does not come from official ecclesial sources but, rather are epigraphical (to do with inscriptions on stone, and building, a statue) and papyrological (to do with papyrus manuscripts) which were commonly used by the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans.

In a survey of churches in Philippi, Corinth, and Rome during New Testament times, Torjesen writes that women, such as Lydia, Priscilla, Phoebe, Jania, Mary, Tryphaena, Trypohosa, Peris, served as leaders of house-churches, were prophetesses, and even apostles. An important ministry of widowhood was central to the life of the early church and these women were commissioned to the ministry of praying and of receiving revelations. Further, because early Christianity was a

private religion (it worked underground as it was a persecuted religion), women were authorized to teach, discipline, and administer material resources.

Eisen's (2000) work is more specific. She examines epigraphs (most of which were on tombs) from Anatolia, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Her review reveals that women were active as apostles (Junia, Aegidius of Rome, Thelca, and Nino); prophets (Nanus and Anmia of Philadelphia); teachers of theology (Kyria, the desert mothers, Theodora and Synkletica, Hypatia, Theodora of Rome, Marcella of Rome, Proba, Melania the Elder, Melania the Younger, Theodrna, the Didakalos, and Maciona); priests or presbyters (Ammion, the Presbytera, Epikto, Artemidora, Kale, Leta, Flavia);[2] enrolled widows (Flavia Arcas and Regina); deaconesses (Sophia, Maria, Agalliasis, Theoprpia, Dalmatia from Gaul, and evidence from many inscriptions from Colicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Phygria, Lyconia, Bithynia and Lycia); bishops (Episcopa Theodora, the mother of Pope Paschal I):[3] and stewards (Irene of Asia Minor) whose roles were to manage the goods for the poor and were commissioned to do so.

Evidence from these authors revealed that women preached the gospel, spoke in tongues, went on mission, prayed, presided over Eucharist, baptized, taught, created theology, cared for the poor and the sick and administered burial places. They thus had many public roles outside of the home which blurred the private-public imagery usually associated with women and men.

The Early Medieval Family

Goody (2000), a social historian of the family, assists us in understanding how the many codes of marriage and the family changed with the coming of Christianity. The catalogue of changes is impressive. Christianity, in words of Stark, was revolutionary in that the new ethos came from the mythology of the new religion and not out of an evolution of previous cultural codes and behaviours. The changes included; the range of eligible marital partners, the introduction of Godparenthood, lineage connections, the rise of celibacy and images of sexuality, concubinage, divorce, remarriage, and inheritance codes.

Not mentioned above in the discussion on Ancient Rome, marriages between close kin was not forbidden. From the fourth century, edicts were presented from church authorities to prohibit marriages between: siblings, first cousins, relatives from marriage (affines), and god children or godparents. Goody's interpretation is that the church was consolidating ecclesial relationships in contrast to kin and clan ones. Godparenthood was constructed to supplement biological parents in

[2] Eisen writes: ... "on the basis of epigraphic evidence we can suppose that until the 4th century women were active presbyters in the communities of Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt" (2000:127)

[3] Eisen (2000:200–202) uses this designation with some caution. The inscription appears as "Episcopa Theodora" on a mosaic dating from the time of Pope Paschal I (Pope from 817 to 824). This could mean that she was married to a bishop and not a bishop herself.

the spiritual care of their children. These people became essential for a Christian baptism and thereafter joined the circle of prohibited marriages.

Lineage became an important feature of the religion. Most of the host societies that were met by Christianity practised male lineage and the new bride was inducted into the agnatic grouping. The new form was the cognatic group that saw lineage through the mother.

Many theories try to account for the rise of celibacy as a model of being a Christian and why secular clergy (those clergy who were not in a monastery or a religious order) were required to be celibate (the law did not come into effect until the eleventh century). Gradual changes occurred with Christianity in regard to the views of sex. Cole (1959) writes that in the Christian Bible, sex is considered to be good, part of the divine creation, and people are expected to enjoy it. He further argues that a good marriage produces a positive sex life and that marriage itself is a combination of love, sex and procreation. Cole summarizes the apostle Paul in arguing that marriage is a mystery, monogamous, life long, holy, held in honour, and permanent. In conclusion, Cole writes:

> Sex and love belong together – in life no less than in the Bible. Where one flows from the other, the experience is creative, releasing, and enlarging. It is even rooted in eternity, in God himself and his love for his covenanted people (1959:436).

Yet, changes did occur. There grew a vibrant monastic movement in the fourth century. Routinization of Christianity had occurred and many sought to escape the insipid mix between the world and Christianity. They sought refuge in the desert to replicate the ideals of Jesus such as poverty and obedience. They took for their models Jesus and Paul as examples of celibacy. Along with poverty and obedience, celibacy became the mark of a "high" call, a virtuoso in Weber's (1978) and Sharot's (2001) terms. Brown (1987) documents that both men and women sought a total dedication to seeking the face of God, of being single in heart, as focussed on heaven and not the earth, and living a life of undivided praise to God. In time, the monastic ideal began to be lived by clergy who lived and served in society. In the eleventh century, it became mandatory for the clergy to be celibate in the Western Church.

Sex and marriage never did loose their ideals but they gradually came to be seen as a less important vocation in the Christian church in contrast to celibacy. Brown (1987) accents Augustine (354–430 AD), the most significant Church Father of the Latin Church, taught a theology that not only influenced the continued valorization of celibacy within the monastery but also in the domestic family. It was Augustine who believed that if a man and woman had sex without the intention of procreation, they sinned. Brown writes:

> Augustine's views imposed an ascetic's rigour and an ascetics's awareness of human frailty on the humble householders in the world. He joined world and desert in the Catholic Church. In this he would be followed, in the silent rise of the Catholic Church in western Europe. The urban Catholic bishops of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, rather than the "men of the desert," became the arbiters of the monastic paradigm as it had been subtly and irreversibly modified by Augustine to embrace even sexuality in the world (1987:310).

Goody relates several other changes that were in contrast to the Greco-Roman world. Forms of concubinage (mostly with a "second" wife to produce a child the first wife was unable to do), divorce were prohibited and remarriage after the death of a spouse was discouraged.

The notion of inheritance was also radicalized. In the Greco-Roman social order, inheritance was to be passed on to the second generation of legal children. The third party introduced after Christianity was the church itself as a major recipient of inheritances. Most of these monies, in the first centuries of Christianity, did not go to build churches but to establish monasteries and to provide livelihood for the poor.

Some Conclusions

The impact of Christianity upon Greco-Roman society is unquestionable. In many ways, this new religious movement introduced a revolutionary ethic of love, a model of the family depicting commitment, love and fidelity, it engendered changes in the role of women and gave the image of a man as a lover and not as a patriarch. On the other hand, these initial changes became routinized and new forms of patriarchy emerged along with changes in the image of sexuality.

The Central-Medieval Family

In the spirit of the systems approach of Neo-functionalism, it is well to provide the reader with a presentation of the religious context of the Central Medieval family (circa 1050–1300). To understand the micro system of the family (consisting, primarily, of the personality and social systems), one needs to see in the context

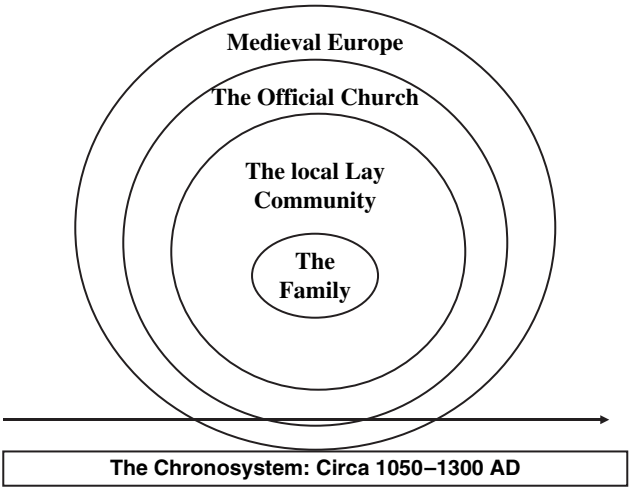

Fig. 2.8 Contexts of the Central Medieval family

of the wider systems, I have chosen to outline the physical and cultural systems. The later, in this care, is the sacred system. Thus this section is divided into three: the physical-social system, the cultural-sacred system, and the family. Figure 2.8 offers a pictorial representation.

The Physical-Social Systems: Medieval Europe: 1050–1250

This wider context of the family is important because of either direct or indirect effects it had on familial phenomena. McKitterick (2004) provides us with the essential features of the political, economic, and ecclesial elements of this expansive territorial space. She divides the geographical area into the British Isles and France, the **Holy Roman Empire**, and Italy.

A feature of the British-French interconnection was a balance of the powers of monarchs and **magnates**. One of the consequences of the Norseman and **Saracen** raids was the construction of fortresses known as **castles**. These massive structures were the mainstay of royal and seigneurial power that served as focal spaces that had a creative effect on the local environment: the recruitment of human capital, the cultivation of land and the creation of markets for exchange of goods.

In the aftermath of the unification of England by the Anglo-Saxons, there developed an administrative system that worked through a system of local divisions called shires and royal officers termed sheriffs. William the Conqueror (1027–1087) from Normandy, France, who in 1066 invaded and conquered England, did transform the culture and language of the land but it remained, essentially, an Anglo-Saxon culture. In the twelfth century, the English nobility offered a financial and justice system that was the most sophisticated in western Europe. It was in the thirteenth century (1215) that the precedent was set to share royal power among other nobles in the Magna Carta and to produce the first bill of rights for individuals.[4]

Links between England and France continued for many centuries. Henry II (1133–1189) was not only the king of England but also of one-half of France through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204). From 1180 to 1223, the French monarchy expanded its power in a dramatic way.

The second major player was the Holy Roman Empire that commenced during the reign of Charles the Great or Charlemagne (747–814) and was reinforced through a dynasty called the Ottonians (919–1024). They embodied the **Caesarpapist** paradigm and were heavily involved in not only electing bishops but also popes. The emperors were focussed on expanding power and acquiring lands beyond Germany and parts of France while the local lords had jurisdiction throughout the settled

[4] The charter, in part, reads: "No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any other way, nor will we proceed with force against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgement of his equals or the law of the land" (King John's Charter of Liberties for the English, 1215, clause 39, quoted in McKitterick, 2004:124).

lands. A central theme arose in this period that became known as the lay investiture controversy which will be discussed in the next section.

The third player was Italy even though much of it was under the control of the Holy Roman Empire. The peninsula was divided into three large areas: the north, under the control of the Holy Roman Empire with the gradual emergence of merchant-city-states, the central area known as the Papal States and the south, the Kingdom of Sicily. It was the Norman Roger (1031–1101) who conquered the Muslims who had taken over the region at an earlier date (starting in 827).

It was around 1000 that the papacy was under the control of emperors and local factions. Popes were often appointed and deposed by the Emperor. It was in this century that a major shift occurred in the Western world – the transformation of imperial Caesaropapism to papal **hierocracy**. As indicated, this will be discussed in the subsequent section.

On the economic front, according to Gies and Gies (1987), there arose a great commercial revival that included the rapid growth of trade, manufacturing and the generation of a money based system of exchange. Muslim primacy on the Mediterranean was replaced by Italian fleets to allow for more freedom of commerce. Pack trains carried wool cloth from Flemish cities East while, in return, luxury goods came from Italy. With these movements, a new merchant class grew as well as craftsmen primarily associated with the cloth industry that was comprised of weavers, fullers, dyers, and finishers. These worked in family households and created the first proletarians of Europe. Agriculture evolved with the addition of horse traction, the wheeled plow, and a three-field system of crop production.

The Cultural-Sacred System: The Church

According to Cowdrey (2004), it was during the eleventh century that the features of Medieval Europe became well established. The image of heaven, in contrast to that of the early church, became one of a class hierarchy: God the Father as supreme head, Christ as his vice-regent, Mary as the feminine wisdom, and the saints. On earth, emperors, kings, popes, princes, bishops, priests and, then laity formed the social structure. A threefold image emerged: (1), those who pray (the higher and lower clergy as well as monks and nuns), (2) those who fought and lead (the nobles and the military), and, (3), those who worked (all the rest of the laity). The general movement, established in the genesis of the Medieval world about 800, was the puissance of the noble laity and the attenuation of the lower laity. A model arose in the whole of the Medieval world that, effectively, excluded lower laity participation in the life of the church.

Bishops were seen as “sacred princes” who had sacramental, administrative, and magisterial responsibilities. They were overseers of the lower clergy (deacons and priests) and, the clerics, in turn, led the laity. Parallel to these structures were the monasteries which housed women and men of dedicated prayer and labour. Their numbers were impressive. Brook (2006) notes that hundreds of monasteries

pocketed Ireland, England, Wales, Scotland, Germany, Italy and, later Spain. Their heritage was one of focussed prayer, meditation and labour.

Several major patterns emerge during this period: the competition between bishops in urban centres who vied for power, the creation of a diocesan-parochial administrative system, and precedence and the lay investiture controversy. Bishops sought to construct a world view of their cathedral churches (churches which were connected to the bishopric), named after a saint, was more important than another church because the saint of whom the church is named after is higher in the heavenly hierarchy than another saint. Building on a pattern developed in the first centuries of Christianity, the kingdoms and regions were divided into dioceses whose head quarters were near a noble centre. Each diocese had it own bishop (the more important cathedrals as in Rome, Paris or London were called metropolitan sees) who ordered the life of parish priests who, in turn, cared for the laity. Around these centres an administrative group of clerics emerged to care for all the functions in the diocese. Cowdrey writes:

> Through the zeal of Pope Gregory VII (1020–1085), an indomitable purpose to assert and secure the prerogative of the apostolic see was already at work. In the 12th century its exercise would converge with the developments which, throughout the 11th century, worked from below, with a high degree of similarity in most parts of Latin Christendom to form territorial parishes, to consolidate an internal hierarchy within dioceses involving archdeacons, and archpriests who had areas accredited to them in which they were the bishops' "eyes", and to foster collective action through councils and synods at all levels to order and reform the church (2004:266).

One effect of the clerics surrounding a metropolitan was a sense that the bishop was a cardinal. It is from the construction of a college of cardinals that was to have a major impact subsequent to the lay investiture conflict.

Some Medieval scholars consider the lay investiture controversy to be the central drama of the eleventh century. The precedent to the controversy was a long established tradition of the relationship between the pope and bishops and the emperors, kings and princes wherein the latter had a significant impact on the life and the politics of the church. The model is Caesaropapism, introduced earlier.

An author (unknown), in 1047, made public a document of how to meet the problem. He was to argue strongly that the Pope and the bishops are to be elected, deposed and have authority over the secular kings and nobles. This author drew heavily on the **Pseudo-Isidore Decretals** which summarized laws, papal letters, and decrees of councils – some were genuine but many, including the famous **Donation of Constantine**, were forgeries. The controversy reached a culmination in 1077 in Canossa, Italy, when Henry IV and Gregory VII met for reconciliation. Gregory had forbidden the emperor to elect his own bishops and excommunicated him. The reconciliation was short lived as Henry attacked Rome with his armies and Gregory was exiled.

The shift had been made, however. Within a few generations, only clerics could elect bishops and the newly founded college of cardinals were the only ones who could elect a pope. The relationship between king and cleric gradually changed to a hierocracy model that had significant effects on the family of this period.

Under the aura of this model, the laity were increasingly marginalized. With this, marriage and the meaning of family had become peripheral. But there were many other reasons that led further and further to the control of family life. There can be identified, through the scholarship of Hamilton (2004), four factors that challenged the Biblical view of marriage/family/human sexuality and valorized celibacy and asceticism and attenuated familial issues. They consisted of the monastic movement, the church's teaching on spiritual perfection being more likely through celibacy and asceticism, the emerging of Marian devotion, and the rise of **encratictic** dissenting sects.

Monasticism had a long history, both in Latin and Greek Christianity, going back to the third century. In the eleventh century, there continued an image that the most holy of Christians were those who became monks. The monasteries were thought to be centres of Christian excellence and perfection consisted of the renunciation of the world – sex, wealth and power. There grew a theology that holiness was equated with self-denial and the **eremitic** monks were venerated as the Christian elite or virtuosos. Some kings (the Holy Roman emperor Henry II [from 1002 to 1024] and Edward the Confessor of England [king from 1042 to 1066]) were both credited with monastic virtues and practised chastity even though they were married.

For centuries, a focal teaching of the Latin Church has been spiritual perfection that consisted on going on pilgrimages, penance, renunciation of sex, wealth and power. This model emerged in the third century when desert ascetics sought Christian perfection in the desert. St. Benedict of Nursia (480–547) brought this ideal to the West in the form of the famous Benedictines which were very common in all regions of the West. Part of this was a common movement in the last years of the first millennium to require parish priests to be like monks in that they should be celibate. From 1046, Hamilton notes, the papacy moved to enforce clerical celibacy. According to Robinson (2004) Gregory VII knew that clerical marriages were valid in law but were not true marriages. The Second Lateran Council (1139) judged that these unions were concubinages. Another council in Rheims in 1049 said the same thing. Yet, it took several centuries before the custom took hold. The message was clear, though. Celibacy is to be the preferred state of clerics both legally and in custom.

Another factor that attenuated the importance of family life was the rise of Marian devotions. Theologians had already made it plain that Mary had a special place in the life of a Christian. In the twelfth century, Mary not only was the Mother of God but she became Our Lady, the perfect example of womanhood. She was regarded as the chief intercessor for the whole human race. Chapels were created in her honour, statutes were constructed and paintings drawn. Further, many shrines were created throughout the West with a special accent given to her shrines in the Holy Land. She was mother and that gave credibility to the mother but, more so, she was a virgin, and celibate.

The final factor was the rise of **encratictic** dissenting sects. Several different groups arose from the tenth to the early years of the fourteenth century. During the first decades of the eleventh century, an ascetic group of dissidents called the

Bogomils emerged. They believed that there was only one God who had two sons, Lucifer and Christ. The world was created by Lucifer and Jesus came with a spiritual (not real) body to redeem the human race. They lived austerely, abstaining from sexual intercourse, meat and wine, and lived humbly in the society. Several other groups grew who advocated celibacy, ate sparingly, held property in common, if married, did not have sex, lived like monks by devoting themselves to perpetual prayer, and denied baptism, the cross and other major Christian beliefs.

The longest lasting group was concentrated in southern France and were known as the *Cathars* or the *Albigensians*. They had a significant following and were active from the latter part of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth. They were highly critical of the Catholic church, rejected infant baptism and the Eucharist. Their virtuosos condemned marriage and procreation, and abstained from eating meat as they thought it to be the product of coition. In addition, they believed in God the Father of Jesus and Lucifer, the creator of the world that included anything to do with the human body – especially sex. Jesus came to the world as spiritual being but did not die on the cross. He came to free humans from perpetual reincarnation.

The Catholic church was considered to be a counterfeit church and an instrument of evil focussed in Lucifer or Satan. There were, essentially, two groups of believers: the perfect who renounced sex and were very ascetic (abstaining from all animal products, flesh, fowl, cheese, eggs and animal fats) and the laity, who married, had children, owned property, hunted, fought, and even worshipped in Catholic churches. In time, the great tragedy of these people is that they were severely persecuted, tried by the **Inquisition**, executed, and finally eliminated.

Several laws and customs of the family were to meet changes in this period. Marriage was not a legal, public or religious event – it was celebrated in familial contexts surrounded by extended kin and neighbours. Further, laws against marriage were extreme. One could not marry a godparent (or godson-goddaughter) or a kin to the sixth degree of consanguinity. This means that a marriage was invalid if one shared the same great-grandparent. Gies and Gies (1987) add the following general characteristics:

- Marriage was under the control of parents and was rationally planned.
- The larger kin group (the *sippe*) continued to play an important role with a gradual increase of the salience of the nuclear household.
- As nearly everyone lived on the land, inheritance was important and in Europe, the inheritance was divided among the sons and in Anglo-Saxon England, daughters were also recipients.

These are some of the customs and laws as well the precedents to the family of the Central Middle ages. The family was to meet, in many ways, these challenges. A major challenge, however, was how can one live a Christian life while being married and have children in a spiritual climate that gave little credibility to the institution?

The Personality-Social System: The Central Medieval Family

Gies and Gies (1987) provide us with an abundance of material describing the various kinds of families during this period. An important general impression is that there was no such type of the family that covered all familial phenomena – families varied according to class, region and religion.

The eleventh century begins with a strong sense of **hierocracy** – the Catholic church had the puissance to threaten and command. Even though there was a wide variation of familial life, there were common characteristics. These characteristics consisted of: the extended kin played an important role and marriages were rationally planned and not linked to romance or sentiment. Nearly 90% of all people lived on and off the land and children experienced harsh discipline from parents, tutors or monks. For those children who were consigned to work or study outside of the nuclear family suffered from high rates of mortality.

According to Gies and Gies, a family revolution occurred in the eleventh century. **Allods** continued to be divided as inheritance passed from generation to generation to an ever increasing number of conjugal families as well as given to the church. This led to the decline of the lower aristocracy. A shift was deemed imperative. Land began to move from a partible to an impartible inheritance – the genesis of primogeniture. The custom assumed the power of a law under the leadership of the **Capetian dynasty**. Along with the rise of primogeniture, lineage moved from the **distaff** to the **agnate** or the emergence of patrilineage as well as the social construction of the **patronymic** custom. Quoting Duby (1977), Gies and Gies write: "The significance of a family has become the significance of its heir" (1987:129).

Gies and Gies present a case that the twelfth century also faced a major familial problem-divorce. Nobles frequently disowned a wife for various reasons and then married another woman. Kings and the nobility were committed to manipulate marriage to accomplish their own ends – be they material, familial or sexual. The church objected to these practices and challenged informal, clandestine marriages among both the nobility and the peasants which were without witnesses.

The question of divorce had already had a long history of debate. According to Phillips (1988), some of the early Church Fathers, Jerome, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Augustine taught that once a valid marriage had been conducted, divorce and remarriage was not possible. However, several church councils (Council of Vannes in 465, the Council of Trullo in 692 and the Council of Berberie in 752) as well as several authorities (the church father Origin, Pope Clement in the eighth century, and the Penitential of Theodore, the seventh century) did allow for divorce in some circumstances such as adultery, when a partner is captured by an enemy, when a husband leaves a wife for 5 years, and voluntary abortion. However, by the ninth century, from the time of the pontificate of Pope Nicholas I (858–867), the indissolvability of a valid marriage was upheld. But the question of what constituted a valid marriage was the issue. The church began to ask poignant questions and given by Gies and Gies: "Sex or no sex, what constituted a marriage contract? When could a woman, or for that matter, a man, be confident that a marriage had taken place?" (1987:136).

The lawyers of the church (called Canon lawyers) began to search for and combine the teachings of the first millennium to define what constituted a valid marriage. The issue was defined in the Fourth Latern Council of 1215, under the leadership of Innocent III (1160–1216). A valid marriage consisted of: (1), marrying one who is less than the fourth degree of consanguinity (3rd cousins), (2), the endowment given to the bride; (3), the wedding ceremony in a church via a priest, (4), the active declaration of both the man and the woman, and, (5), a publication of banns several months before the ceremony.

Primogeniture brought on its own problems. Many single men and women, deprived of inheritances, were left adrift. The young men engaged in vagabondage, became knights in the crusades, engaged in war, tournaments and adventures. The women suffered more. The marriage age of women dropped while those of the grooms rose, dowries inflated while the number of spinsters increased dramatically.

Other forms of familial configurations were emerging in the merchant cites, among the settlers of Spain, and the familial life of peasants. A consequence of the Muslim corsairs (pirates), who continually sent raids upon Italian coastal settlements, was the creation of defensive mechanisms about the littoral cities of Venice, Amalfi, Genoa, and Pisa. The military success of these new city establishments resulted in the construction of the cites becoming "merchant cities" that resulted in a new bourgeoisie class of merchants along with a wide range of craftsmen. The family types was an extended unit wherein close kin lived close to the main house that was led by a strong patriarch. New capital into these families had the effect of these families being identified not by lineage but by wealth.

During the **Reconquista** of Spain, many peoples from the north immigrated to the south. Some the effects on the family consisted of: women having an elevated status and authority because her husband was away fighting, the re-introduction of the Roman **dower** (a custom established by the **Visigoths** prior to the Muslim invasion), the paying of the wedding by the groom's father, and an elaborate wedding. Sex before marriage was actually encouraged but if there was break of an engagement promise, the guilty party had to pay. The downside was that wife-beating was common and approved of by both the secular and the ecclesial law.

There were various kinds of peasants during the Central Middle ages. Some were **villeins** and others were not free and subject to a lord. The villeins lived in villages that were surrounded by an "an open field system" wherein each family had a strip of land that was theirs to use. The subjected peasants had to pay a range of fees in regard to marriage. If a peasant had his child marry another outside of the lord's holding, he had to pay a *merchet* or a fee to him. Further, the bride's father had to supply a dowry.

In general, the peasants followed the pattern of primogeniture which left many single men and women outside of the family domain. The men became day labourers, soldiers, or entered the church as monks. The women had to choose working for the inherited brother, be a servant of another peasant family, and work in casual labour. Many of the men became involved in crime and the women gave birth outside of marriage.

In time, major problems occurred because of the custom of primogeniture for the noble families. Gies and Gies document one study that showed only 16 of the 136 noble families of 1325 were still around by 1500. What happened? More than many first born sons died because of a variety of reasons: infant mortality, disease, war, accidents, and wounds from tournaments. Several couples failed to produce a male heir. Another reason why primogeniture did not work is that many of the noble families wanted to share the inheritance with all their other children. Some men, who had mistresses, gave to their illegimate children as well.

The final image that Gies and Gies present to us is that of children. The portrayal of the child as a "mini" adult through the work of Aries (1962) is not accurate. The Gies account that children played children's games, parents were given advise from medical documents, were nursed by their mothers if they were of the peasant or merchant class, and were treated with affection and sentiment. On the other hand, however, the children of the noble class received unwarranted punishment by tutors or monks, and were sent away to other families to be raised as apprentices. There continued to be infanticide and many were victims of a number of hazards such as wells, ponds, ditches, boiling pots, knives, pitchforks and the like. Accidents would happen when the children were left alone to care for themselves or to care for a younger sibling. Adulthood arrived early. When a girl or boy reached puberty, they were considered able to take on adult responsibilities.

Much of the discussion of the Central Medieval family has been descriptive. However, two events can be partially explained by the theory established in the introduction to the chapter: the rise of primogeniture in the twelfth century and the new laws and customs of marriage in the thirteenth century (see Fig. 2.4). Primogeniture was enforced by the Capetians which gives evidence that the macro political action of the nobility impacted not only the elite but also the peasant families. In regard to changes in marriage, the macro factor was sacred – the action of the Ecclesial elite in the Fourth Latern Council of 1215 under the auspices of the powerful, hierocratic leader, Innocent III.

Thus we have an image of the lives of families during the Central Medieval Age. There were many variations yet these people continued to do what families have done for centuries before them and centuries after: to bond to others in marriage, to reproduce and socialize children, and to earn a living.

An Anomaly to the Central Medieval Family: The Chivalric Ideal

An interesting and fascinating feature of the Central Medieval Period breaks the patterns of this era–the introduction of chivalry. According to Cantor (2004), the genesis of this code of conduct had its origins in Spain that, by the last decades of the twelfth century, became part of the sub-culture of the noble and the knights of France, Italy, Germany and England (Stacey, 1999). Its arrival came from Spain to France, then to England through the persons of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204) and Henry II (1135–1189), king of England, who married in 1154. Their court in Poitiers became a model of courtly love.

Keen, (2000), Dean (1999), Stacey (1999) and Cantor (2004) provide us with central elements of what is known as the chivalric code. The core of the code consists of service to God (involving crusades against Muslims), to the noble (the king or duke), and to the honour of women. The institution which provided a carapace to the code was the royal or aristocratic household wherein courtly love was celebrated. Romantic love was part of marriage as was marriage for diplomatic and financial reasons. However, this kind of romance spilled over that permitted promiscuity, homoerotic relationships, and resulted in many illegitimate births. Ditchburn, MacLean and Mackay (2007) claim that by 1400, nearly one-third of the children born during the Central and Late Medieval period were of illegitimate standing.[5]

Cantor (2004) avers that the most salient dimension of the code was romance. Respect and honour was to be given to aristocratic women and that they were not to be raped or abused but could be sexually seduced with no major repercussions. This was accompanied by literary developments of young women's physical attributes, stories of romantic love that included all the passions and problems of such affection.

Chivalry, by the fourteenth century had evolved to the creation of New Societies by the elite nobles and knights. To be a member, one had to be of noble birth (or be "knighted" because of living out the code), without reproach, and practice the chivalric ideal. One such society was the *Garter of England* established in 1349 by King Edward III (1312–1377). An example of a member was John Gaunt (1340–1399), the duke of Lancaster and son of Edward III, who was seen by Cantor (2004) as a model of chivalric code. As we shall see in Chapter Three, the romantic dimension of the art of chivalry is an example of the *love-sex narrative* that precedes modern times by eight centuries.

The Late Medieval Family and the Great Plague

Cantor, a Medieval scholar, writes: "The Black Death of 1348–1349 was the greatest biomedical disaster in European and possibly in world history" (2002:6). It was major event-process that occurred in Western Occidental history which had monumental effects on the lives of countless men and women, social institutions, and the Latin Church – the Black Death. Using an empirical model (Fig. 2.9), I shall organize this discussion into three categories: the descriptives of the plague, its factors and effects – especially on the family.

[5] The estimate is based upon ecclesial records from Rome because many of these illegitimate children were legally barred from any career in the church. The papal court granted dispensations to allow them to enter the folds of the clergy. The records attest to the fact that from 1449–1533, these dispensations amounted to 39, 716.

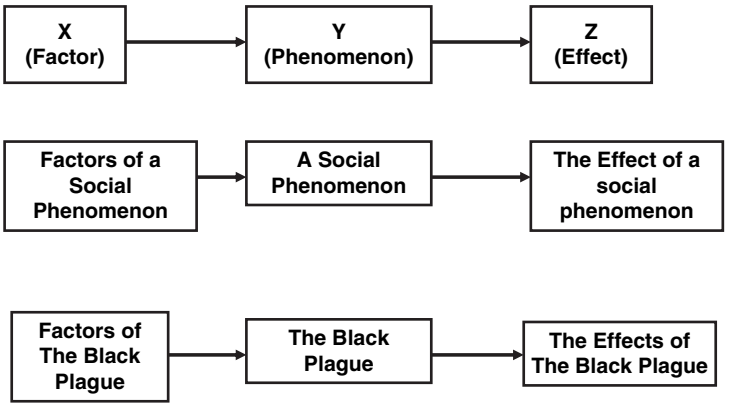

Fig. 2.9 The black plague of the fourteenth century

The Organic System: The Description of the Black Plague

Cantor (2002) documents medical evidence that the Black Plague was, in part, an infection caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*. The first stage of the infection is marked by flu-like symptoms followed by the second stage when buboes (black welts and bulges – thus the name given, black) appear under the armpits and in the groin. They then grow on the skin of a human which precedes respiratory failure. It is very deadly and will prove fatal to four out of five people who get initially infected. Cantor provides other evidence that the plague was also an effect of *anthrax murrain* (cattle disease) which, other than the buboes, had similar symptoms.

Whatever it was, it was very deadly. During the key period of 1347–1351, Klapisch-Zuber (2000) estimates that at various parts of the Western Europe, about one-fifth to one-half of the people died. It was higher in some regions more than others – mortality rates were high in Florence, Italy and England. Cantor estimates that about 25% of the aristocratics, 40% of peasants (including 40–50% of priests and monks) died as a result of the plague in England.

I categorize this process as of the organic system as it is, essentially, a biological phenomenon. One could consider this to be a major macro factor that has a direct effect on the family.

Various Systems as Factors of the Black Plague

This section can be divided into two main categories: socially constructed reasons for the plague and empirically based ones. Most of the former emerged during the period and the wake of the plague that people presented as reasons.

The King of France appointed a commission of the University of Paris to account for the disease. Their response was astrological: the place of the planet Saturn in relationship to Jupiter. Clergy claimed that it was God's punishment for the sin of the people. This was combined with a belief in God as an "awful deity" and the popular image of the end of the world as predicted by *Joachimism*, founded by an apocalyptic Benedictine monk named Joachim of Flora (1135–1200). These factors belong to the sacred-cultural system.

The personality-social systems account for a socially constructed reason that had a devastating effect on the Jews of Europe. It was the thought that the plague was the result of a Jewish conspiracy – that they poisoned drinking wells throughout Europe. Much of the attack was from the people – they gathered as mobs near Jewish homes and establishments. Many of the royalty and clerical elites tried to protect them but to no avail. Soon, both secular and ecclesial authorities succumbed to mob pressure and either expelled or burned hundreds of thousands. There is some evidence that the royalty and bishops used the depredations as excuses to be freed on debts owned to Jewish bankers or, in the case of the bishops, to acquire land and holdings.

The more empirically based reasons, substantially organic, for the outbreak of the plague consist of the following. Many insalubrious customs abounded in the Medieval period that could have acted as precedents: little care given to waste disposal, the folk belief that frequent bathing is unhealthy, and mass graves wherein infected bodies were no buried deeply enough. Another natural event occurred before the pandemic that may have made the non-elite classes more vulnerable. Western Europe, especially in rural England, had prospered with abundant rainfall and warm summers to produce crop and cattle surpluses. Lucrative wool entrepreneurs sold the product to manufactures in Flanders and Italy. Populations grew significantly along with increases of wealth, the importation of luxury goods from other parts of Europe (wine from Bordeaux France was a favourite) and achieved status among the peasants. However, beginning around 1315, a terrible famine, according to Klapisch-Zuber (2000), preceded by bad weather (Cantor accounts that major volcanic eruptions in Indonesia spread dust throughout the world and "shut out" the sun or, in effect, a "global cooling"), ravaged Germany, the Low countries, England and one half of France. People suffering from malnutrition were more likely to fall to illness.

The other theories are more specific. One narrative is that in the middle of the fourteenth century, European navigators and raiders were attacking the people of Crimea. It is said that a disease was in the besieged city that had killed some inhabitants. These corpses were catapulted onto the ships that infected the sailors. These same sailors carried the infection to the eastern doors of Europe. Cantor, using infectious disease scholars, discounted the theory. The most likely immediate cause was that the fleas from Eastern Europe carried the *Yersinia pestis* bacterium on the black rat. Because these rats were international travellers on ships and were about human dwellings and places, allowed the fleas to be passed onto humans. Further, saliva contact between persons could also carry the bacterium.

Various Systems as Effects of the Black Plague

The effects were ponderous. I shall divide this section into wide ranging sacred, social, economic, and political consequences and the effects on the family. The "master effect" was the demographic crash that elicited many offshoots. The primary political effects were the decline in the number of men who could be recruited to fight for the English monarchy against the French in the **Hundred Years War**. The legitimacy of the king (as having special divine grace or a unique charisma) was challenged that may have laid the ground for the Great English Rebellion of 1640–1650.

As a result of the demographic decline, fewer men and women were available as serfs to work the lands of the elite and the church. Those alive after the plague demanded higher wages and many peasants arose to wealthy positions due to the acquiring of the **demesne** from the lord and their becoming **yeomen** in the later part of the fifteenth century. The Peasants Revolt of 1381 in England became so powerful that it came close to overthrowing the crown and the elite. The Catholic clergy were also very badly hit. Their numbers were reduced by 40% that resulted in significant vacancies in parishes. The higher clergy responded by ordaining young, inexperience men to be sacred leaders. They did not fair well. The Lollards, a reformist group in the fourteenth century, pointed to the uneducated and poor leadership skills of these men. This could have had a long term effect on why the Reformation of the sixteenth century was so successful.

Of all the institutions affected most, it was the family. Klapisch-Zuber (2000) notes that with a decline of legitimate heirs in the elite and royal strata, there was a major threat to the legitimate order for old familial solidarities and ties were shaken. Internal tensions within the family emerged due to the problem of inheritance among which person was to inherit the capital. Among the peasants, population growth was halted due to later marriages and a full 25% of them never did marry.

Klapisch-Zuber offers her reflections of the problem of generalizations. She suggests there were two major family types of the Late Medieval family that were affected by the plague. The "North-West European" family involved later marriages, a high proportion of celibates, and, eventually, more children. The plague did not change this pattern but reinforced it. The other system she calls the "Mediterranean system" involved lower ages at marriage, extended households (because parents were likely alive), patrivirlocal marriage, genealogical depth, the co-existence of several couples from different generations, and the tendency to prefer relatives rather than servants. The plague did significant damage to this model and reduced the number of those in the household.

Cantor muses on increased status that women of the elite had after the plague. The dower was well in place before the fourteenth century as we have already seen. It was an important custom of "life insurance" for a widow. Many men and their male inheritors died during the plague. This left a vacuum of inheritance and a rise in the importance of the dower. The women who enjoyed the benefits of the dower were called dowagers. These dowers were significant – a widow was entitled to 33% of the income of her deceased husband. If she married several, she would

inherit the proportions from each husband – leaving sons to pine and be angry over their stepmother taking more and more of the capital. Further, due to long litigations frequently ushered in by potential heirs, lawyers had come across a "gold mine."

Religion continued to play an important part of family life but due to the plague, a kind of macabre and melancholic kind. There was little optimism. The God believed in did not seem to love and care for them. Private devotions fed magical themes were created using statues, crosses, holy pictures and the ashes of saints. Privatization in spirituality were valorized. These do not seem to have effected the quality of marriage, parenting, or the family as a whole. They were more used for personal comfort rather than in the positive construction of relationships in familial settings.

Families of the Elite in England: 1550–1800

The primary source for this discussion is the emergence of the modern family in England among the gentry and the elite is Stone (1979). He divides his work into three parts: the open lineage family of 1450–1630, the restricted patriarchal nuclear family of 1550–1700, and the closed domesticated nuclear family of 1640–1800. Stone puts into a different form but patterns of the first era into what we have already discussed in the Central and Late Medieval Family. This part of the chapter will focus on the last two periods: the restricted patriarchal nuclear family and the closed domesticated nuclear family. The sources of change, to be documented later, were the physical (changes in the economy), the social (political) and cultural (both sacred and secular ideas).

The Restricted Patriarchal Nuclear Family

During this period, there were both changes and continuities from the Central and Late Medieval family. On balance, however, there were more changes than continuities. Families continued to perform similar functions, the contraction from large households to smaller familial units, started in the post plague years, continued even more. Patriarchy continued but even took on a more salient role with further sacred legitimations.

Changes were many. The major macro change that Stone avers to is the passage from a "lineage society" to a "civil society." This is the master narrative of the time that had far reaching implications not only to the family but also to the whole English society. It has already been documented that in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, one of the major effects of the plague was the beginning of the disestablishment of lineage based on primogeniture. The rise of the civil society meant that more and more of functions of the family were gradually taken over by the state and the initial rise of capitalism-work and social positions less dependent

on familial links, contracts based on wage labour rather than on clientage, and social status founded not in lineage but rather in the new sacred image of Puritanism.

Under this master narrative the following changes occurred with the decline of:

- Lineage, kinship and clientage.
- Elaborate funerals and house parties.
- The vendetta.
- The household of many servants to the closed nuclear family.

Changes in the sacred ethos also occurred such as the salience of the Sunday service to family prayers, the parish priest being replaced by the new Protestant father/husband responsible for private, family prayers, and the new family being an inheritor of the many responsibilities of the parish.

Children during this period were no longer wet-nursed and they were both weaned and toilet trained late. Infant swaddling declined but girls and women were required to shape their bodies into what was considered feminine using bodices and corsets. What was so striking, however, was the severe training practices of the socialization of children both at home and in the school (girls were barred from schools). This was in a more modest form in the Late Medieval family. The narrative of socialization read as follows: the child is depraved from birth, his/her strong will had to be broken, this was accomplished by beatings on the buttocks, the face and the hand. Stone writes: "There can be no doubt, therefore, that more and more children were being beaten in the 16th and 17th centuries, over a longer age span, than ever before" (1979:117). This practice carried over into the school: "There can be no doubt whatever that severe flogging was a normal and daily occurrence in the 16th and 17th century grammar school, and some of the most famous headmasters of the most elitist school of their day" (1979:117). There is some documentation that this practice was very detrimental to the child. Again, Stone writes: "the child perfectly loathed the sight of his parents as the slave of his torture" (1979:121).

Even though the new Protestant/Puritan ethos accented the importance of conjugal love, the reality was quite different. Husbands/fathers gained in patriarchal status and women lost their status of wives and an attenuation of their legal rights (from higher statuses as recorded by Cantor) – especially the passing of the dower. Even wife beating was approved and several books and sermons were prepared to highlight women's subordination and aver to misogyny. There was, however, a small window of light for women from 1523 to 1538, elite women were encouraged to read classical literature, to learn French and to be an intellectual equal to their husband. But, after that time, the only education they received was to do with proper feminine manners, how to parent, and being household managers.

What was the master factor of these changes? Stone argues it was the rise of Puritanism. Haller (1938) provides the reader with an extensive outline of the rise of Puritanism in England from the time of Elizabeth I (1533–1603) to the eve of the English Great Rebellion (1640). There were two paths that Puritanism took: one to reform the official church of England and the other to separate from the same.

The historical background to its rise was the understanding that the monarch saw the church as an instrument of royal authority over the English people. The origins of the movement revolve about a preacher by the name of Thomas Cartwright, a reform prophet, who called forth the establishment of Calvinism not only in the church of England but in the state as well. He was expelled from his post as a preacher in Cambridge but his ideas of reform spread like a wave to countless other clerics and laity. These ideas became reflected in religious experience, a range of ethics (termed the Puritan Code), the attenuation of ritual, Calvinistic beliefs from Calvin and the social construction of a spiritual brotherhood and the sect.

Stone offers an excellent summary of the primary causes of these changes:

> There was the pressure of state propaganda for the authoritarian state and therefore the authoritarian family; Puritanism's emphasis on the role of the household rather than the church as the agency for moral and religious control; Calvinist views about original sin and the need for severe measures towards children to defeat the Devil and punish wickedness; the spread of classical education which exposed more and more children to flogging in school. Legal changes in women's rights over property, and the capacity of the family head to dispose of his estates as he wished; and the critical need to be able to control the child's choice of marriage partner, education and career (1979:145).

From this summary, various systems are implicated. The primary system is the cultural-sacred one-Puritanism along with other cultural changes in the form of changes of inheritance laws and the dower.

The Closed Domesticated Nuclear Family

It is during this period of English history that Stone argues for the genesis of the modern family as we know it today with some nuances. The master narrative he uses here is "affective individualism" by which he means an accent on personal happiness and pleasure linked to affection with one's spouse (with attendant sexual overtures) and children. This master narrative corresponds to concomitant descriptors of this kind of family: greater freedom to choose their spouses and careers, equal partnership between spouses, a further contraction of the nuclear family, warmer affections between women and men, children becoming a status group distinct from adults, and the growth of individual autonomy.

Stone further avers that the source of affective individualism in the family was from new cultural motifs such as the demand for more individual autonomy, and the protection of personal and property rights of men of substance from intrusion from the state. In 1689, political censorship of newspapers and pamphlets lapsed, growing indifference to the clergy, and the challenge of the **Great Chain of Being** when humans become more isolated and the idea that science, not religion, could solve personal and social problems.

When applied to the family, affective individualism accents intimacy, proximity, the reduction of patriarchy, and the rise of love in the socialization of children. One is to covet personal happiness in marriage combined with sexual satisfaction for its own sake and the construction of the companionate marriage. Children should

not be beaten but loved and cared for by both the father and the mother. Family prayers are replaced by "family time" so that intimacy can be ameliorated. Along with this intimacy, privacy of persons emerged – in architecture, each bedroom is to have its own entrance. Further, the growth of personal self worth and awareness, the decline of Puritanism, the rejection of the teaching of original sin, and the child was innocent at birth became new sub-narratives.

Civility was also encouraged: food is to be eaten with utensils, one is not to "spit," and bodies are to be cleansed with frequent bathing. Wet nursing of infants was seen to be insalubrious, social deference between spouses was reduced, and children no longer required to call their parents with such language as "Sir" or "Madame."

Why the changes? The master narrative here is early modern secularization: the genesis of a new world view, the Enlightenment, or, alternatively, The Age of Reason. Historians of philosophy note that this involved a literary and philosophical movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth century which accented the superiority of reason as the guide to all knowledge and human concerns. It flowed from the idea of human progress on the political and economic fronts and challenged not only Puritanism but Christianity in general. This is then linked to the family with the reduction of a sacred ethos, the amelioration of affection in matters of relationships, and the rational-affectionate training of children minus coercion. It is to John Locke (1632–1704) that the notions of equality of spouses comes and to the socialization of children, Jean Rousseau (1712–1728).

The primary source of change here is also cultural. In this case, however, it was in the form of secular ideas and ethos. Thus, the long process of the creation of a society that attenuates religion began during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Religion will still matter but less so.

Conclusions

This chapter has been a journey from the structure and the social life of the families of the Romans, the early Christian family, Early-Medieval, Central-Medieval and Late Medieval family to the creation of the early features of the modern family in England. Much has remained the same: families have struggled over the millennium and one-half from the genesis of Imperial Rome to the dawn of the modern era. They have focussed on two primary functions: the reproduction and socialization of children and the maintenance of adult intimacy. These outcomes are seen within the framework of Neo-Functionalism (Swenson, 2004) and, especially Parsons and Bales (1955), are the primary functions of the family.

On these two fronts, there have been changes in compositions of households, of gender roles, of patterns of inheritance, of how to socialize children and how to combine all this with earning. We have seen how major macro factors of the social, cultural, organic and physical systems have affected families and persons on the micro level. Families will continue in the future–what will differ is how we compose households, how we construct gender, the way we raise children, the way we create intimacy and the myriad patterns we engage in earning.

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Chapter 3
The Organic System: Biology, Religion and the Family Orientation

This chapter is devoted to the biological base of the family in general and sexuality in particular. Sexuality is to be seen especially linked to the organic system and is, in part, the link to the reproduction of families and, indeed, societies. In spite of what Laumann, Michael, Gagnon, and Michaels (1994a) aver, the research linking sexuality to biology is well founded.

The focus here is to outline this organic system as part of the Neo-Functionalist theory of the link between religion and the family. As will become clear in the following chapter, there are substantial linkages to other systems as well as the many dimensions of religion.

As is well known in family studies, marital quality has been well researched (Glenn, 1990; Spanier and Lewis, 1980). Less frequently has religion and marital quality had the same. This has changed recently with several studies devoted to the linkage (see Albretch, 1979; Bahr & Chadwick, 1985; Booth, Johnson, Branahan, & Sica, 1995; Ellison, 1991; Glenn & Supancic, 1984; Pollner, 1989; Wilson & Filsinger, 1986). A common consensus is that there is a weak link between marital quality and religion. Is it also true that there is a weak link between religion and sexuality? This is the primary theme of this chapter.

The chapter will move on several fronts. First of all, a rationale will be presented that lays the basis of why there should be expected to be a linkage between religion and sexuality in human experience. Secondly, an extended history of the linkage in the Western world will further lay the ground work for a reason for the connection. Then, within that historical review, empirical research will be outlined to see what kind of questions have been asked and what we currently know about the connection.

The Basic Rationale of the Link Between Religion and Sexuality

A variety of authors of religious studies present an historical outline of pre-historical, historical and universal religions. An important figure is Joseph Campbell who has dedicated much of his scholarship to mythology. In his study of primitive and occidental religions, he presents four functions of religion, one of which is

D. Swenson, *Religion and Family Links.*

sociological that includes social support, social control and socialization. Campbell (1964, 1987) focuses on the family, with inherent sexuality overtones, as the key socialization function of myth.

He outlines how important are "rites of passage" for the integration of the individual into the social group. Religion is a vital mechanism for this integration. The puberty rites of passages that carry with them many sexual themes, are important rituals that link the child with both the family to the social group. Thus, in this way, family, sexuality, and religion are connected substantially in most primitive religions.

A second source in religious studies comes from a comparative religion scholar, Parrinder (1980). In this text, he outlines the various ways religions view human sexuality. To accent the importance of investigating the linkage between religion and sexuality, he writes:

> The meeting of the great religious traditions of the world may bring help as well as challenge. It is sometimes asked what we can learn from another religion, and one factor is the understanding of sex. The ideal monogamy and love of Christianity, the world-affirmation of Judaism and Islam, the delight in sensual intercourse of classical Hinduism, the correlation of female and male in Chinese traditions, all these may contribute to new sexual ethics and tempered by each other they could mark a real advance. . . . But by study of the relations of sex with the ideals of religions, and purgation of practices degrading to individuals, new and positive appreciation of the values of sex and love may be evolved (1980:247–248).

Another source for the connection between religion and sexuality emerges from sociobiology. Reynolds and Tanner (1995) offer us some reflections on the relationship.

They start off with a provocative question framed as: how does membership of a religious group affect individuals' chances of survival and reproduction? In response, they acknowledge that cultures (within which religions are subsumed), are largely independent of genetic causal factors. However, they are at an interface with nature and it is cultures that determine how biologically successful, in terms of survival and reproduction, human groups and individuals will be. This is where religion comes in. In terms of the social control of religion, morality is at the core of what religion means. There are many moral rules that command and prohibit, allow and disallow, enforce and give freedom to how successful humans survive and reproduce. The biological basis of religion, then, is in how well the social construction of culture contributes to the success of the human species.

The affinity of religion to the family clusters about the second most important biological need of any species (including the human), reproduction. Reynolds and Turner note that religions are very concerned about matters that are, primarily, biological—sex, reproduction, contraception, abortion, birth, and child-rearing. Successful survival of the human species is at stake. As we saw with Campbell's outline of the sociological nature of myth, so is it with a biological basis for religions being intricately involved with the human life cycle from conception through to death.

A History of Religion and Sexuality in the Christian West

Western social historical evidence and American literature attests to the positive relationship between religion and human sexuality. Morley (1992:1), a scholar of American literary history, gives testimony to a cultural linkage between religion and sex: ". . . Americans have long been familiar with the partnership of religion and sexuality, even if it is professed to be a dangerous public topic for an audience of mixed sex."

With this in mind, a history will be presented that links the two phenomenon within Early, Patristic, Medieval, Early Modern, and Modern Christianity. Because so much research on sexuality has been conducted in the United States, this nation will receive a unique treatment.

An analysis of the history of love, sex and marriage in the Christian West reveals several major sex scripts that I am calling master narratives. The term sexual script emerges from script theory. Laumann et al. (1994a) note that this theory acknowledges the important contribution that sociocultural processes play in human sexual attitudes and behaviours. The theory". . . specifies with whom people have sex, when and where they should have sex, what they should do sexually, and why they should do sexual things" (1994a:6).

An initial master narrative is suggested by Reiss (1972) who presents a sexual script that one may term the *love-marriage-sex* trio (or procreative and relational). As one may surmise, the term refers to the linkage between love, marriage and sex and that sex is normatively thought to be normative only within marriage – not before, after, or outside its duration. In addition, the trio is also linked to procreation. A second narrative may be called the *ascetic-Christian* (procreational only) which means that sex is only allowed within marriage but is not linked to love. A third one is *love-non-reproductive sex-marriage* (relational within marriage) that refers to sex within marriage for love but not for reproduction. A fourth is *love-sex* (relational) wherein sex is removed from marriage but is still tied to love. A fifth and final one is the *sex alone* (recreational) one wherein sex stands alone for pleasure or as a source of power or money.

These master narratives will be given historicity as we follow the Western historical path that links religion and sex. It will be argued that they vary with the different kinds of world views: both secular or ideologies and sacred (mythologies).

Ancient Judaism and Early Christian

Using textual data, Flandrin (1991) and Bailey (1959) present evidence that the master narrative, the love-marriage-sex trio, was normative within early Christianity. Historians consider this period to be from the founding of the Christian church in the first century until Greek trained theologians began to reflect on the Christian message through the lens of Greek and Roman philosophy about the beginning of the second century.

Flandrin (1991) argues that in no place within the Judaic and Christian canon is a position that makes procreation the justification for marriage. Bailey (1959) goes further. Judaism presented a healthy, affirmative view of coitus within marriage that was combined with a procreative motif. Early Christian texts considered marriage and sex to reflect love, and fidelity to one another (no polygyny, adultery, or divorce) irrespective of gender. Sex carried with it a sacred aura that forbade its use before marriage. In the West, then the master narrative love-marriage-sex begins here.

This interpretation is given further credibility by looking at several religious studies and theological reflections on the place of sex within the Bible. Both Jewish and Christian scholars will be utilized to weave a picture of the salience of human sexuality within this combined tradition.

Patai (1959), a Jewish theologian, commences our discussion. Beginning with romantic love, this author presents an image of human sexuality in the Bible as being both positive within marriage but, on the other hand, being encapsulated with many rules. Contrary to many social historians view that romantic love is an invention of modernity, Patai notes that: "Nothing, however, could be further from the truth than such an assumption. Romantic love can blossom amidst the most adverse circumstances, and does, in fact, play a considerable role in the Middle East, even in the restrictive tradition-bound sectors of society" (1959:47). He refers to several Biblical characters that present evidence of romantic love: Jacob and Rachel (Genesis 29:20),* Shechem and Dinah (Genesis 43:3), Rehoboam and Muach (II Chronicles 11:20–21), and David and Bethsheba (II Samuel 11:2). In addition, Yahweh's love for Israel is depicted as a groom's warm, compassionate, erotic, and romantic love for his bride (Ezekiel 16 and Hosea 11).

Patai's impressions on the existence of romantic love before the modern era is corroborated by an anthropologist, Fisher (1992) argues that romantic love is far more widespread than among the troubadours (knights, poets and romantics) of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries and couples in the modern era. She refers to the classic work of love in Sanskrit literature of Hinduism named the *Kama Sutra.* There is evidence that in seventh century China, men and women agonized over the romantic love they had for the person of their own choice and the desires of their parents. In pre-European America, an eastern Cherokee understood that a young man sings to his girl at midnight. She, in turn, heard and became lonesome for his presence. Fisher cites other anthropologists, such as Jankowiak and Fischer (1992) who surveyed 168 cultures and found that a full 87% of these societies had references to romantic love.

Jankowiak (1995) has updated these findings and makes a case for the universality of romantic love.

However, as important as romantic love is and the legitimacy and encouragement of sex is within marriage, Patai acknowledges that, in the light of Judaism, "Perhaps no other field of human life is as heavily surcharged with such rules, both positive and negative, as the sexual one" (1959:158). He reflects on this in the following

* All scripture quotes to *Bible* are from Jones (1966).

way. Sex, sexual powers, and the many sexual acts are highly valued that a veritable sanctity has been attached to them. Thus, to use sex as a mechanism of infidelity, only for pleasure (not love or procreation), and as a means of control (as rape, incest) is so opposite to its sanctified meaning that it is abhorrent to the Israelites. These two foci lead one to the conclusion of an emphatic commendation of legally and morally sanctified sex in marriage and an opposite equally emphatic condemnation of illicit sex.

The emphasis of condemnation of what is considered illicit sex is given further credibility when investigating religions of hunting and gathering societies. Swenson (1999), in his social scientific introduction to the study of religion refers to the work of Durkheim (1915/1965) and Goode (1951). He refers to a substantive understanding of morality that is consistent with the substantive and functional definition of religion.[1] The substantive definition of religion is the experience of the sacred. A substantive religious moral dictum, as inspired by Durkheim's and Goode's work, is: "You shall not let the profane intrude into the sacred." Thus, just as religions of the world are adamant in constructing scripts against mixing the profane with the sacred, here, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, sex that is holy must not be mixed with sex that is considered to be profane if outside the marital bond.

Several Christian theologians follow a similar thesis. Cole (1959), outlines the two themes presented by Patai of human sexuality: celebrating life and relationships and presenting scripts that are intended to restrict sexual expression to heterosexual marriage. He divides his discussion into what Christians consider to be the Old Testament (The Bible according to Jews) and the New. Sex is understood in the Old Testament, beginning with the second creation narrative, to be a central part of the creation of humanity being both female and male. He accents the vital role of the woman in the narrative (Genesis 2) as being the doorway into community as it is with the joining of the two fleshes of male and female that unity begins. The man is counselled to leave his family of origin and to cleave to his wife and come to know her in a intimate, passionate way. Sex is interpreted within marriage as a symbol of community that involves trust, willingness to explore, love, pleasure and potential offspring. Cole (1959:243) writes: ". . . Sex is good; it is the creation of God and all people are expected to enjoy it."

The New Testament is a continuation of this theme but with some nuance. Because Jesus choose celibacy and there is a counsel for some Christians to be so as well, celibacy is also considered to be a sanctified state, a consecrated vocation that is useful for service of the community. Within marriage, sex is considered to be a mystery, of life long monogamy, and held in honour and esteem.

Sexual scripts against illicit sexual expression (premarital, extramarital and homosexual) emerge in the Old Testament and continue into the New. There is an

[1] The substantive approach attempts to define the essence of religion and religious morality. It seeks to clarify and illuminate. The functional approach, on the other hand, seeks to determine what effects religions have in the lives of people and the larger society. In other words, an important task of the functional perspective is to determine the purpose religion in general and morality in particular serves in maintaining the social order.

added dimension that Cole argues about. The true church, the "New Israel", is not a building, a temple or any material structure but a people who have been sanctified by the Holy Spirit. They are, thus, a consecrated people and are to express their relationships in this context. Illicit sex, according to this tradition, is forbidden because it breaks community, it breaks the basis of community between a man and woman. Cole concludes his document by linking sex and love together with the personal relationship to God:

> Sex and love belong together – in life no less than in the Bible. Where one flows from the other, the experience is creative, releasing, and enlarging. It is even rooted in eternity, in God himself and his love for his covenanted people (1959:436).

An important difference between the Hebrew scriptures picture of how to deal with sexually deviant people and Jesus's approach is quite striking. The Hebrew law required that if a man or a woman were convicted of adultery, they would be stoned to death. When Jesus encounters a woman in Jerusalem who was caught in the very act of adultery, he did not judge her but forgave her and showed profound compassion (John 8). Jesus is depicted as being every bit as convinced as previous traditions that adultery is wrong but he deals with it on a note of mercy and not judgement.

Cosby (1984), another Christian theologian, concludes this literature review. Cosby's approach to the topic categorizes the Hebrew and Christian scripture into five sections: (1) the Deuteronomic theological foundation of sex; (2) the book of Proverbs as a rational approach to sexual morality; (3) the Song of Songs as a celebration of the sensuous; (4) Jesus, radical love and moral purity; and, (5) Paul and his corrections of sexual aberrations.

The book of Deuteronomy places sexuality within the Law which is within a covenant of God with the people of Israel. To honour sexual scripts, therefore, was to honour the covenant that the Israelites made with Yahweh on Mount Horeb (Exodus 19–21). This law reflected blessings and curses. If the people obeyed the law, they were blessed [socially (with positive relationships and children), economically (with prosperity) and politically (they would experience freedom to govern themselves with justice)]. If, however, they were disobedient, they would incur the opposite: broken relationships, poverty, and foreign oppression. In the sexual realm, this law included being faithful to your spouse, not having sexual relationships with those you were not betrothed one to another, homosexuality, and rape.

The book of Proverbs takes another focus. Here the author appeals not to a divine command but, rather, to reason. The reader is counselled to rejoice in the wife of his youth, to "release his fountain" (like his seed being spread) to his spouse, and to drink deeply of the pleasure of his own wife. Several verses in chapter 5 of the book encourages the male reader to appreciate fully the beauty of his own wife, to take delight in her body, and to be so in love with her to the level of intoxication. On the other hand, he is strongly counselled not to visit another woman even though, on appearance, this may be very pleasurable. Indeed, this action would be considered folly and would lead to pain and suffering.

The Song of Songs stands alone as a canonical document that celebrates the sensuous, praises eroticism, exalts in the physical beauty of both men and women,

and exclaims the delightfulness of sex. In contrast to the patriarchal image both in the Deuteronomic and Proverbial texts, this document presents an a-typical egalitarianism. Both the woman and the man are given equal time in praising sexual-romantic intimacy in such explicit terms as:

- Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth. Your love is more delightful than wine (woman to the man).
- How beautiful you are, my love, how beautiful you are. Your eyes are doves. . . his left arm is under my head, his right embraces me (woman to the man).
- You ravish my heart, my sister, my promised bride, you ravish my heart with a single one of your glances. . . . How delicious is your love, more precious than wine (man to the woman).
- The curve of your thighs is like the curve of a necklace, work of a master hand. Your navel[2] is a bowl well rounded with no lack of wine, your belly a heap of wheat surrounded with lilies. Your two breasts are two fawns, twins of a gazelle (man to the woman).

Cosby concludes his outline of the Song of Songs by saying: "Sexual intercourse is a wholesome and enjoyable part of a marriage relationship and should be a source of joy for both husband and wife" (1984:79). The text provides evidence of divine blessings upon enjoying the sensuous dimensions of life for God created man and woman as sexual beings.

Cosby sees Jesus as one upholding the Law in regard to sexual scripts but also filled with loving compassion for sexual offenders, including prostitutes and adulteresses. His law goes even further than the covenantal law of Moses in not only counselling people not to commit adultery but also not even to think of it and not to even lust at another who is not one's spouse. In regard to marriage, Jesus calls for a full commitment, an involved relationship that includes sex, love, passion and care.

In contrast to the mandates of the Hebrew canon and the teaching of Jesus who both addressed Jewish people, Paul, the Apostle, announces to Gentiles throughout the Roman Empire that they to are invited to become Christians. For those who responded, they developed Christian communities throughout the Empire. One such community was in Corinth which had an almost universal reputation as being libertine in regard to sexual expression and being corrupt in business dealings. In this cultural environment, these Christians faced two challenges. A version of Platonic philosophy presented an image of the human person as being imprisoned in his/her body. Thus, to refrain from sexual pleasure was a mark of maturity and spiritual

[2] Cosby considers the navel to be a euphemism to refer to the vulva of the woman. This may be an accurate statement for there are present other such euphemisms in other parts of the Judeo-Christian scriptures. In Genesis 24:3, Abraham asks one of his servants to swear an oath that he would find a bride for his son, Issac, from among his kin. Abraham summons the servant to touch his thigh which really means his genitals. The author of the book of Kings (I Kings 1:27) documents that Elijah, a prophet, mocks the Canaanite deity, Baal in not answering the prayers of his priests. He says". . . he is preoccupied or he is busy." Biblical commentators consider this to mean that Baal has gone aside to relieve himself.

growth. On the other hand, the Epicureans, following after Epicurus (342–270 BC), argued that sexual expression was like eating: one should enjoy both without restraint. Paul strove to walk a middle path to argue that sex within marriage was honourable and thus is not a sign of immaturity and lack of being spiritual. On the other hand, people were not to use their bodies sexually for pleasure only as it affronted their dignity as being children of God.

To conclude this section, the Hebrew and Christian Bible gives the reader an image of sexuality that is part of the divine creation, to be honoured within marriage, to be pleasurable, to be linked both to love and to reproduction. In converse, because human sexuality is sanctified and considered holy, sexual infractions are to be avoided. It is towards the end of the early church that something new was happening – the transformation to a another narrative, *ascetic-Christian* that was anticipated by the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, Philo of Alexandria (30 BC–45 AD) who argued that sexual expression must never be pleasurable but only for reproduction.

Patristic-Medieval Christianity

Flandrin (1991) and Bailey (1959) paint a scene that reflects the second master narrative, the *Ascetic-Christian* one. They, in turn, joined by Aries (1985), present reasons for the change in the narrative from love-sex-marriage to ascetic-Christian.

An early record of this disjuncture of love from the marriage-sex duo comes from the scripture scholar, St. Jerome (340–420 AD) who wrote "adulterous is also the man who loves his wife too ardently" (Flandrin, 1991:4) and ". . . men should appear before their wives not as lovers but as husbands" (Aries, 1985:134). Bailey (1959) adds that Tertullian (150–230 AD) and St. Gregory of Nazinanzus (330–390 AD) extol celibacy over marriage, introduce asceticism into marriage and believe that sex within marriage is only for procreation and is but a remedy for concupiscence.

St. Augustine (354–430 AD), and after him, the famous Pope, St. Gregory the Great (540–604 AD), both allowed for sex within marriage but argued that it was sinful (albeit venial) if the man and woman did not intend to procreate (Bailey, 1959). Some early customs also emerged: the newly married couple should not have sex on the wedding night to do honour to their sacred vows, were restrained from having sex during menstruation, pregnancy, and on special religious feast days (Bailey, 1959; Goody, 1983). Baily (1959:24) writes ". . . On the whole, patristic literature adopts a pessimistic view of matrimony even while it vindicates its goodness."

Why did this happen? Flandrin (1991), Bailey (1959) and Aries (1985) says that it did not come from Judaism and the early church but from eastern, Greek and Roman sources. Persian dualism in the form of **Manichaeism** finds its way through Greece into the West.[3] A basic tenet that gave such a negative view of sex was that

[3] Joseph Needham (1976), and cited in Parrinder (1980:248) a well known comparative religion scholar says virtually the same thing: ". . . I have long been profoundly convinced that one of the greatest mistakes of Christian thinking through the centuries has been that sharp separation so many theologians and spiritual guides have made between "love carnal" and "love seraphic".

anything to do with the material and the body was evil and the soul or the spiritual was good. Sex belongs to the material realm and is thus suspect. Biographies of St. Augustine indicate that before he became a Christian, he embraced the Manichean religion.

A second source was Hellenistic asceticism from a philosopher by the name of Diogenes (d. 323 BC) who argued that the virtuous person is one who partook of no pleasure and a teaching entitled **neo-pythagoreanism** which inclines towards dualism and regarded coitus as defilement. The third source is Roman Stoicism which took up the Diogenisian teaching against pleasure and presented an image of the human person as one detached from affection, emotion, pleasure. It was the Roman Stoics who thought that coitus within marriage was only for procreation and not for pleasure or the mutual enjoyment of the couple (Bailey, 1959; Veyne, 1987).

This narrative, termed ascetic-Christian, became a powerful one that was retained in its essential form of sex-marriage within the Catholic Church until the modern era. However, there were some nuances and changes during the Medieval period.[4]

Early Modern and Modern Christianity

Not only did the whole of Western Europe experience major political and economic changes with the Reformation but also did the private lives of men and women. Most importantly, there was a new discovered affirmation of marriage and sexuality. Luther (1483–1546) considered marriage to be a divine gift that was implanted within our natures and that it was true, heavenly and spiritual. Calvin (1509–1564), the Swiss reformer and founder of Calvinism, repudiated Jerome and believed that coitus was undefiled, honourable and holy. They differed, however, on their respective theologies on sex. Luther, coming from an Augustinian religious order, thought that although sex is necessary like eating and drinking, it is still suspect and should not be for pleasure and only should be for procreation and a remedy against concupiscence. Calvin, in contrast, sees sex as a way for a couple to enjoy each other and the primary purpose of sex is not for procreation but love and affection. A woman, according to Calvin, is not merely a companion to man but is an inseparable associate with him throughout his whole life (Bailey, 1959).

There are really no sharp lines of distinction between "sacred" and "profane" love, between *eros, phileia*, and *agape*. I believe that his division was essentially a **Manichean** belief intruding into the Christian gospel.

[4] St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274 AD) eliminates the Augustinian condition of sex being sinful if it was not intended for procreation. He did not, however, add the affectionate or love element to the meaning of sex and considered that it was only for procreation and the prevention of concupiscence. Aquinas also theologizes on a wide variety of sexual deviations such as ejaculation without coitus, masturbation, bestiality, homosexuality and prevention of conception. Leites (1986) refers to a Roman Catholic catechism of 1566 that added a third dimension to sex within marriage and that was for mutual help. Gardella (1985) refers to the moral theologian, Alphonsus Liguori (1696–1787) extolled pleasure within sex and even encouraged women to stimulate themselves after coitus if they did not achieve orgasm. These were few voices, however, in the sea of the master narrative of eliminating love from the sex-marriage duo.

With Calvin, then, we see the re-introduction of the first sexual narrative*, love-marriage-sex trio*. With some nuances, this becomes the narrative within Protestantism through to the modern era.

It is the Puritans, however, who extend and deepen this narrative and place it at the very centre of family life and community organization. Leites (1986) refers to the English Puritans as seeing marriage as delightful, sensuous and pleasurable. He sees this in the wider light of a Puritan quest for constancy which he defines as steadiness of feeling that does not go through radical highs and lows of joy, pleasure, anger and fear. Sexuality needs to be seen as part of this constancy. It has a vital place in the human experience but needs to be ordered and to be integrated into a harmonious whole. Sex is not only permitted but is a good thing. It is not only for procreation but is good in itself. Married love (inclusive of sex) is a sweet companion, a delight, intrinsic to marriage and sensuous. This has a religious base in that this constancy is only possible by living the Christian life in the presence of God for, according to Protestant theology, salvation is a gift of God received by faith.

Leites (1986) includes later texts from the Puritan heritage (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) that view marriage as part of the paradisiacal life that saw a woman and man as needing one another because of their need for love. This love was both sensual and spiritual that reflected on the body as something to delight in as well as being a seat of the image of God. For the Puritans, love, sex and marriage necessarily go together because it is the destiny of humans to build the kingdom of God on earth that is reflective of God.

The social historian Stone (1977) presents to us some evidence of how this theology of sex, love and marriage was realized among the English patricians and plebeians from the early seventeenth century through to the late nineteenth. During the early seventeenth century, the *ascetic-Christian narrative* appears to be dominant. This narrative was not only reinforced by religion but also by the medical professions. Sexual intercourse was to be restricted to periods when pregnancy was possible (not during an existent pregnancy or menstruation) and outside of Lent (40 days before Easter) and Sundays.

Medical restrictions were added to this. It was medically understood that the release of semen from the man overheated the body. Thus, because the summers were hot, this two fold source of heat would negatively affect the fetus. Therefore, couples were counselled to abstain from sexual intercourse during the summer months.

A further understanding to the early modern period and the modern period of the link between religion and sex is provided by the work of Foucault (1978). He expresses what has come to be known as the *repressive thesis*. Essentially, he argues that as religion was the primary source of repression in the early modern period, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, other sources of repression emerged. This was evident particularly in the Republic of France. In a concern for population growth and knowing more about fertility rates, the Republic set up a series of controlling mechanisms to control the sexual activity of its members. The state tried to transform the sexual conduct of couples into economic and political behaviour. Some of the agencies and academic agencies that furthered this goal of the state

included demography, biology, medicine, psychology, ethics, pedagogy, and political science. Thus sex was socially constructed as being for procreation for this function served the agenda of the state. In a word, in spite of the Republic's denunciation of religion as being repressive, it took upon itself to continue the ascetic Christian narrative without its religious connotations.

It was during the eighteenth century that the third narrative (*love-non-reproductive-sex-marriage*) grew in dominance. In addition, though, there was also evidence for the fourth narrative (*love-sex*) being present as well as the fifth, *sex-alone*. Stone notes that Puritan theology slowly separated sexual pleasure from procreation. Evidence for the love-sex narrative can be concluded from the rapid increase in pre-marital conceptions from 1700 to 1800 in England. The pattern was that young couples would enjoy sexual relationships after a betrothal before marriage. In addition, instances of wealthy men maintaining mistresses was common. It was also during this period that pornography, sexually explicit poems, and tools of sexual pleasure made their debut.

The early to late nineteenth century is witness to another change – renewed emphasis on the first narrative: *love-marriage-sex*. The religious revival sparked by Methodism challenged sex before marriage and a dampening of sex alone or sex for pleasure. This period (from about 1770 to 1870) became known as the Victorian era of prudishness in regard to sex. Stone does not, however, address the issue of whether sex within marriage was tied to procreation or was seen more of a source of pleasure.

In the 1990s, the Roman Catholic Church in its new catechism (Holy See, 1995) updated its teachings on sexuality to consider it now to concern affectivity, the capacity to love, to form bonds of community with others, and to procreate. The full expression of sexuality, however, is restricted to marriage. In this century, then, the Catholic Church has come full circle: from the first narrative of the early church to the same one: *love-marriage-sex*.

In summary, a pattern in Western European Christianity has emerged that is a fluctuation of, primarily, the two master narratives. The *love-marriage-sex* narrative begins with early Christianity (actually in Judaism) and is shortly changed to the *ascetic-Christian* narrative. This narrative was very powerful in that it affected marriage, sex, and social life in general. It begins to be unravelled with Calvin and the Puritans and is changed full circle to become love-sex-marriage again. It changes again with the love-sex narrative among the Plebeian peoples of England from 1700 to 1800. Restrictions come again during the bulk of the nineteenth century. Stone considers that these oscillations do not seem to be primarily connected to economic or political factors but rather to religious changes occurring in the English State. It is not until the twentieth century that the narratives are in flux again. It remains to be seen in the research part of this chapter which narrative is dominant.

Sex and Religion in the United States. Part I: Social History

History on sex and religion begins in the United States with the Puritans. On coming to pioneer North-eastern America in the seventeenth century, the Puritans bring with

them their theology of the first narrative: love-sex-marriage. Both Morgan (1966) D'Emilio and Freedman (1988) present social historical evidence that indicates that the Puritans did accent love, pleasure, sensuality, care and nurture in the love-sex-marriage trio.

Gardella (1985) goes into great detail to develop a thesis that Christianity influenced how sex was expressed in ecstatic pleasure. He calls this *innocent ecstasy* that is absent of guilt combined with an intensity of feelings.

According to him, American Protestants, and to a lesser degree, Roman Catholics, sought to liberate sex from the doctrine of original sin that was developed, originally, from Augustine. However, there was not a mere historical process of this liberation. Kellogg, the inventor of the famous corn flakes (1852–1943), a Seventh-Day Adventist, was suspect of sex and believed it to be the source of sin.

Some medical contributions negated human sexuality and argued that orgasm was a kind of epilepsy, masturbation would lead to insanity and crime, and that adultery of the mind would result in debility, effeminacy, disordered functions and even disease (Gardella, 1985).

However, the affirmative stance of sexuality continued to gain ground. Some religious leaders that Gardella presents link religious ecstasy to sexual ecstasy. One such person of special note was the feminist reformer Margaret Sanger (1879–1966).

She is pivotal to our story as she reflected what, in fact, many Americans were doing during the later part of the nineteenth century – reducing their family sizes by controlling birth. What is interesting about this woman, besides the one who gave many presentations encouraging birth control, is that she was involved in the Holiness Movement which thought that you could become holy and all that you do will be holy, including sex. She writes "... sex expression is not merely a propagative function, nor the satisfaction of an animal appetite ... sex expression, rightly understood, is the consummation of love, its completion and its constitution" (Gardella, 1985:133). With her, we encounter the third narrative, *love-non-reproductive sex-marriage.*

D'Emilio and Freedman's (1988) social historical work follows a similar interpretation. They type the period in America between 1600 and 1800 as the *Reproductive Society* wherein sexuality was restricted to marriage and that its primary purpose was reproductive. Sexual intimacy was considered to be a matter of fact within marriage but was strongly discouraged. The term they use here corresponds to my term or the first narrative *love-marriage-sex*. From the mid-to-late nineteenth century changes begin to occur. The term D'Emilio and Freedman use to describe this period is called the *Transformative Era*. The world of work transformed familial relationships in many ways. The place of work became decoupled from the home. Men entered public labour apart from their wives and their children. Women began to be considered morally superior and they were given the responsibility for the moral training of their children. Within this new economic configuration, children began to be a liability rather than an asset. Sex within marriage began to be less associated with reproduction and more linked to passion. Sexual union was increasingly

considered to be more and more spiritual and emotional. These authors describe the third narrative of this paper, *love-non-reproductive-sex-marriage.*

In a full sweep, these authors describe the twentieth century as the *Sexualized Society*. Sexuality becomes decoupled from marriage and family and is sought for its own sake. Evidence for this consists in the understanding now (from modern medical, psychological and therapeutic science) that sexuality is intricately linked to human potential and growth. In addition, sexuality is increasingly commercialized and is used by businesses to capitalize on profits sparked by the passions both of men and women. This captures the meaning of the fifth narrative as used in this chapter, *sex-alone.* It will be a goal of the next part of this document to question this interpretation with analyses of data on sexuality.

Sex and Religion in the United States and Canada. Part II: Empirical Studies

As will be indicated, the twentieth century accents more of the fourth and fifth narratives: *love-sex* and *sex alone*. Both in the United States and Canada, changes have been most pronounced since the 1960s that illustrate the movement towards *love-sex* and *sex-alone.* In a Gallup poll (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1992), respondents reported that 70% of Canadians believe that premarital sex is not wrong. In 1970, the same study indicates, that 43% believed that. However, this should not be seen as a measure of the *sex-alone* narrative but, rather, of the *love-sex* alternative. In an American study on courtship, Thorton (1990) notes that, during the 1980s very few people experienced coitus before dating and it is not until after dating and after a commitment is established, that sexual intercourse occurs.

On the other hand, even though the *love-sex* narrative is normative among most Americans, the sex-alone narrative is given a powerful image in the media, in **erotica**, and in prostitution. Yet, the media portrayal does not reflect what most Americans do. Lauman et al. (1994a), in the 1992 survey that will be used in this chapter, find that, for example, 23% of men and 11% of women watch X-rated movies or videos while 16% of men and 4% of women read sexually explicit books or magazines.

Amazingly, though, these *sex-alone* erotica are used in the context of a love relationship. Their results show those who used erotica where much more likely to be involved in a one-partner relationship than either with no partner or many (Laumann et al., 1994a:138).

Where does this leave us? It appears that the first *(love-marriage-sex*), third (*love-non-reproductive sex marriage*) and fourth (love-sex) narratives remain potent narratives in America. Gone is the second one (*ascetic Christian*) and the last, sex-alone, has been given much potency in the United States. It remains for us to see what religion has to do with this. After presenting an outline of the research on the linkages between religion and sex, an analysis of the 1992 survey will be done to test the linkages.

Religion and Sex: The Empirical Link, Part I: General Connections

The history of sexuality in the Occident testifies to the salience of religion. One would think that this salience would be translated into empirical research. However, it has not. In an electronic review of articles from the most important journal on sexuality, *The Journal of Sex Research*, from 1975 until 2006, 13 articles used religion as one of the variables of interest. A review of the most salient issues in the link between religion and sex will capture this section of the chapter.

In a review of the relationship between pre-marital adolescent and youth sexual experiences, Mahoney (1980) found that results for the relationship between religiosity and coital experience are not only mixed but also inclusive as to the nature of the relationship. In part, they attribute it to the fact that religiosity was measured unidimensionally by church attendance.

Mahoney discovered a consistent pattern of non-coital sexual experiences among 440 university students correlated with the students' intensity of religious belief. The more religious students were, the less likely were they to experience not only coitus but also non-coital experiences.

Another study of college students, by Larsen, Reed, and Hoffman (1980) investigated potential correlations between attitudes towards homosexuality. Religion was one such correlate. The authors found that those who were more frequent church goers and those who were fundamentalist were more likely to have negative attitudes towards homosexuality.

Religiosity makes a difference among another sample of 514 high school and college female students. Herold and Goodwin's (1981) results suggest that religiosity was strongly related to sexual permissiveness. The more religious were the women, the less accepting were they of non-marital sex. Herold and Way (1983) found similar results among a sample of Canadian female college students. Their dependent variable was oral-genital sexual behaviour and found that the more religious (measured here on church attendance) were the women, the less likely were they to engage in oral sex.

Spanier and Margolis (1983) present some contrasting results from a sample of separated or divorced couples from Pennsylvania in the relationship between religiosity and extramarital sex. They found that religiosity does not predict extramarital coitus but it does, however, predict how long after marriage extramarital sex does occur. It should be noted, however, that there are much stronger codes in the United States against extramarital coitus than pre-marital. This may account for the non-significance of the relationship. This inconsistency is further reflected in another study of university students by Sack, Kellner, and Hinkle (1984). They found that religiosity did not affect, either directly or indirectly through peer groups, the likelihood of coitus.

A further dimension of sexuality was investigated by Gil (1990). In this study, he asked questions of a sample of 160 conservative Christians and students from denominational colleges regarding their sexual fantasies (for example, items on romanticism, having sex with someone not your partner, being erotic with your

spouse). As predicted, the more conservative these respondents were on religious measures, the less likely were they to engage in sexual fantasy.

Davidson and Darling (1995) focus on the relationship between religion and sexuality in their investigation of 868 professional female nurses from 15 states in the United States. Religion was measured by church attendance, self perceptions of how religious they were and denominational affiliation. They measured sexuality by measures of attitudes and a variety of sexual behaviours (like masturbation, contraception and sexual satisfaction). Some findings reveal significant relationships: those who attended church less frequently were more likely to have masturbated and had sexual intercourse and those least likely to use contraception were those women who attended church weekly. However, on measures of sexual satisfaction, there were no differences between frequent attenders or those who did not attend at all.

These studies reveal several patterns. All except three were from university student populations. This may mean that what we know about religion and sex is restricted to this small, select sample of Americans and Canadians. Secondly, the measures of religion are unidimensional in nature and tap only religious behaviours (ritual) and internal, subjective states. Thirdly, with some variation, none are national. One is not in any position to discover or to test theses that could be applicable to the American population as a whole. A subsequent review is from the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) conducted in 1992 and published in 1994a (Lauman et al.) that will address some of these problems.

Before testing the relationship between sex and religion with the NHSLS survey, a national survey of evangelical ministers and their spouses conducted in 1993 in Canada will begin the investigation of the relationship.

Religion and Sex: The Empirical Link, Part II: Canadian Evangelical Ministers

In 1993, data from ministers and their spouses in Canada were collected that represented about 10,000 evangelical minister households from 10 denominations. The research was sponsored by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, a national organization of evangelicals. The drawn sample came to 3134 households that was intended to question not only ministers but their spouses as well. The final sample was 1294 clergy households that reflected a response rate of 41.3%. Of these households, 1260 questionnaires were from ministers (97% male and 3% female) and 1123 for spouses (2% male and 98% female).

Several measures of religion are predicted to affect marital quality (and, subsequently, sexual satisfaction). Measures of these constructs are: personal meditation or prayer, time spent in prayer, the frequency of prayer, marital sharing of prayer, religious activities and discussions, and one's sense of spiritual life. Figure 3.1 reflects this model.

Using those predictors which have been used relatively often in the research on marital quality, the following controls will be used: self image, marriage duration,

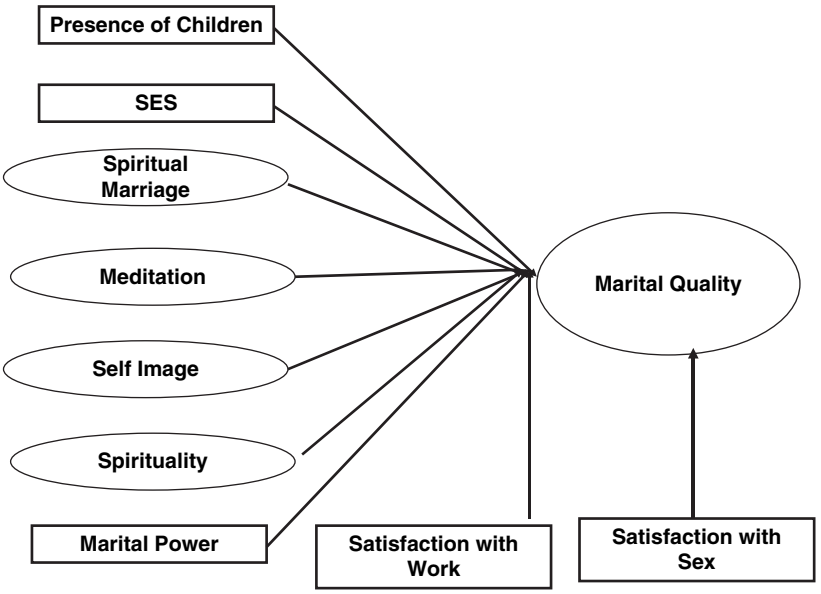

Fig. 3.1 A model of marital quality

wife employed, number of children at home, minister's personal satisfaction with work, income, friends in the congregation, sexual satisfaction, and marital power.

In predicting marital quality, step-wise multiple regression analysis is used to test the hypotheses that ministers and spouses' marital quality is affected by God as protector, meditation, amount of and frequency of prayer, spiritual-marriage, and spirituality. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 reveal these results.

Of the control variables, only those which appear in the final analysis (of a step-wise regression) and are significant, are recorded here. Note that the model is an excellent fitting model with an adjusted R^2 of .580 for ministers and .610 for spouses. This means that, in the case of the ministers, the model explains 58% of the variance and, for the spouses, 61%.[5] These statistics indicate that the model is highly significant in explaining the data.

For both ministers and spouses, work satisfaction, sexual satisfaction and not giving into one's spouse (a measure of marital power), are significant. For ministers and spouses, there is a significant correlation with the sense of self. Note that for both ministers and spouses, the single most powerful predictor of marital quality is sexual satisfaction (significant at $P>.0001$) with a beta coefficient (β) of .676 for ministers and .697 for spouses. For both the spouses and the ministers, the second strongest control is satisfaction with work. For the ministers, it is their satisfaction with the work of ministry and for the spouses, their satisfaction with their work outside of ministry or within some ministerial capacity in the church (50% are in paid

[5] In the analysis of social data, a common R^2 is from .15 to .30.

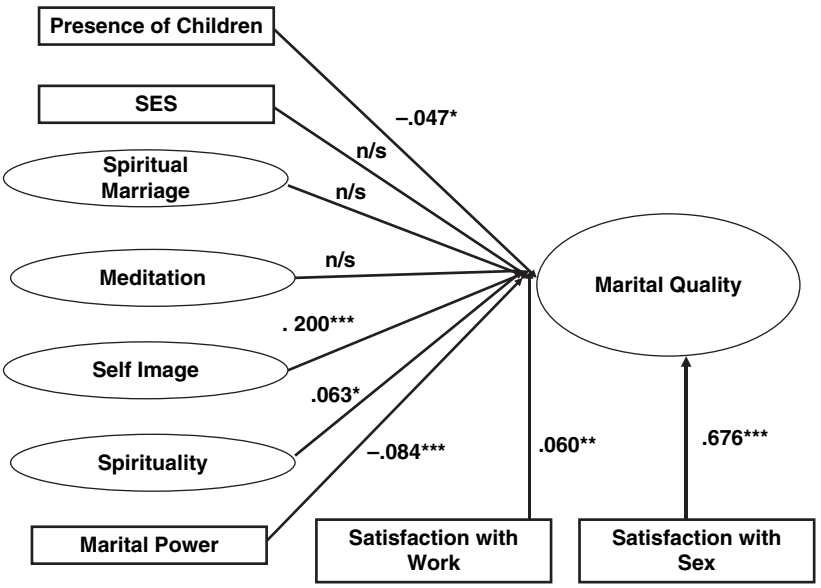

Fig. 3.2 Results of marital quality of the ministers $N = 978$ $R^2 = .580^{***}$

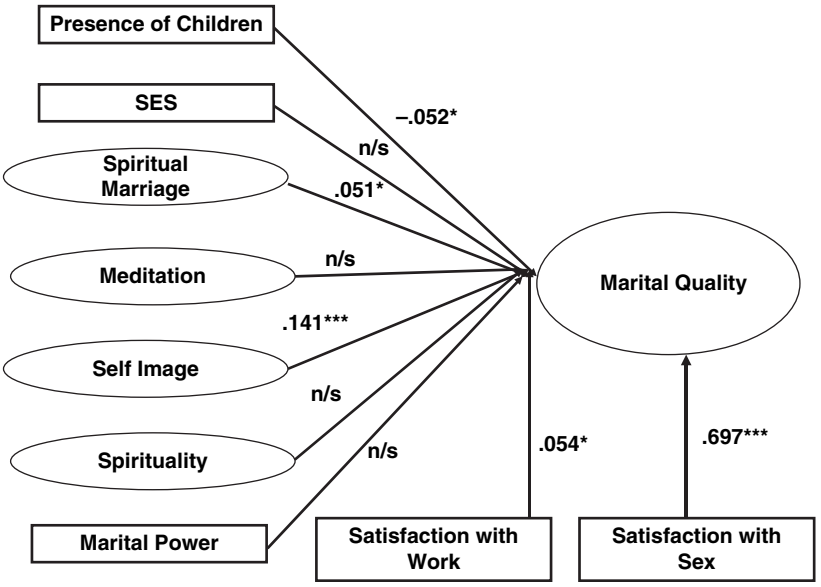

Fig. 3.3 Results of marital quality of the spouses $N = 786$ $R^2 = .610^{***}$

employment and 66% in work related to the church[6]). As revealed in the Figs. 3.2 and 3.3, the beta coefficients (β) are .080 for ministers and .117 for spouses. The last significant control predictor was a measure of marital power. The item that measured that was "I give into my spouse." It is very interesting that although the measure is significant, it is negatively related. This means that for both ministers and their spouses, in terms of marital power, they tend not give into their spouses and that affects their marital quality.

Other control variables were significant for the spouses but not for the ministers. For the spouses, years of marriage is negatively correlated with marital quality and income is positively related. In addition, the spouse's social connections within the church affect marital quality positively. This result is consistent with research in gender and social networks. Studies on friendship relationships between boys and boys and girls and girls indicate that girls tend to develop relationships that are more socially supportive than are boys friendship groups (Maccoby, 1990). Thus, if women tend to connect to friends more so than men, this may explain why these social networks affect the marital quality of the women and not so for the men.

As the same figures indicate, three of the predictor variables from the theoretical model for ministers are significant: meditation, spirituality and spiritual marriage. For spouses, only two are significant: meditation and spiritual marriage. The two other measures of religion, the amount and frequency of prayer is not significant in either model.

Predicting sexual satisfaction from marital quality also used the step-wise method of multiple regression. In the case of the ministers, reflected in Fig. 3.4, marital quality almost exclusively predicted sexual satisfaction along with meditation, spirituality and spiritual marriage. Similarly, yet stronger, did marital quality predict the sexual satisfaction, along with meditation and spiritual marriage of the spouses. Figure 3.5 represents these results.

These models reveal a robust representation of how sexual satisfaction is related to religion. Even though there is no appreciable direct relationship between sexual satisfaction and the number of measures of religion, there is a strong relationship

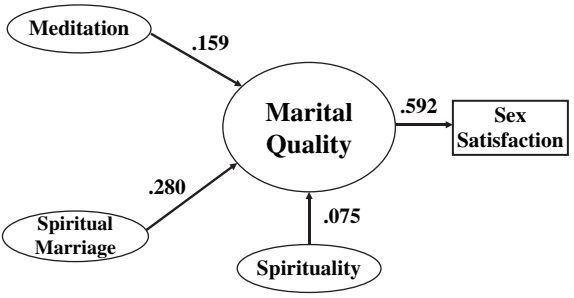

Fig. 3.4 Religion, Sexuality, and Ministers: $N = 1260$ $R^2 = .35$

[6] The percentages are greater than 100 which would indicate that many are engaged in public work for pay as well as within the church.

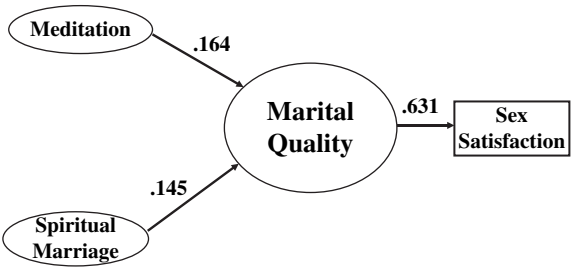

Fig. 3.5 Religion, Sexuality, and Spouses: $N = 1260$ $R^2 = .36$

between martial quality and sexual satisfaction. For Canadian evangelical ministers and their spouses, it seems that religion has a predominately (if not exclusive) indirect effect – affecting marital quality and, in turn, affecting sexual satisfaction.

In regard to how these married couples would fit into one of the narratives that have been constructed in this paper, it is a little difficult to say. One way to conclude is to see if these couples either have had or do have children living with them. 21% of them did have children with them in the past and 70% of them have them currently living with them. In total, then, 90% of the couples either had children living with them before or at the time of the interview (1993).

With this kind of information, it would appear that these couples do include reproduction in their interpretation of sex. It seems that these couples would appear to fit the first narrative of the relationships between religion and sexuality and that is the *love-marriage-sex* narrative that includes procreation.

Religion and Sex: The Empirical Link, Part III: NHSLS

The National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) was an extensive, representative study of the sexual behaviours, experiences, and attitudes of 3432 American men and women in 1992. It is the first of its kind that addresses the sociological factors of sexuality. Part of the study included questions that tapped several measures of religiosity. Using a multidimensional approach, these items included religious service attendance, having a born again experience, guidance of sexual behaviour from sacred codes, and denominational affiliation (Laumann, Michael, Gagnon, and Michaels, 1994b).

Lauman and his colleagues cluster the respondents into several categories depending on their general attitudes to sexuality into conservative (those who say that premarital sex is always wrong); pro-choice, religious (those who report that religious beliefs shape their sexual behaviours); conventional (those who believe that both extramarital and same-gender sex is always wrong but are tolerant on all other kinds of sexual norms); contemporary religious (liberal in regard to homosexuality but believe that religion guides their sexual behaviour); pro-life (those who are liberal on extramarital sex and pornography but are conservative on homosexuality and abortion); and, lastly, libertarian (those who are liberal on all sexual norms).

Using these clusters, the authors found significant differences with religious affiliation (None, Liberal Protestant, Conservative Protestant, and Roman Catholic and other).[7] Typically, those who are conventional tend to be nones; those with contemporary religious attitudes are liberal protestant; and Catholic are most likely to adhere to the religious orientation. Thus, Americans are relatively clustered into different value categories due to the various kinds of denominations they are part of.

Sexual Satisfaction

Sexual satisfaction is defined by Lauman and his co-authors (1994a:111) as "... a good, produced in a sexual dyad, with a resulting distribution of variable equity." There are four major ways that sexual satisfaction is measured in the survey. The first measure revolved about a cluster of items that query the respondents on how much they were satisfied with their partners with such personal states as feeling happy, feeling loved, not feeling afraid, sensing being thrilled, and not feeling guilty. The authors do not give this a name and I am choosing to call it *state sexual satisfaction* to refer to various emotional mood states of sexual satisfaction. A second measure was having an orgasm, thirdly, feeling physically satisfied, and, lastly, feeling emotionally satisfied.

Lauman and his colleagues correlated having an orgasm with religious affiliation. For example, women without religious affiliation were the least likely to say that they always had an orgasm. On the other hand, having a religious affiliation was correlated with higher rates of orgasm (27% of both Catholics and liberal Protestants said that they always having orgasm with their primary partner). Of all affiliates Conservative Protestant women were the most likely to have orgasm all of the time (33%).

A similar pattern is recognized with two other measures of sexual satisfaction, physical and emotional pleasure. For non-affiliates, 44% of the men and 35% of the women said they were extremely physically satisfied. In contrast, 49% of conservative Protestant males and 44% of the women reported extreme physical satisfaction. Likewise for emotional satisfaction. Non-affiliate men gave a 37% figure of extreme emotional pleasure and 30% of women. Again, in contrast, 40% of conservative Protestant women responded with the category of extreme emotional satisfaction and 46% of men who were also conservative Protestants, said likewise.

Although the *Social Organization of Sexuality* authors do not present tests of significance for these finding, the frequency differences themselves are quite telling. However, they only use one measure of religion (affiliation) and do not do a frequency analysis of what I have called state sexual satisfaction. To test for significance and for the control of other potential variables, three multiple regression tests

[7] The other category included Jewish, Orthodox, Eastern religion, Jehovah's Witness, Christian Scientist, Unitarian Universalist, and other.

will assess three measures: physical satisfaction, emotional satisfaction, and frequency of orgasm. As will be outlined shortly, state sexual satisfaction is a dichotomous variable and a logit regression model will be utilized.

The best scholarship in sociology of religion presents evidence for the importance of measuring religion multidimensionally. The sociologist of religion, Roof (1979) comments that Durkheim was an astute observer of the religious phenomena that gave rise to a multi-dimensional approach to the study of religion. Wach (1944) saw three main dimensions: theoretical (belief), practical (ritual) and sociological (fellowship). Fichter (1951, 1954) noted four ways in which a person could be considered a Catholic: attendance at Mass, participation in confession, sending children to parochial schools and involvement in church groups. Lenski (1961) constructed four dimensions that included associational/communal and doctrinal orthodoxy/devotionalism. This was followed by Fukuyama (1961) who developed four: cognitive (knowledge), cultic (ritual), creedal (belief) and devotional (experience). The researchers who have contributed significantly to the development of multidimensional measures of religiosity and which have been most used, however, are Glock and Stark (1965). Their dimensions include experiential (religious experience of the divine or the sacred), ideological (beliefs), ritualistic (rites, prayer, etc.), intellectual (knowledge about beliefs), and consequential dimension (the secular effects of religious belief, practice, experience and knowledge). Swenson (1999) summarizes these dimensions into: individual experience of the sacred, mythology (capturing the cognitive and ideological above), ritual (both private and public), ethos, and integration into a community or an organization.

NHSLS has measures of some of these constructs. The experiential dimension is measured by an item asking respondents if they have had a born again experience. An item that asked if religious beliefs guided sexual behaviours measured the mythological dimension. The ritualistic dimension is measured by how often the respondent attended a religious service. There were no measurements of either the intellectual or consequential constructs. An important dimension that was not outlined by Glock and Stark was religious affiliation. One measure of this was a variable created by Lauman and his colleagues that they called the master status current religion ranging from nones to Conservative Protestant. This is a discrete variable but because the range from nones to conservative Protestant ranges from the most liberal (Nones, liberal Protestants) to moderate and most conservative (Roman Catholics and Conservative Protestants), it can be used as a continuous variable.

Lauman (1995a, 1995b) and his colleagues provided ample evidence that marital status played a major role in the sexual behaviours of American men and women. A dummy variable of married or not is included in the analyses.

Measures of the dependent variables were four: a composite measure of sexual satisfaction, physical and emotional sexual satisfaction, and having an orgasm.

As is normative for tests of significance in the social sciences, it is important to consider if other factors than the predicted ones have an effect on the dependent variable. The NHSLS has measures of master status that Lauman and his co-authors place at the centre of their analysis. They consider and test the theory that sexual attitudes and behaviours vary in regard to gender, age, education, marital

status, and religious affiliation. Since religious affiliation is a categorical variable, it is not used here in the regression analysis. Age, education, and social class will be included as control variables. Some literature on sexual satisfaction considers a correlation between general relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction (see the review by Spanier and Lewis, 1980). This factor should be included as a control variable. However, there is no measure of this in the data.

Four models that reflect the four measures were tested to see if religion was predictive of sexual satisfaction.

The results were modestly robust. Two of the four statistics (Model Chi Square and the Improvement) for the testing of the whole model are indicative that the data fit the model well. The –2 Log likelihood and the goodness of fit have a large value which indicate a poor fit. Thus, we can say that the model has a modest probability of American men and women of being sexually satisfied due to these predicted factors.[8]

However, only two of the religious measures and marital status were significant predictors. Participating in religious services did not make any impact on sexual satisfaction as well as having a religious experience (being born again). Only attitudes make a difference. Thus, those who thought that extra-marital sex was wrong had higher levels of sexual satisfaction than those who did not consider it wrong. In addition, sexual satisfaction probability increased with those who believed that their religious beliefs guided their sexual behaviours.

Linear regression models are disappointing. All three models (of physical sexual satisfaction, emotional satisfaction, and frequency of orgasm) are not strong. Even though the F statistic is significant in all of the three models, the adjusted R^2 statistic is very weak. In addition, only one attitude (thinking extra marital sex as wrong) has any level of significance. In addition, marital status is only significant in two of the models (physical and emotional satisfaction).

From these regression models, religious factors do not really matter in predicting various measures of sexual satisfaction. If there would have been a measure of relationship satisfaction (similar to marital satisfaction in the case of the ministers and their spouses), one may have had a better explanation of sexual satisfaction. At

[8] The –2 Log Likelihood tests the null hypothesis that the observed likelihood does not differ from 1 (the value of the likelihood for a model that fits well). Since this test is not significant, (and we do not want this to be significant [Norusis, 1996]). The goodness of fit entry is similar to the –2 Log Likelihood test. This is significant which tells us again that the model does not fit well.

The model Chi-Square tests the null hypothesis that the coefficients for all the terms in the current model, except the constant, are 0. The model is relatively significant at $P < .01$.

As noted in Table 8, the Model Chi Square and the improvement are nearly equal. The improvement is a model that includes the constant but also the independent variables measured against the model that includes only the constant. This is comparable to the overall F test for a typical regression model.

Another test on the model is a prediction table. This test enables one to see if the predicted probability is close to the observed probability of divorce. In this case, the overall observed probability is 82.04% of the predicted probability (Norusis, 1996).

this time, what we can say is that because of evidence from three models of the four (sexual satisfaction, physical and emotional satisfaction), marital status does make a difference. This is substantiated with evidence from Laumann and his colleagues (1994a) who argue that frequency analysis does reveal that marriage does contribute to sexual satisfaction. This is said after comparing physical and emotional satisfaction with three marital statuses: single, common-law, or married. Those who were living common law did have higher levels of sexual satisfaction than did those who were married or single. However, after controlling for the age of the respondents, these differences are eliminated. They comment:

> The strong relations between marital status and both physical and emotional satisfaction indicate that characteristics of the sexual dyad itself-the level of commitment or "investment" characterizing it, its normative "status" and the types of sexual scripts typically associated with it – play powerful roles (1994a:121).

In a word, then, measures of religion (ritual, experiential, and ideological) do not predict sexual satisfaction measured in four ways. Again, because marriage is a consistent predictor of sexual satisfaction, one may consider marital quality as a precursor to sexual satisfaction. As found in the analysis of clergy couples, one may find comparable results in future research.

Conclusions of Empirical Links of Part II and III

In the complex world of post-modernity, there appears to be several narratives operating together, possibly in contrast to one another and, at times, in unison with each other. Evidence from the clergy data reveals a strong approbation of the first narrative, *love-marriage-sex* trio. This conclusion evolves out of several reasons. First of all, marital quality itself is a good measure that includes love as an indicator. This, in turn, predicts sexual satisfaction. The reproductive element of sex is also present when one considers the presence of children. Secondly, religious factors predict marital quality.

In regard to American couples, though, there is less evidence. From marital status measures, as noted above, sexual satisfaction continues to be part of this institution. In regard to religion, though, there is little evidence. Only from the point of view of marriage, then, is the first narrative still a significant factor in predicting sexual satisfaction. However, the reproductive element may be still a significant element in this narrative. Evidence from the NHSLS survey reveals that only 52.4% of couples always, usually or sometimes use birth control. A full 44% never use birth control. Yet, low rates of child births (1.8 @ respondent from these data) indicate that reproduction does not appear to be a significant part of the narrative.

In summary, the first narrative appears to be a reasonably strong narrative in modern Canada and the United States. However, the religious dimension of that narrative is strong among evangelical clergy couples of Canada but much less so for American couples.

Religion and Sex: The Empirical Link, Part IV: Muslim Women's Health and Reproduction

Bahar et al. (2005) did a descriptive, qualitative study of Muslim women in Turkey and found negative relations between traditional Islamic ideals and beliefs and the use of women's reproductive health care facilities, contraception, and abortion. The authors note that women's roles are determined by Islamic principles: women are to obey their husbands, are submissive, highly involved in domestic duties, financially depend on their husbands, lesser educated, are not to leave their homes for 40 days after child birth, and consider gynecological problems as punishment for sin and are embarrassed to visit male physicians.

On the other hand, those women who are more educated and have higher incomes are likely to use contraceptives, have abortions, and use other forms of family planning. Further, these women are more likely to believe in personal responsibility and less likely to believe in supernatural forces influencing their lives.

The authors comment on the meaning of the data. Islamic traditions have continuously influenced Turkey women's roles within families. The majority of these women are still being bound by Islamic principles. The association between education level and the adherence to traditional or sacred practices is negatively correlated. Thus women who have higher educational levels tend to block traditional values. As they increase their educational credentials, gender roles have changed and they are increasingly becoming more visible in the public sphere.

Religion and Sex: The Empirical Link, Part V: Religion and Changes in Family Size

Adsera (2006) investigated the desired number of children in 13 developed countries among 5 different religious affiliations from an international survey conducted in 1994. The data consisted of 16,000 adults categorized into five affiliations: Mainline Protestant (Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Church of England, Episcopal, Unitarian, Church of Sweden [Lutheran], Norwegian State Church [Lutheran], United Church of Canada, and Other Christian; Conservative Christians (Baptist, Congregational, Evangelist and Mormon), Roman Catholic; other religions (Shinto, Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh, Christian Orthodox, Christian Brethern, **Rotana Church**, other non-Christian, and other miscellaneous); [9] and those of no affiliation.

One measure of fertility consisted of the number of ideal children a family should have (not the actual fertility rate of these countries) and two measures of religion:

[9] The authors excluded Jews and Muslims as their numbers were so small that they would not be significant in the analysis.

religious affiliation and ritual (how often one attends a public religious service). The author offered four different hypotheses that were confirmed by his analysis:

- Individuals adhering to a religious affiliation, particularly one with strong pronatalist teachings, prefer bigger families that those of no affiliation.
- As the influence of religious institutions in society has lessened, ritual has become a more salient predictor of family norms.
- Religious affiliation should still influence demographic preferences in a country with religious competition even when not coupled with frequent service attendance. Conversely where one denomination controls the religious landscape, particularly if society is not sacralized, affiliation without ritual should be less relevant than in a pluralistic society.
- The simple identification with a particular affiliation as opposed to none, even if service participation is low, is to be coupled with a differentially larger impact in norms for family size among men than among women.

The author empirically established a number of other links between religion and fertility. Ritual was associated with preference for larger families in all countries from women and most countries for men. In more pluralistic societies such as Australia, the Netherlands, the United States and New Zealand, both affiliation and ritual participation worked incrementally. Conservative Protestants have the highest predicted outcome of family size whereas Catholics and those part of "other religion" had less. The least likely to have large families are those of the Mainline Protestant category who tend more than the others to be liberal in value orientation in general. Those who desired the smallest families were ones of no affiliation at all.

In conclusion, these international and inter-denominational data speak of the veracity that religion and the family are intricately linked and that the more conservative one is in affiliation and the more active one is in that affiliation, the more likely one is to want a larger number of children and, by implication, adhere to more traditional images of the family: mother, father and biological children. From this study, the evidence seems that the more conservative affiliates tend to follow the *love-marriage-sex narrative* and those who are more liberal illustrate *love-non-reproductive sex-marriage* narrative.

Religion and Sex: The Empirical Link, Part VI: Religion and Premarital Sex in Adulthood

There is a wide range of literature that provides evidence for a negative correlation between premarital sexual behaviour and various measures of religion among adolescents. Barkan (2006) was curious if this relationship was consistent with adult sexual behaviour. From a reading of the literature, he constructed three major hypotheses. His first hypothesis reads: "the more religious people among never-married adults will have fewer sexual partners that less religious people." The second one posits: "the belief that premarital sex is wrong will partly account for any

inverse association between religiosity and number of sexual partners." The last one consists of "that there is an inverse association between religiosity and the number of sexual partners will be greater for women than men" (2006:410).

For his data, Barkan merged together six samples of the American General Social Surveys (GSS) from 1993 to 2002. Premarital sex was measured by the number of sexual partners one had, religiosity by a composite measure of ritual (weekly service participation and prayer), how important religion is, and beliefs about premarital sex.

After controlling for potential predictor variables (such as age, education and region), he found that religiosity, how important religion is and premarital sex beliefs all were negatively correlated to the number of sex partners single people in the United States had. Further, to confirm his third hypothesis, religious women were less likely to engage in premarital sex than religious men. Thus, all three hypotheses received empirical support from these data.

Religion and Sex: Some Conclusions

This chapter has focussed on a history of sexuality as it is linked to religion in the Occident from the early centuries of the Christian era to the twentieth century. A selection of several empirical studies confirmed a robust relationship between religion and sex. One qualitative study informed us of how traditional Islamic ideals and beliefs influence Muslim women's use of reproductive health care facilities, contraception, and abortion. An international study told us the story of how various measures of religion affected the fertility patterns of men and women in developed countries. The last study on premarital sex, single adults and religion indicated that several measures of religion reduced the number of sexual partners one had and that religious women were less likely to engage in premarital sex than religious men.

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Chapter 4
The Personality System: Religion having an Impact on the Individual and the Individual's Influence on Religion in Familial Settings

Orientation

This chapter is an outline of the links between religion and the family using the personality system as the primary nexus. The outline of the key systems has been presented in Chapter 1 and in Fig. 1.5, "Neo-Functionalism and the Six Systems." I shall define from the work of famous sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) the personality system and how it is linked to religion and then review elements from the person in the family and in religion to flesh out this system.

It is in the personality system that the role of the family and religion takes shape. Parsons provides us with a definition of the personality system: ". . .the relational system of a living organism interacting with a situation" (1951:17). Note that the concept is essentially relational to the external situation. In this case, the situations are the family as a social system and religion as a cultural system.

Normally, within the family, a person is initiated to and internalizes the culture of a society. Through a long term relationship with the primary care givers, the child is socialized into both the culture of a society in general and to religion in particular.

This chapter endeavours to capture the research on the link between religion and the person within the family. This review will cover elements of the link wherein what happens to the person in a religious sense affects not only the person but others (and, in some cases, whole societies) as well as how the sacred world impacts the individual. Topics to be covered here include conversion, spirituality, gender, intimate violence, sexual orientation, coping with stress, and family spirituality.

Conversion

One way the person is linked to religion is through conversion. I shall present here what social science scholars have presented us with the meaning of conversion and then outline some research that uses attachment theory to explain conversion.

James (1902:193–203) defines conversion as a change from one aim in life to another, a journey from a divided self to a united self, a new perception of life, and an emotional transformation. For a person to be converted means "that religious

D. Swenson, *Religion and Family Links.*

ideas, peripheral in his consciousness, now take a central place, and that religious aims form the habitual center of his energy" (1902:196). Paloutzian offers a formal definition as "conversion to an organized set of beliefs that provide a superordinate framework for the individual's life" (1996:145). Richardson (1998) adds that conversion consists of changes involving cognitive, emotional, and belief dimensions.

All three authors subdivide conversion into basically two types. James calls these types *volitional* and *self-surrender*. He argues further that those who "self surrender" are akin to conversions of the "sick soul" while the more gradual, the volitional ones, are those conversions of the "healthy minded." Paloutzian (with Spilka, Hood, and Gorsuch 1985) terms them *gradual* and *sudden*.[1] Richardson moves away from these authors and, in light of the recent controversy surrounding conversions to new religious movements, one he termed *pathological* and the second, *volitional*. Pathological indicates that the person converting is "brainwashed" and joins a new religious movement while denying her or his free will. The second type acknowledges the convert as one who freely chooses the new group.

Spilka, Hood, and Gorsuch (1985) characterize sudden conversion with three elements: being passive, sensing a strong "otherness," and feeling guilty and unworthy. The sense of passivity refers to being controlled by "something" other than oneself, often in a moment of crisis. The "otherness" is the sacred, the object of religious worship. Lastly, the sense of guilt is a sense of guilt being taken away, a guilt which might have been a trigger to convert.

Gradual conversion is just that – it takes place over a period of time. It still results in a change to a new identity of the self. Good illustrations of this come from the work of Lofland and Stark (1965), and Stark (1992, 1996). Conversion occurs to a new, deviant religious group when, other things being equal, individuals have or develop stronger attachments to members of the group than they have to non members (Stark 1996:18).

Attachment Theory and Conversion

Kirkpatrick (1999) focuses on sudden conversion and outlines factors related to attachment security/insecurity leading to this kind of conversion. Attachment related elements leading to sudden conversion consist of severe stress and crisis, the unavailability or loss of a key attachment figure (like a parent, a spouse or a friend), an insecure attachment history and insecure adult attachments. I present the linkages in a summary form.

Adults sometimes face major stressors in life like illnesses, accidents, floods, hurricanes, terrorism or war. There is a range of evidence to show that in these circumstances, people turn to God as a substitute attachment figure because their current attachments to other are insufficient.

[1] He adds a third called "socialization." Many would not agree with his categorization as it seems to lack the basic element of change from one state to another.

The second type of problem adults face is the loss of a parent, a spouse, a child. Kirkpatrick writes: "When a human attachment figure is lost, a perceived relationship with God may become an appealing alternative" (1999:813).

A third circumstance presented by Kirkpatrick is a history of insecure attachments. He notes that various studies suggest that sudden conversion is associated with childhood experiences that were problematic. A study by this author and a colleague (Kirkpatrick and Shaver, 1992) illustrates this. A newspaper survey revealed that respondents who had avoidant insecurities with their mothers were more likely to experience conversion than those with secure attachments.

The fourth setting that Kirkpatrick presents is that of insecure adult attachments. The scholar focuses on either romantic or married relationships. With evidence from wide range of non-representative samples, those who had avoidant or ambivalent attachments were more likely to attach themselves to a sacred attachment figure than those who were secure in their adult relationships. Kirkpatrick explains:

> For people who seek and value close relationships, but who have difficulty developing or maintaining them due to fears of being unloved and/or abandoned, it is easy to see how God's unconditional (or easily earned) love may be perceived as immensely attractive, and how the experience of finding such a relationship may be emotionally powerful and deeply rewarding (1999:816).[2]

Granqvist (2003) attempts to build on this work of Kirkpatrick and adds more clarity to some of these observations. He avers that much of the recent study of conversion has not been on sudden conversions but on gradual conversions. However, there have not been studies done to see if gradual conversions are related to securely attached adults. A further problem is what happens to those who do have a sudden conversion? Do they continue to mature in attachment to a sacred figure and have positive outcomes? What of some who "reverse" their conversion and leave their religious commitments? He argues that prospective longitudinal studies have to be conducted to examine some of these questions in the light of attachment theory–particularly not only using childhood attachments but also adult romantic attachments. He concludes ". . .viewing conversions from an attachment perspective has the important advantage of moving the study of conversion away from its isolated, encapsulated state in the behavioural sciences of religion in the direction of integration with mainstream psychology" (2003:185).

Conversion and Changes in Family Structure

A traditional religion of China has been ancestral worship that is associated with **Confucianism**. This worship has also been linked to the extended family unit wherein the newly married couple lives with the family of the groom that is termed

[2] Swenson (1999), using a comparative-historical approach, contrasts Biblical Judaism and Christianity with all other myths from folk, archaic, Eastern religions and Islam and notes that the latter all have at their base divine acceptance based on merit. Only Biblical Judaism and Christianity have myths that the human person is unconditionally loved and accepted not for what he/she does but for who they are: humans made in the divine image.

a stem family. Hong (1972) looks at the relationship between conversion and the changes in the family structure among a sample of respondents of Hong Kong (2960 people) in the early 1970s. Those Chinese who were Confucian in orientation and who worshipped their ancestors were more likely than Chinese Christians to have an extended household. Those who converted to Christianity became more likely to create conjugal family units. Further, the contacts of the Chinese with Christian teachers enabled them to become Christians. Correlated with these conversions was the ability to send one's children to the private, expensive schools.

The author demonstrates that the ancestral cult as a traditional practice of linking ancestors and their descendants has a positive relationship with the extended family. In addition, the beliefs of Christianity have continuously influenced the Hong Kong Christians to adopt small households such as the nuclear family instead of the extended families. Further, because only the upper class families could afford to send their children to these private schools, it was they who were more likely to become Christian. This seems to suggest that economic considerations such as resource availability has also played an important role in determining the adoption of certain types of family structure among families in the Hong Kong society.

Gender

A topic that fits well under the rubric of the personality system is gender. Many scholars have alerted us to how religion affects gender in a multitude of ways. In this section, three topics will be discussed: the original creation of Islamic patriarchy that will be followed by a study of American South Asian women and, then, women in Saudi Arabia.

The Construction of Islamic Patriarchy

The primary sacred text in Islam is the *Qur'an*. There appears to be two stories of women in the *Qur'an* that is also acknowledged by Bellah (1970:154) in his study of Islam. On one hand, the *Qur'an* states that woman was created by Allah with man (Surah 4:1 and 49:13);[3] that she, along with man, will enter paradise as long as she does deeds of righteousness (Surah 4:124, 33:35 and 40:40); she is to be treated as a man with justice because she has similar rights (Surah 2:228 and 4:32); she is equally a protector of men as men are of women (Sirah 9:71). The Qur'an counsels men to treat women with kindness (Surah 30:21), and that women are to be seen as blessings to men (Surah 3:14). On the other hand, even though women have rights similar to men, they are inferior in status (Surah 2:228); men have authority over women because God made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth on them (Surah 4:34); men have the prerogative of

[3] All scripture quotes to *Qur'an* are from Ali (2003).

divorce (Surah 2:228–232); one male witness is equal to two female ones (Surah 2:282); women are given one-half of the inheritance given to men (Surah 4:11) and men are allowed to have several wives, especially if the women have children and are currently widowed (Surah 4:1) as well as to have concubines, particularly those captured in war. Surah 70:29–30 reads: "And those who guard their chastity except with their wives and the captives whom their right hands possess, for then they are not to be blamed." Several verses in the Qur'an refer to veiling, at least indirectly:

> When you ask his (Muhammad's) ladies for anything you want, ask them from before a screen: that makes for greater purity for you hearts and theirs (Surah 33:53).
>
> It shall be offense for old spinsters who have no hope of marriage to discard their cloaks without revealing their adornments. Better if they do not discard them (Surah 24:60).

Of the many verses referring to women, Surah 4 is most striking:

> As to those women on whose part you fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first); (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly). If they return to obedience, do not seek against them means of annoyance (verse 34).

An alternate interpretation to this dual image of women in the Qur'an is presented by Wadud (1999) who challenges this dualistic view. A convert to Islam and an African American, she encourages the reader not to look at individual verses but to come to the "spirit of the Qur'an,' the underlying ethos or world view which paints a picture of gender equality and neutrality." She writes:

> I propose that the way to believe in 'the whole of the book' (Surah 3:119) is to recognize that "spirit" of the book and accept its world view, vision, and ultimate intent. In examining the Qur'an, we need 'to accurately determine the rationales behind its statements, comments and injunctions.' Even when the reason for a certain command is not explicitly stated, it is not difficult to guess it.' Thus to arrive at that ultimate intent requires the same level of pure commitment, devotion, and intellectual striving as the members of the earliest community. However, in the context of a technologically advanced world, such a commitment will require a broader, global perspective activated in, but not limited to, one's local context (1999:81–82).

In general, Wadud agrees with the above catalogue of positive statements of women in the sacred book. She address several gender laden issues in the Qur'an: paradise, patriarchy, polygyny, witness, inheritance, and childcare.

The image that paradise is a heaven for men wherein they will receive pleasure from youthful, virgin, dark eyed, white skinned females is because Muhammad was appealing to the patriarchal Mekkans and that the text was composed during his time in Mekka. It does not have universal relevance as in Surah 101:6–11, the entrance into paradise is equally provided for men and women. In this passage, a scale is presented wherein the good deeds are weighed against ones' bad deeds. The criteria is equal for both women and men: "Ultimately in the Qur'an, the reward for good is good" (Wadud, 1999:59).

In understanding patriarchy, Wadud applies her theory of interpretation that attenuates the specific wording of a verse to ameliorate the global meaning of the Qur'an that is beyond gender. Or, another way to interpret the text is to localize it

in the seventh-century Arabia where patriarchy was the norm. She believes that the texts that reveal equality outweigh those that speak of patriarchy.

A corelate to patriarchy is male leadership. Wadud presents a perspective to challenge the reading of the Qur'an as advocating male authority to balance it with the understanding that the general image of leadership is gender neutral and that the one in authority is the best suited person.

Qur'anic polygyny is rooted in justice according to Wadud. She agues (using Surah 4:3) that the reason for having up to four wives was to care for women who did not have a male to financially support them. She also notes that the ideal is monogamy when Surah 4:129 reads: "You are never able to be just and fair between women. . .".

As noted above in Surah 2:282, one male witness is equal to two females. Wadud explains that the verse does not refer to two female witnesses but to one female witness and the second as a corroborator. She applauds the Qur'anic teaching that a woman alone would have more difficulty in giving witness in a male dominated society if she did not have a corroborator.

Referring to inheritance, all the relevant verses (Surah 4:11–12) should be read. The two to one distribution is only one of the possibilities. If there is one female child, her share is a full half. There are a significant number of other variations that Wadud relates. Her bottom line interpretation is that the typical male-female distribution is not be seen as the privileged one but only one of the possibilities.

The last issue of gender that Wadud outlines refers to the care of children. She notes that the Qur'an gives rights to both parents in the care of children. Further, the text allows for mothers to have another woman suckle her child. The Muslim scholar offers an interpretation of child care that is flexible, integrated, and dynamic.

In regard to the difficult text (Surah 4:33) that advocates the beating of wives who are not obedient, she offers these observations. The word for disobedience in Arabic is *Nushuz* that means recalcitrance or disruption of marital harmony. The responses to this are threefold: (1) the verbal solution between the couple or with help from others; (2), if this does not work, then to temporally separate her from her husband; and, (3), to scourge her.

Wadud goes onto argue that term "scourge" is a translation of the Arabic *daraba* that could mean "to leave" or to "give an example." If it does mean violence, it does not mean violence to hurt a woman (as marital violence) but to create harmony in marriage.

These observations are challenges to the dual image of woman in the Qur'an as given in this paper. I would offer some observations. If this is the model in the Qur'an, why is it that after Muhammad and early Islam, the image of woman was still dual? If Wadud can say that the references to gender inequality in the Qur'an are because it they are restricted to time and space, or there are different meanings to the term, or they are against the "spirit" of the text, then one could also argue the same for the positive images of women in the text. The same criteria in interpreting the negative images of women in the text should also be applied to the positive images. Wadud does not do that.

Further, the subtitle of her book is "Rereading the sacred text from a women's perspective." This is what I would call an interpretation using the ideologically

based emancipatory theory of gender. She acknowledges a "women's perspective which, by nature, is tendentious." An alternative kind of feminism is explanatory feminism which is social scientifically based. This is science as value-free and the scholars using this search to describe the difference between men and women, try to account for these differences and, thirdly, search for the effects of this on the lives of women and men (Chafetz, 1997, 1999) In the light of explanatory feminism, one should allow for the text "speak for itself" and not let the lens of emancipatory feminism cloud the text.

She acknowledges that the Qur'an is a moral history that is "extra-historical and transcendent in nature" (1999:29). In addition, there are three eternal substances: Allah: the prototype of the *Qur'an* and the divine throne (Farah, 1994). If the text is uncreated and eternal, how can it be changed in historical and contextual circumstances as argued by Wadud?

Another scholar, Minai (2005), also focusses only on the positive image of women in the Qur'an and early Islam. She writes: "It was a religion that concerned itself heavily with women's rights, in a surprisingly contemporary manner" (2005:746). Included in the positive images are: upon marriage, a man had to pay his bride a dowry which was to be insurance in the case of divorce and widowhood; allowed to choose her own spouse; both men and women could be punished with 100 public lashes if they committed adultery or fornication: heaven lies at the feet of mothers; later in Muslim history, a few of the learned women acted as imams; some women were honoured poets; and, many became famous as warriors who had as much courage as males. However, like Wadud, she rarely refers to the negative images of women in the Qur'an and does not question the questionable activities of Muhammad in his relationships with women to be seen below.

From the **Sunnah** and the **Hadith** literature, the intimate life of Muhammad is reflected in his relationships with his wives, and his concubines during the 10 years from the time he arrived in Medina (622 AD) and his death (632 AD). The literature varies as to the number of wives Muhammad had. Esposito (2003), relying on a ninth century biographer Ibn Hisham (d. 834), records 13 matches in addition to two concubines. Glasse (2001) documents 11 in addition to his first wife, Khadijah, who died in Mekka before the Hijrah. Stowasser (1994),[4] relying on the ***Hadith*** documents, notes that the majority of traditions put the number at 14 of which 9 were

[4] Some claim that this author is biased and does not represent the true meaning of the Qur'an. One of the most well known authors of Islam, John Esposito writes on the back cover of the text: "An excellent study of women in Islamic scriptures and commentary. A significant contribution to the scholarship. There is no comparable study in terms of either focus or approach, despite the fact that the topic and materials are so fundamental." Stowasser's work was named an outstanding academic book for 1995.

Stowasser's primary source for this evidence also is the one that I have used: Ibn Saad, Muhammad (d. 844) author of one of the earliest biographies of Muhammad and the compiler of the earliest known biographical dictionary, *Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir* (*The great book of generations*). Systematized and organized the collection and presentation of biographical materials. His biography of Muhammad became an archetype in structure, content, and source materials for later literature addressing Muhammad's life, virtues, merits, and proofs of his prophethood (Esposito, 2003).

alive at Muhammad's death. Further, there were at least two concubines, one of which was Marya the Coptic Christian who never became a Christian.

Ibn Saad (840.?/1904:100–107) records that he married five other women who he divorced. These women include Alkalabiya, Asthma (Bint Al-Nu'man), Qutayla (Bint Qays), Mulayka (Bint ka'b), and Bint Jadab.[5] Ibn Saad adds that he was engaged to be married to nine other women but never had sexual relations with them. He also writes that these women offered themselves to Muhammad. Stowasser (1994) documents that there were two concubines. However, Ibn Saad only records one: Mariyah. It was to her that a son was born but who died in early childhood. From Ibn Saad's list, the number of women that Muhammad had some marital or close relationships was 27.

Another series of cases that Ibn Saad presents is the number of women who were in the care of the prophet. He records 295. Most of these women were married to other men and it appears that his interest was altruistic in that he financially cared for them and their families. Ibn Saad mentions that some he went to visit, others he stayed with, and a few were nannies. One woman, he records, Fatma (Bint Al-Asswad), stole some jewellery and Muhammad cut her hand.

The youngest was A'ishah who was 6 years old when she became betrothed and the daughter of his first military lieutenant and later the first successor of the Prophet, Abu Bakr. The marriage was consummated when she was nine. In the Hadith of al-Bukhari it is noted: "A'ishah said that she was married to the prophet when she was six years old and the marriage was consummated when she was nine years old" (Awade, 2005:66). It is said by Stowasser (1994) that some of the early documents indicate she still played with her dolls after the marriage. Contrary to the family-law tradition of Islam which argues for equality between wives, A'ishah was his favourite and chief-wife (Watt, 1961). One marriage was quite controversial. He married his cousin Zaynab bint Jahsh, the divorced wife of his adopted son Zayd.[6] It is this one marriage that Glasse argues was one of affection and personal affinity.

At his death in 632 the Prophet left behind nine wives and a consort, Maryam the Copt, a Christian slave who was a gift from Mnqawquis, the Byzantine-viceroy ruling the Copts in Egypt. In the *Qur'an* the wives of the Prophet are called "Mothers of the Faithful" and forbidden in marriage to other men after the Prophet's death. Esposito (2003) notes that they are regarded as moral exemplars for Muslim women. In particular, A'ishah and Umm Salama (a widow of Abu Salamah who had died in

[5] Madani (1982) argues that at the time Muhammad was master of the large part of the Arabian peninsula, a verse was revealed laying down that the wives of the prophet can neither be divorced nor can they be remarried after his death. This refers to his wives after his death but does not refer to them before his death. Logic would assume that if he could have more than four wives as allocated to other Muslims, so it is that he could divorce them. As noted above, during his trouble with his wives, he threatened to divorce them if they did not obey him (Surah 66:5). Further, Surah 33:51 reads: "We grant you this privilege so that none may blame you. God is forgiving and merciful. You may put off any of your wives you please and take to your bed any of them you please."

[6] Glasse (2001) notes that there was a justification in the Qur'an for his action.

one the many military campaigns of the Prophet) reported numerous ***hadiths*** from Muhammad and thus played a decisive role in the shaping of these same hadiths.

To try to understand why he had so many relationships (if you add to the number of wives he also married five women whom he later divorced as well as two concubines summing up to over 20) in the perspective of social science, I use the attachment theory and research literature. The general theory is how early childhood experiences affect adult attachments in dating and marriage. Feeney (1999) theorizes about and provides evidence for the linkage. In general, she theorizes that secure attachments from childhood are linked with higher levels of trust, commitment, satisfaction, and interdependence. On the other hand, insecure attachments, both avoidant and ambivalent, were negatively linked to trust, satisfaction, commitment and interdependence. Just as the internal working models is the mechanism for the link between early childhood experiences and images of the divine, so also are they the mechanisms in the nexus between early childhood attachments and later adult intimate attachments.

The internal working model or how a person views the world is substantially laid down in early childhood experiences. If a child has experienced secure attachments, an internal working model emerges that the kind of relationship one searches for in adult life is isomorphic to these early experiences. Securely attached children tend to bond with other securely attached adults in their own adult years. In contrast, insecurely attached children use a working model that propels them to connect with other insecurely attached adults.

Further, researchers on studies on marriages recorded that spouses with secure working models reported higher level of interpersonal satisfaction than those with insecure models. Another set of studies documented by Feeney links secure working models, care-giving behaviours, and sexuality. Theoretically and empirically, persons with secure early childhood attachments are bonded to their partners in levels of high proximity, sensitivity, a care-giving. On the other hand, those with histories of insecure attachment exhibited distancing from their partners, insensitivity, and a lack of caring for each other. There is also support in the research literature that insecure individuals had more accepting attitudes to multiple sex partners. In contrast, securely attached persons were less likely to have multiple partners, more likely to be involved in mutually initiated sex, and enjoy physical contact.

Did Muhammad have insecurity as a child? Several studies and biographies indicate so. Ibn Ishaq (2004) presents a chronology of Muhammad's birth and early childhood. In general, this chronology is substantiated by Watt, Lings, and Armstrong. The approximate time, as noted above, of Muhammad's birth is 570 AD, being the first child of Aminah and Abdullah. During Aminah's pregnancy, his father died on a caravan trip in Syria. He thus began life in a single parent household. Haykal (1976) adds that shortly after his birth, he was given to a woman named Thuwaybl, a servant of Muhammad's uncle Abn Lahab. However, she died. Later, he was offered to a Bedouin woman named Halima al Sa'diyyah to be wet-nursed. Other women did not want to do this because his father was deceased. He stayed with her for 2 years and was then weaned. As was the custom among the tribe, he was brought back to this mother but when Halima begged Aminah to keep him, she

agreed. However, a religious-symbolic story is told that the boy Muhammad was attacked by two men who "tore out his heart, cleaned it, and put it back again." Halimah was terrified and brought the boy back to his mother in Makka. Before he was returned to her, however, when he was 5 years of age Halimah lost him in a market in Mekka (Haykal, 1976).

He was now 6 years of age and his mother died. He was given to his grandfather (Abdul-Mattalib), the father of his own father, to be cared for. However at 8, the grandfather died as well. Haykal (1976:50) records "he cried continuously at his death." Muhammad was then given to his uncle, Abu Talib, his father's brother. It was he who cared for the boy into his adulthood. The future proclaimed prophet learned the skills of a camel manager, a caravan leader, and a warrior. It appears from these sources that the kind of parenting was inconsistent and that he suffered from ambivalent insecurity.

To link these early childhood experiences to his adult intimate relationships, evidence from the *Hadith* and the biographies seem to indicate many of the elements of adult bonds that are linked to Muhammad's early insecure attachments include: distancing from his partners, insensitivity, and having multiple sex partners. The record of multiple sex partners is self evident from the above literature. Evidence on him being distant to his wives is illustrated that he was close to only a few (A'isha and Zaynab bint Jahsh). Thus the others likely experienced his distance from them. Insensitivity is illustrated in his marriage to Zaynab who was originally married to his son-in-law that was referred to above and his having sexual relations with Marya in a wife's house (Hafsa) on the day that was appointed that he be with A'isha.

These multiple relationships included many marital troubles that were of major proportions. Stowasser (1994:96) documents them:

- The prophet's wives, in the manner of the *Ansar* women of Medina, had become argumentative and given to insubordination and backtalk against their husband.
- They made material demands that the Prophet could not fulfil because of poverty.
- The Prophet had sexual relations with his concubine Marya in Hafsa's house on A'isha's "day" or on Hafa's "day"; when confronted, he made an oath that Marya would henceforth be *haram* (forbidden to him for sexual contact) if Hafsa kept this information secret, but she betrayed it to A'isha.
- Hafsa was not satisfied with her share of presents (or, meat) distributed by the Prophet among his wives; she sent the gift back several times to bargain for more, until A'isha blamed the Prophet that he had "lost face" in these dealings, an accusation that is said to have angered him.
- Hafsa was jealous of A'isha's beauty and the Prophet's love for her (or she was jealous of A'isha's favoured position and Zaynab's beauty).
- The Prophet's wives bragged about the unequalled value of their dowers.

Muhammad's response was one of becoming distant to them all by segregating himself from all of them and threatening divorce unless they chose God and his prophet and renounce the world and its adornment. It is said that they all made that commitment.

This commitment to obedience becomes a paradigm of women's roles within Islam. The special place that is given to the wives of the prophets is a place of honour and respect. They, and other Muslim women, are counselled to: live in segregation and quiet domesticity, exhibit modest comportment, be invisible through the veil (the ***hijab***), witness ascetic fragility, be obedient to God, the prophet and their husbands (Stowasser, 1994:118).

South Asian Women in the United States

Farha (2004), in a qualitative study of South Asian women in the United States, found that gender norms among these people (includes Hindu, Muslim and Christians from India) are reinforced by a traditional ideology. This is emphasized in premarital relationships wherein there is no dating, few "love matches," and arranged marriages. However, these practices are gender specific: men are allowed much more freedom than are women.

The researcher further asserted that traditional sacred beliefs in Hinduism, Islam and Indian Christianity has and continues to play a significant role in reinforcing means to discourage counter-traditional ways of marriage patterns. There is a strong sense of endogamy wherein arranged marriages serve the importance of ensuring the continuity of traditional values that included gender specific roles of husband and wife. Yet, Farah acknowledges, second generation South Asians are moving toward semi-arranged marriages and on-line marriage services.

Muslim Women in Arab States

Using demographic, state based data, Beirut, Cairo and Riyadh (2004) paint a picture both of gender change and resistance in some Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Traditional gender roles, some of whom are more cultural than religions, are in transition. Some examples include: 55% of university students are women in Saudi Arabia, women's fertility rates have declined there over the past 20-years, women delay in marriage, they have the right to vote, and can work for government agencies and in the private sector.

On the other hand, however, traditional gender norms, roles and practices continue. Examples include: unmarried women are not allowed to live alone, about 6% of the workforce in Saudi Arabia is female while about one-third of adult women are employed. Many women fear walking alone or to travel because of arcane men abusing or threatening them. Lastly, there continue to be a wide variety of discriminatory laws that inhibit the construction of gender equality.

In summary, although the conditions of gender inequality have slowly improved, certain persistent traditional values such as, women are not allowed to travel alone and to obtain equal rights as men have. The proportion of women participating in the labour force is still low. One of the causes that deters the reformation of women's roles in Arab societies is the use of sacred texts to legitimize the cultural/social customs.

Gender Differences in Religiosity

Many researchers in the social science of religion have found consistent findings, world wide, that women are more religious than men on a number of measures such as ritual, prayer, and spirituality. Roth and Kroll (2007) build on a theory, risk behaviour, developed by Miller and Stark (2002) by testing its validity. Miller and Stark (2002) argue that the reason why women are more religious than men is because men take more risks than women. They explain this in the following way.

Risk behaviour theory (risk being defined by Miller as "a carefully calculated decision that entails a weighing of costs based on the amount of risk a person is willing to accept" [2000:8]) assumes that religious observance is risk avoidant because world religions teach that the pious will be rewarded and the impious will be punished after death. Miller and Stark continue in suggesting that men have a greater propensity to be risk takers and, thus, are less religious because they are more willing than women to risk eternal punishment. Further, women, dislike taking risks and prefer to observe sacred norms and believe in mythologies to ensure that they will be rewarded in the afterlife. Men, conversely, are more willing to take the risk of not observing and not believing as well as being more prone to take other kinds of risks like criminality, drug use, adultery or the use of pornography.

Roth and Kroll test the theory using American data from the 1983 to 2004 cumulative General Social Survey and the cross-national data from the 1990 to 1993 and 1995 to 1997 of the World Values Survey. Belief in hell is used to capture the punishment of impious people and is typed as a risk. They use many other measures of religion as well as relevant control variables. In both the American and world-wide surveys, they found no evidence that belief in hell made any difference in gender variations. They write: "The analysis clearly illustrates that risk preference is not the mechanism that produces women's generally higher religiosity" (2007:217). In their extensive analysis, they test for other factors that may explain the gender differences such as: women's tendency to be more socially connected, or their propensity for help-seeking behaviour in response to stress. These factors were not significantly related to gender differences in religiosity.

They conclude:

> Whether the primary forces behind the gender difference are social, cultural, or biological, our analysis demonstrates that they are not due to risk preferences (2007:218).

Clergy Women and Gender

Cody-Rydzewski (2007) addressed a very interesting topic of gender in liberally based denominational women who were ordained active clergy women. Her baseline theory was that as women achieved more education, higher valued occupations and pay, they received more resources to negotiate more power in decision making in marriages (termed the "resource hypothesis" and created by Blood and Wolfe [1960]). According to this hypothesis, because ordained clergy have a high

status and are vested with a great deal of authority, ordained women would have more power and authority than women who are not ordained clergy.

Interviewing 33, highly educated, ordained women, she asked the question if having ordination as a valued resource increased their power to negotiate more egalitarian roles in marriage and in the home. According to the resource hypothesis, because these women were highly educated, ministered in liberal churches (who ideology prevented members from interpreting the roles of men and women in literalist terms), held a high prestige occupation in society and had higher than average incomes, they would enjoy an egalitarian marriage and their husbands would reduce the double-shift burden of their wives. Not so. Cody-Rydzewski explains.

Contrary to the resource hypothesis, the clergy women responded:

- The transition to become an ordained minister resulted in an excess of responsibilities and less time for the women themselves, their husbands, and their children.
- Husbands did not help their wives in care for the children and in housework.
- Church members expected that these women would not only be responsible for them as parishioners but also teach Sunday school, cook and care for their children.
- These women felt ambiguity and uncertainty in their authority in the home even though, after ordination, they experienced increased public adulation.
- Some of these ordained clergy women experienced resentment from their husbands because they had less time. The wives responded by being more diligent in caring for family work.

These results reveal that there is an "invisible wall" between work and home and that what happened in work did not necessarily translate into the home. Cody-Rydzewski concludes:

> The findings of this and other similar studies speak not only to husbands' resistance to women's success in male-dominated occupations, but also to the resistance of the church. Like most other social institutions, the church has not altered its gendered expectations to accommodate the rising number of women and mothers entering ministry. Unfortunately, compared to other employed women, clergywomen face a prejudice of greater intensity, since churches model and promote gender differentiation both as a matter of practice and policy. Although these women belonged to denominations which are open to women's leadership, the church has done little to modify its expectations for how the work of the ministry, or the work of family, is performed (2007:287–289).

Religion and Intimate Violence

There is an almost universal teaching in all the **world religions** that the family is to be a place of safety and growth. Likewise, these religions teach peace, harmony and care in human relationships. Yet there is evidence that both religion and the family are anything but safe. This section will document a variety of papers that try to help us to understand this phenomenon. I have selected to study intimate violence here,

in the personality system, because both the victim and the victimizer are affected personally by this kind of tragic social action.

Freud and a Study in History: Young Man Luther

I commence this section by looking at Freud's theory of early childhood experiences and adult images of the divine. The accent here is to present a theory and a case study to claim that images of the sacred are influenced by earlier personal experiences, especially parental abuse in familial settings. Human lives may be compared to a **palimpsest** of forces or events in one's life course. The bottom layers are constructed in early childhood experience, and continued layers are added in personal life that may influence a variety of adult outcomes.

Two sources capture this perspective: the psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and the more updated interpretation of Freud, the architect of object-relations theory.

Three themes emerge from Freud: (1) that religion is psychology projected into the external world; (2), that religion is thought to exist to control the unconscious with its anti-social instincts; and, (3), the psychological function of religion is to meet the individual's need for being rescued from danger (Wulff, 1997; Pruyser, 1973). An expansion of these themes from these authors is in order.

The first theme arises out of early childhood experiences. A child, by nature, is helpless and in need of care from an adult, normally the father and the mother. Ordinarily, children will seek security from their parents when they perceive themselves to be in danger from a stranger, an absence from a parent, or a threat to their safety. Adults are like children. They also feel helpless in the forces of life such as death, war, the ravages of nature and the like. The adult, then, projects into the heavens a divine parent (Freud uses the father-figure) who will provide her or him with security and safety. As an adult, he has "lost" his biological father and seeks to restore this lost relationship by being obedient to the omnipotent father. This lost father is what Freud calls the **ego-ideal**. To put it simply, religious people are immature adults who have not grown up!

A nuance on this theme leads into the second. Individuals find nature and culture to be both nurturant and threatening, as are parents. In response, individuals tend to both submit to and rebel against parents, culture and nature. Rebellion is an effect of the unconsciousness and could lead both to individual and collective violence and even death. What is needed, according to Freud, is the creation of folklore, fairy tales, legends, and religious mythologies to control the anti-social instincts so that human social life can be somewhat peaceful and ordered. A function of these myths is to legitimate morality, social authority and serve to control people.

In regards to the primary function of religion, Freud sees it as providing a "remedy" or "rescue operation" to a person's reaction to his or her feeling of impotence in the face of the universe, so much of which is unknown and induces fear. The immediate response of fear is mitigated or is replaced with some more acceptable response such as joy, hope, a sense of mastery or meaning to life. However, the

substitution is never complete and thus the individual lives a life of constant internal conflict with no complete resolution.

As outlined by Wulff (1997), the object-relations theory is an update of Freudian psychoanalysis. This update has moved into two directions: (1), to focus less on unconscious drives of eroticism and aggression and more to personal relations (thus "object-relations"); and, (2), to accent the importance of the presence of the mother in providing emotional care and love. The case study that follows focuses on the importance of the parental figure (from Freud, the father) or the "object" in the language of object-relations theory. The presence of the mother is not discussed, except tangentially, in the case study.

The case study synthesized here is on Martin Luther (1483–1546) who is the reform prophet of Lutheranism. Erikson (1962) investigates the reformer's early childhood experiences with his parents and links them to his later images of the sacred.

He presents a fascinating story of the inner life, both human and sacred, of this Protestant Reformer. These experiences are linked to the genesis of early modern Europe with its social political, and economic extensions. Erikson relies on Freud's theory of how early childhood experiences shape adult life, especially in regard to the creation of mythologies.

Luther was born to a man who worked as a proletarian miner but rose to a status of a middle class, partial owner of a mining enterprise. This gave him the means to support his son, Martin, in receiving an education in order for the son to become a lawyer and a future member of the emerging managerial class.

The father presented two sides of a complex personality. To the social world outside of the home, he was a person of integrity, honesty and justice. On the other hand, in the home, he was prone to violence, alcoholism and, at times, cruelty. To drive anger and temper out of his children, he frequently used a cane to punish them. Moreover, Martin's mother reinforced this disciplinary action by also "caning" him as well. This practice of discipline was augmented in the boarding school he went to. Thus, from both parents and school masters, his will was shaped by violent discipline.

The child Luther suffered from this. He responded in anxiety, melancholy, troubled sleep, fear and total submission to any authority figure. His fear was realized in a constant thinking that harm was always close to him. The more important effect that illustrates the personal construction of images of God consistent with Freud and object relations theory, is his notion of God and Christ as an avenger, a fierce, wrathful judge, and the *terrifying* Trinity. Erickson quotes Luther: "He gorges us, with great eagerness and wrath.... He is avaricious, a gluttonous fire" (1962:121) and "Christ becomes more formidable a tyrant and a judge than was Moses" (1962:195).

There appears to be two major conversions in the life of the Reformer. The first one happened when he was at a university in Erfurt about the time he received a Master's Degree. He had gone home for a visit and on his return, a lightening bolt nearly killed him. His immediate response was to attribute this to God and he felt called to enter a monastery. In 1505, he did so, took vows, was ordained a priest,

and continued consistent obedience to those in authority. He later was summonsed by authorities to Wittenberg which was to become his home until his death.

During this time, he studied in depth the New Testament and the book of Psalms and had another conversion experience. This time, when he was 30 years of age, it was an internal one, a gradual one (refer to the section on conversion in this chapter) because it arose out of his study of the Christian scriptures over a long period of time. This conversion (not to another religion but by being changed from within) changed his life. It is termed internal because he did not "change" religion but did change interiorly (see the discussion on this under William James study of conversion). In his search to be just before God, he discovered from the "matrix of the Bible," that its source is faith. The Christian experiences God, becomes holy and is given eternal life through faith alone and not through merit. With this "revelation" in hand, he nailed on the Castle Church in Wittenberg (1517) the famous 95 theses against the Catholic Church's practice of indulgences.[7]

This event, along with his subsequent publication of many pamphlets, that became widespread because of the printing press, sparked a revolution that became the Protestant Reformation that has had significant results in western history.[8] For a period of time, Luther was exiled and suffered distress until he returned to Wittenberg, married, and made a living as a professor in theology and a pastor.

It appears, though, that his second conversion was not profound. He was noted to have doubted his personal appropriation of his teaching of the justification by faith. He engaged in "black and white" thinking by demonizing the Papacy, Jews, and peasants. He encouraged violence against civil subordinates who rebelled against secular leaders. Further, long periods of depression and melancholy still plagued him.

In summary, it would appear that Luther never really recovered from such childhood experiences. The first 30 years of his life was expressed in absolute submission and was reflected in images of God that saw him as a judge and cruel. His image of God did change with his conversion. The years of submission were substituted with rebellion against the Emperor and the Catholic Church. Erickson asked the question: "Could this adult rebellion be the long felt need to rebel and say 'no' to his father?"

The application of Freud and object-relations theory is intriguing. Luther did not have positive experiences as a child and may have, at least unconsciously, sought for a deity who would perform like a loving parent. However, he seemed to have found the opposite-the image of a deity who was very much like his parents. Also, his rebellion against the image of a deity and a church which reinforced it came to the foreground in his later youth. Moreover, as Erickson documents, he continued to have internal conflict. This may be explained in his experience of deity as being

[7] In 1343, the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church decreed that Christians gained merit that was "stored in heaven." This merit was for the sake of freeing people from purgatory. The issue that really troubled Luther was that these indulgences were commercialized and sold.

[8] The economic effects will be discussed in the chapter on linking religion and the economy through the eyes of Max Weber.

loving and kind as well as being harsh and cruel. It seems that he never did have a peaceful resolution.

Yet Erickson is without his critics. Wulff (1997) reviews some studies that show Erickson did not have any other data on Luther's childhood than Luther himself in later life. He cites some Reformation scholars who attest that Luther's parents were caring and loving. However, these critics are met with a comment by Bellah, a well known sociologist of religion: "What Erikson has given us is an interpretation of Luther, an interpretation which has been compelling for many students of religion in general and of the Reformation in particular, because of the coherence of the pattern he has discerned" (1977:29 and cited in Wulff, 1997:409).

The Effects of Childhood Maltreatment on Adult Religiosity and Spirituality

A more recent interpretation that what may be termed a Freudian approach comes from the scholarship of Bierman (2005).[9] In doing a literature review on the relationship between child abuse and adult religiosity, he found that those who were victims of abuse in childhood tended to have negative views of God, less likely to believe in God, and less likely to be involved in organized religion as adults. He interprets these findings with caution as none were probability samples and did not control for potential factors beyond the abuse.

Using a national sample of 3032 persons (the National Survey of Mid life Development in the United States of 1996), he attempted to test the validity of these earlier findings and to present some testable propositions related to the link. Three dimensions of religion were measured: ritual (attendance at sacred services); religious self-concept ("How religious are you?" and "How important is religion in your life?"); and spiritual self-concept ("How spiritual are you?" and "How important is spirituality in your life?"). Several items on emotional and physical abuse that were merged into a scale were used and several control variables (age, education, gender, SES, race and family structure background) were included in the analysis.

His findings both contrasted with and confirmed previous studies. Contrasted to earlier research, if a person (man or woman) was abused by his/her mother, this did not affect ritual, religious self-concept, and spiritual self-concept. However, in confirmation to earlier studies, if the person, man or woman, experienced paternal abuse, they were less likely to practice regular ritual and had lower levels of religious and spiritual self-concept.

In the light of Freudian theory, it could be that, because Christianity's image of the divine is primarily paternal, those men and women who were abused by harsh, capricious fathers may well form a sacred image also as harsh, capricious

[9] It should be noted that Bierman does not interpret his study in Freudian terms. I have linked his work to Freud and Erickson.

and distant. This could be a reason why they did not attend religious services and had lower levels of religious and spiritual self-concept. Bierman concludes:

> In closing, this study represents the first time that a national probability sample has been used to examine the effects of physical and emotional forms of child maltreatment on adult religiosity and spirituality. This has been a relatively understood topic, but there do appear to be effects of physical and emotional child maltreatment on adult religiosity and spirituality (2005:357–358).

Essentially, what Erickson observed in his historical case study of Luther during the Early Modern Era in northern Europe is reinforced with this study – paternal abuse, by implication, has an effect of negative images of the divine in later adulthood.

Gender, Religion and Intimate Violence

Longwood (2006) argues that religion can be seen to be both a factor in intimate violence as well as source of support to rehabilitate persons out of it. First of all, the author investigates some of the reason of why men are over-represented in being perpetrators of violence toward women, children, other men as well as committing homicide, physical assaults, sexual assaults and sexual abuse.

Using clinical evidence, Longwood found that men's destructive behaviour is a result of a number of factors: from the culture of masculinity so prevalent in the media; not wanting to be seen as weak or like a woman; having experienced repressed negative emotions; being socialized into a aggressive style of male domination through athletic competitions and fostered by being socialized primarily by women in their childhood and youth. Some of these gender specific factors are linked to patriarchal images from Christianity.

On the other hand, Longwood opines, is that support groups for men that are religiously based assist violent men to change their behaviours. One such model used by some support groups are to move men from the "model of the Power and Control Wheel" (characterized by using violence to control, to intimidate, to emotionally abuse, to isolate, to deny, blame, to use male privilege, to coerce and to threat) to the "model of the Equity Wheel" (indicated by non-violence, honesty, fairness, economic partnership, shared responsibility, accountability, and responsible parenting).

Other support groups encourage men to develop their own spirituality and being introduced to ethical and theological teachings regarding sin, repentance, reconciliation, love and justice.

The author illustrates that the notion of masculinity is reinforced by religiously based stereotypical socialization. According to the pro-feminist perspective, men's imposition of violent acts and domination towards women and children in families could be transformed by cultivating them to develop a sense of spirituality. Further, religious activities such as sharing experiences, ethical and theological teachings with mentors would encourage males to acknowledge the needs of approaching "equity" rather than "power-control" models in order to abstain from the use of

negative practices or behaviours towards women or children within families. After men could adopt and understand pro-feminist thinking and religious doctrines, this would minimize the conditions of men's violence and would be able to transform from the stereotypical socialization into a process that is characterized by the use of sharing a sense of affection, emotion, caring and responsibility with other family members including women within society.

Clergy and Sexual Abuse

A salient concern among Christian clergy is a private trouble, the abuse of children, youth and women. In a representative sample of Dallas-Fort Worth area, one researcher cited by the author Witham (2005) found that seven percent of the sample "had intimate knowledge from friends', coworkers, or relatives' reports or from their own experiences, of some sort of clerical abuse" (2005:171). The abuse could be sexual, physical, financial or authoritarian. Personal experiences accounted for three percent. With no references to abuse, in the Larson et al. (1994) study of Canadian Evangelical clergy, 30% indicated that they have struggled with pornography, 40% indicate they have had improper attractions to the opposite sex at least once or twice, and 6% struggle with attractions of the same sex.

The private troubles of many Catholic clergy that have become a full scale public issue is the abuse of youth and children. Beginning in 2002, the sexual abuse scandal of the Boston Archdiocese rippled throughout the United States to virtually all regions where the Catholic church has a presence. Two years later, 700 priests and deacons accused of abuse had been removed from ministry. Researchers of a study organized by the American Catholic bishops documented that 4% or 4392 priests serving from 1950 to 2002 had faced these allegations. These allegations were brought forward by 10,677 claimants which included women and men. Results of these abuses have been the closure of 65 parishes in the Boston Diocese, huge recompense suits against several dioceses, and, the worst, the pain and suffering that the victims experienced.

Canadian youth have also been affected. Bibby (2002), in his latest study of Canadian religion, estimated that some six thousand lawsuits and several class-actions have been levelled against the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant. A small sample of Catholic priests reveals several personal experiences that they have occasionally struggled with: 30% with pornography, 5% with fondling of children, desiring to have sex, 30%, wanting women to be sexually attracted to them, 25%, being attracted to another male, 5%, and being attracted to women, 25%. (Swenson et al., 1994). To put some of this into perspective, accounts of abuse are higher in education (11%), among public officials (24%), and in corporations (65%). This does not excuse the clergy. Yet is does reveal high levels of the insipid spirituality among the clergy in contrast to those sacred leaders of having a spirituality of vitality (Witham, 2005).

Religious Organizations and Child Sexual Abuse

Kennedy (2000) has a published work that documents the many stories of men and women who, as children or as adults, have suffered sexual trauma by being abused by persons of power in religious organizations. The vast majority of victims experienced profound betrayal by sacred leaders who claimed religious legitimacy in their perpetuation of this kind of evil. The key message that Kennedy is communicating that religious organizations tend more to want to rehabilitate the offenders and call the victims to forgiveness than challenging the perpetrators of sexual violence to account.

The author offers some suggestions of how victims can adjust to living with the memory of the abuse while still creating wholesome lives. Churches ought to restructure the mechanisms of managing the damaged relationships between abused victims and perpetrators. Most churches seem to adopt a reluctant position in resolving the challenges of victims who want to be re-integrated into the communities wherein a victimizer has resided. It is important for religious organizations to adopt an active role in addressing incidents of clergy's sexual misconduct on Christian children or adults and paying additional attention to abused victims' spiritual and emotional recovery in order to strengthen the integrity and trustfulness of Christian churches. Moreover, the key for abuse individuals' re-building the relationships with their families and churches is for counsellors to help the victims to challenge religious legitimacy of intimate violence. For religious leaders, they should not impose religious teaching on the shoulders of victims. Thus, church individuals and professionals have to recognize that removing the emotional burden from the victims is an essential factor for them to re-acquire the ties with families and churches.

Marital Equality and Violence against Women

Levitt and Ware (2006) interviewed 25 senior and mid-level sacred leaders from Jewish, Christian and Muslim traditions. Their interest was to see if there is a relationship between hierarchical marriages and violence against women. Their results were mixed. The leaders all agreed that a successful marriage should have characteristics such as respect, communication and love. Most also agreed that hierarchical marriages are frequently associated with intimate violence against women as well as abuse.

On the other hand, most agreed that women are called to be submissive and to obey their husbands. Some believed that submission was a way to elevate women's status and a mechanism of achieving healthy family relationships. Some thought that men were chosen or designated as the spiritual directors of the family and community.

Almost all perceived that the meaning of a hierarchical marriage is a mis-reading of the sacred texts and these texts were used to subjugate women. For them, submission is for family order and should not be used to do violence against women

or children. Thus, the leaders perception is that unequal marital relationships is not incompatible with love and respect and it is really the misuse of these kinds of relationships that leads to intimate violence.

In summary, there is a definite concern among these leaders to speak against intimate violence against women and children. Healthy marriages, based upon love and respect, lead to healthy families. There is fear among them that the secular ideologies such as feminism could threaten foundations of their faith. Their position is that they still want to maintain the traditional teachings on the roles of men and women but caution the mis-interpretation of these teachings that may lead to violence against women and children.

Linkage of Social Action to Violence, Religion and the Family

Nason-Clark's (2005) presidential address to members of the Religious Research Association adds a dimension to violence in the family as linked to religion that is not covered in this text: taking what we know academically and endeavour to apply it to assist those outside of academia–especially to those who are victims of violence.

Her core thesis of this article is for academics, who are known to be literate in their area of expertise, to take what they know into the public sphere in order to make a difference in the real lives of victims of intimate violence. She uses the term "policy sociology" which refers to using information, data, and research about social problems and to try to change the social world to being more just and equitable.

To do so, Nason-Clark engages the reader in six different challenges. Challenge one is to encourage the academic to dream of a better world. Her case story on this is that she met and interviewed a young woman in Croatia who suffered from violence in her home. This young woman was so hurt that she said: "I didn't dare to dream" (2005:227). Nason-Clark, with a passion redolent in the written text, writes: "Violence is real and its impact is enormous" (2005:228). From this realization, one is called to dream for resolution, redemption, and hope. Her second challenge is for the academic to see and change the gap between rhetoric and reality. He/she walks a tight rope. The enterprise of public sociology is to balance the rigor of disciplinary boundaries and the passion of an activist. She writes: "While passion without data can be misguided or even dangerous, passion based on empirical validation can be powerful" (2005:228).

Challenge number three calls for partnerships. Violence knows no faith boundaries and alliances between and among activists who have distinct religious values is to be fostered. Being a qualitative researcher, Nason-Clark knows well that an engagement with subjects in a research project involves a lot of social discourse. In the gathering of data, she claims, is the fourth challenge: to consider dissemination as part of the research project and not just "an add on."

The fifth challenge is to be flexible enough to adapt the research findings in such a way that many audiences can understand them. Here she argues for the vitality of

faith communities to come to the aid not only of the victims of violence but also the perpetrators thereof. Challenge number six is the discovery of the "gem." In her work with men who are victimizers, she found that those men who were mandated by religious leaders to seek help and to join support groups were more likely to complete the socialization process to terminate intimate violence than those men who were mandated by the courts.

Nason-Clark's challenges are impressive–they present suggested directives to engage in the life of a troubled world–in the world where violence intercepts family and religion. This is, indeed, hope for the future.

Sexual Orientation

The rationale for placing this topic under the rubric of the personality system is because sexual orientation is an individual or personality characteristic. Many other systems intersect with this system: the social because same-sex relationships are social in nature; the cultural system for many attach strong cultural-sacred values, beliefs and attitudes to the phenomenon; and, there are links to the organic system in the debate as to the origins of homosexuality being either natural (biological) or learned (cultural).

The movement to legitimize same sex relationships in Canada and the United States has sparked and continues to spark much debate. Jews, Christians and Muslims who are conservative tend to support heterosexual relationships to the exclusion of homosexual intimate bonds. Behind the debate, the sociologist Robert Wuthnow (1988) considers that Christianity and Judaism at end of the twentieth century and in the genesis of the twenty-first has been realigned beyond denominations to a liberal-conservative continuum (and sometimes dichotomy). Browning, Miller-McLemore, Couture, Lyon, and Franklin (2000) argue that on many moral grounds, including same-sex intimacies, there is a culture war.

Homosexuality and Religion: Some Generalities

Nugent and Gramick (1989/1990) introduce a special edition of a journal (edited by Hasbany) devoted to homosexuality and religion. They document a summary of theological reflections on the topic as well as a review of official statements from a variety of ecclesial bodies. They then categorized the positions of these theologians and church/synagogue into different modes of interpretation of the relationship between homosexuality and Judaism and Christianity.

Several themes capture the discussion by a variety of theologians: the medical model versus the essentialist model; homosexuality and homogenital relationships, the ordination of gay and lesbian persons, hermeneutics and the Jewish/Christian scriptures, and the placing of gay/lesbian relationships under the carapace of civil rights.

The medical model considers homosexuals as suffering from some sort of illness or psychological dysfunction. To meet the "problem," various forms of therapy were offered. Churches, in general, have moved from this model to an essentialist position wherein the gay/lesbian orientation is established at a relatively early stage of psycho-social development and is impervious to techniques for change.

Reflective theologians distinguished homosexuality as an orientation (a given) and homogenital behaviour or actual genital behaviour or contact. Some would say that homosexuality is not wrong but homogenital behaviour is. Others would contend, however, that homogenital behaviour is proper if it is contextualized in a loving relationship.

The argument that homosexuality is as proper as heterosexuality and that homogenital behaviours are also acceptable, many theologians argued for the ordination of gays and lesbians. Several Christian denominations and Jewish communities (to be documented shortly) have accepted openly gay and lesbians for candidacy to ordination.

The rejection of or the acceptance of homosexuality and homogenital behaviours have been rooted in two ways of interpreting the sacred texts. Those who reject both use the biblical text as universal and valid for all time. Those who use other avenues of interpretation such as utilizing critical and exegetical tools available to Biblical scholars augmented by natural and social science.

Another one of the sources used by theologians to legitimized same-sex relationships is the argument from civil rights. These rights, rooted in modernity, ameliorate the rights of individuals over against the rights of the collective. In many ways, the gay/lesbian movement is a secular, this-worldly, ideological movement that has been accepted by many Jewish and Christian scholars.

Positions that official church/Jewish collectives generally fall into the alignment presented above from Wuthnow (1988): the liberal and conservation restructuring of American Judaism and Christianity. I will present some of the more salient decisions in the following list.

- *The Roman Catholic Church*: "Basing itself on Sacred Scripture, which presents homosexual acts as acts of grave depravity, tradition has always declared that homosexual acts are intrinsically disordered. They are contrary to the natural law, they close the sexual act to the gift of life. They do not proceed from a genuine affective and sexual complementarity. Under no circumstances can they be approved.…They (gays and lesbians) must be accepted with respect, compassion, and sensitivity…homosexual persons are called to chastity. (Vatican, 1995).
- *United Church of Christ*: The church became the first Christian denomination to ordain an openly gay candidate…the physical expression of one's sexuality is appropriate to the level of loving commitment and that genital expression ought to be evaluated in terms of the basic elements of a moral decision informed by love….(Nugent and Gramick, 1989/1990:22)
- *United Presbyterian Church*: ..scripture gives no clear and definite guidance on homosexuality (Nugent and Gramick, 1989/1990:22)

- *Episcopal Church*: There should be no barrier to ordination of those persons who are homosexual. . . . (Nugent and Gramick, 1989/1990:23).
- *American Lutheran Church*: Homoerotic behaviour is wrong but a celibate homosexual person does not violate Lutheran teaching (Nugent and Gramick, 1989/1990:24).
- *American Baptists*: Homosexuality is an abomination in the eyes of God, a perversion of divine standards, and a violation of nature (Nugent and Gramick, 1989/1990:25).

The authors refer to statements. This is used as a sample to indicate that, on the whole, those denominations which are liberal support same-sex relationships and those that are conservative, generally, reject them.

Homosexuality and Religion: Statistical Relationships

Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels (1994), using a probability sample of Americans between the age of 18 and 59, link various dimensions of religion and gay/lesbian relationships and identity. Table 4.1 presents some of the salient descriptive data.

Table 4.1 General statistics on religion and homosexuality (Laumann et al., 1994:305)

	A same sex relationship since puberty		Attracted to a same sex person		Finding a same sex relationship appealing		Identity as being homosexual or bisexual	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Type I Christians	9.5	2	7.7	3.3	4.6	2.8	3.1	0.5
Type II Christians[1]	5.9	3.3	32	1.7	3.2	1.7	0.7	0.3
Rc[2]	7.9	4.2	4.3	5.3	2.4	5.9	2.1	1.7
Jews	17.4	12.5	11.5	10.3	7.7	6.9	7.7	3.4
None	15.4	11.3	10.9	12.8	8.2	12.6	6.2	4.6
Other[3]	17.1	14.7	14.6	8.1	12.2	13.5	7.5	5.4
Ritual[4]								
never	13.2	5.7	6.4	4.4	6.3	7	4.7	2.2
<3* a year	7.2	7.2	8.2	7.9	9.6	10.1	2.6	3.1
3–39* a year	8.1	3.2	5.5	4.5	6.3	5.7	2.9	1.4
> 39* a year	9.7	3	4.5	2.2	5.1	5.5	1.5	0.3

[1]Type I Christians are liberal (Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and the United Church of Christ. Type II are evangelicals including Baptists, Pentecostals, Churches of Christ and Assemblies of God

[2]RC refers to Roman Catholic

[3]People belonging to some religious affiliation not Christian or Jewish

[4]How often have the respondents attended religious services

*Refers to "times" a year.

The descriptive data reveal strong relationships between various categories of religious affiliation, ritual and same sex intimate relationships. Gender differences are the most salient. Regardless of religious affiliation and rates of participation, women are less likely to have had a same-sex relationship since puberty, are less likely to be attracted to or find a same sex person appealing and are less likely to have an identity of being lesbian or bisexual.

In regard to men, liberal Christians, Jews, others, and those of no religious affiliation, are more likely to have had at least one same-sex relationship since puberty, are attracted to and find a person of the same sex appealing and have a sexual identity of being gay or bisexual than those men who are conservative Christians and Roman Catholics. A similar finding is among men who never attend or rarely attend religious services-they are more likely to have had at least one same-sex relationship since puberty, are attracted to and find a person of the same sex appealing and have a sexual identity of being gay or bisexual than those men who are conservative Christians and Roman Catholics.

How are same sex-relationships related to the family? Data from Laumann et al. (1994:315) indicate that both gay and lesbian relationships are precarious. Family sociologists are of one mind that there should be some level of stability in intimate relationships to provide for the permanent relationship with children. The authors found that the number of same sex partners that gays have had since they were 18 is 43 while for women, 20.

How is this translated into the number of people who are in a same-sex relationship? Statistics Canada in 2001 asked that question. Of all intimate relationships there are in Canada, there were .5% in a same sex relationship. Of those in these relationships, 3% of the men had children and 15% of the women had children. Thus, there are about .090% of all families in Canada that are same-sex families (Statistics Canada, 2002).

In all likelihood, then, just as religion has little to do with gay or lesbian relationships, it is safe to assume that religion is not linked to gay or lesbian families either. It is also interesting to know that all the liberal statements that argue for the legitimacy of same-sex relationships contextualize it in loving relationships. The statistical findings, however, indicate that the average gay or lesbian person sees sex outside of a committed relationship and follows, as indicated, the fun standard, the *sex-alone* narrative as described in Chapter 3.

Political Agendas and Same Sex Marriage

Another aspect of the debate on same sex relationships is the political one. The Economist (2004) records how the debate has questioned the original distinction between federal and state jurisdictions in the United States. In 2004, there were 38 states that attempted to defend the preliminary definition of marriage–that of a man and a women. In regard to the attitudes of Americans, the populace is divided into conservative and liberal camps: the Republican-voting Evangelicals support the ban on same-sex marriage while the Democratic, liberal Christians challenge it.

The article is designed to assert that the concern of whether banning or approving homosexual marriage has polarized the public into two sides within the American society. As defenders of male-female union's marriage have claimed that the importance of rejecting same-sex marriage could safeguard the faith of traditional union of marriage, the supporters of homosexual marriage argue that the approval of same-sex marriage across states could assure individual's rights of choosing marriage partners that would not be interfered with the government's legislation or certain social groups in American societies.[10]

Continued Reflections on Same-Sex Marriage

Blevins (2005) adds to the current debate by presenting a defence of heterosexual marriage and family by arguing that the heterosexual marriage is an umbrella for children of the next generation (giving it a collectivist perspective) verses the homosexual marriage based on individual rights and a choice of expressing one's preference of sexuality.

The Christian conservative perspective includes that if one legalized same-sex marriage, it would threaten the idea of marriage. This is reflected in some jurisdictions which allow for same-sex relationships but put some restrictions on them as well. In France and Germany, there is a support of the legal recognition of same-sex relationships but there are laws which restrict these couples from gaining access to reproductive technologies.

In America, there is a strong Christian culture that restricts same-sex rights. Both psychoanalysis and child development approaches are applied to the current debate. Belvin finds that conservative Christianity, especially, has attempted to maintain the traditional view that marriage is, by definition, heterosexual. However, there is also a liberal Christian voice that argues for the opening up of marriage to same-sex couples. The debate that Belvins continues is consistent with the one that is common: the great divide between liberal and conservative. I contend that the debate will continue for generations as both camps do not have a common ground to stand on.

Coping with Stress

A functional understanding of religion informs us that it serves a number of positive (and, frequently, negative) functions to personal well being. Chatters and Taylor (2005) review a variety of studies that present evidence that religion reduces the stress that individuals experience and act as a resource to assist them coping with these stresses.

The personality characteristics, stress and coping come under the theoretical umbrella of coping and stress–bearing the same name. Stressors include such

[10] The Canadian government approved of same sex marriage in the spring of 2005.

normative transitions as marriage, parenthood, and retirement. They also include non-normative events like illness, job loss, divorce, disasters like floods, hurricanes, massacres, and terrorist activities. People will meet these stressors in how they appraise them (an individual's interpretation of the meaning of the stressor) as well as how many resources they have (money, capital, friends, support groups, and family members.

The literature they review reveals the following ways that religion is a way to interpret the stressor as well as acting as a resource. In the wake of normative and non normative stressors, public ritual (like a funeral) empowers the affected individuals to cope. Religiously based support groups, church sponsored activities such as family life education, and, especially, personal prayer assists individuals and families to better adjust to these stressors.

Family Spirituality

A maxim in traditional Roman Catholicism is "The Family that prays together stays together." Heffern (2007) expands the meaning of this in his attempt to construct what is termed "Catholic family spirituality." The author argues that a successful family and marriage are retained by praying together, sharing rituals, devotions (such as **Liturgy of the Hours**), and ritual exercises. The product of these rituals is the creation of a Catholic family spirituality. A sign that this spirituality is real and effective results in acts of love and caring. The focus of this care and love is a child, a spouse, and people outside of the family, especially those who are hurting.

The article illustrates that participating in religious activities among family members collectively, could strengthen their perception about delivering a sense of love towards others. Through practising rituals such as praying and sharing religious experiences among family members, it would tighten the cohesion between family members on a micro-level. On the other hand, this would encourage the religious families to promote the rationale of loving and caring to others within communities more on a macro-level.

Conclusions

The focus of this chapter has been to synthesize a wide range of literature on the nexus between the family and religion using the personality system from Neo-Functionalism as the core concept. It is within and through the person that phenomena such as conversion, gender, intimate violence, sexual orientation, stress, and spirituality impact not only the family itself but other persons, social groups, and, indeed, whole societies.

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Chapter 5
The Social System: Ritual and Social Organization

Overview

This chapter is a continuation of the theoretical basis established in Chapter 1. The system especially investigated here is the social system as one of the various systems theoretical framework developed in Chapter 1. The chapter will be a review of the relevant themes in the literature that accents sacred ritual and sacred organizations. I shall present the meaning of ritual and the social organization of religion and then present the research on the links between the two domains.

Ritual

The anthropologist Geertz (1966:28) describes ritual as consecrated behaviour in some sort of ceremonial form. This form may be simply a recitation of a myth, the consultation of an oracle or a decoration of a grave. Human expressions of ritual activity consist in particular moods and motivations. In ritual, the "world is lived and is imagined." The sociologist Davis outlines religious ritual as being:

> highly circumscribed to time and place, expressive of internal attitude, symbolic of unseen powers. It can include any kind of behaviour known, such as the wearing of special clothing, the recitation of certain formulas, and the immersion in certain waters; it can include singing, dancing, weeping, bowing, crawling, starving, feasting, reading etc. (1948–1949:534).

Hargrove (1989:49) is more parsimonious: "ritual is repeated symbolic behaviour," a behaviour in which the religious participant meets his/her mythical hero.

Durkheim (1915/1965:226) and Smith (1956:265) present a similar outline of the substantive meaning of ritual and note that within ritual a bond of friendship, communion, and unity connects the ritual observer with his/her god. Durkheim adds that rites are rules of conduct which order participants to have a special comport in the presence of the sacred (1915:43) and that rites help people to forget the real world and transport them into a transcendent world (1915:380). One may add that to understand the substantive nature of ritual, the participant is led to an individual

D. Swenson, *Religion and Family Links.*

experience of the sacred or, if it is a social ritual, to enable all the participants to come to have a social sacred experience.

In the light of these contributions, I offer the following as a definition of ritual:

> Ritual is repeated consecrated (sacred) behaviour that is a symbolic expression of the moods and motivations of religious participants and unseen powers. Ritual forms a bond of friendship, community and unity with the believer and her/his god. Ritual further enables the participant to have an experience of the sacred.

A Sacred Organization

In a substantive (what a social phenomenon is) interpretation a religious organization is the construction of charismatic social action that enables a participant to be in touch with the sacred. Functionally (what a social phenomenon does) a sacred organization consists in the functions it performs for a person, a community, or a society. These functions consist mainly in: belonging, being accepted, creating a self-image through positive social action, provide social solidarity, integration, global well-being, and meaning. In a routinized form, participants can also be controlled and used by the organization (see Swenson, in press).

Under the rubric of ritual and sacred organizations, I will outline ritual in context (a multi-level approach) and time, adolescent substance abuse, academic achievement, divorce and belonging, the effects of parental divorce on youth, marital fidelity, roles in families, social networks, cohort effects, ritual and family structure, and religious homogamy and marital quality.

Ritual in Context

What I hope to do here is to give evidence for a link of ritual to a number of familial phenomena. I shall initially present a multi-level theory contextualized in the Neo-Functionalist framework developed in Chapter 1. I shall then test it using The Canadian National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY). Thereafter, recent studies linking ritual, sacred organizations and families will follow.

Multi-Level Theory in a Neo-Functionalist Framework

Alexander continues to contribute to the development of Neo-Functionalism in an indirect way in several publications. The one that accents multi-level theory is his work with (Alexander and Giesen, 1987).

Central to the *new synthesis* of Alexander is the linkage between the micro and macro dimensions of social life. Ritzer (1996) provides us with a diagram that gives us a pictoral image of this dimension of social phenomena. Figure 5.1 is a replica of Ritzer.

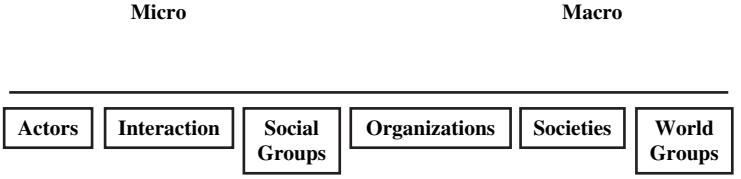


Fig. 5.1 Micro-macro dimensions of social life, Ritzer 1996:647

Alexander and Giesen's (1987) discussion of the micro-macro link is an extension of Alexander's earlier work on action and social order. Action is the substance of the micro dimension of social life while social order is the heart of macro social phenomena. They review a wide range of authors that include Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Mead, Freud, Homans and Blumer. From this review, they (1987:14) construct a categorization of five options of how the micro and the macro are linked (or not). The following table (Table 5.1) illustrates these five options.

The preferred option according to Alexander is the fourth. This option recognizes that individuals interact with others using both non-rational and rational processes; that social order (the macro dimension of life) is both created by interacting individuals (the social construction theme) but are also constrained, coerced by a collectivist order; and that a collective order is present before any social actors enter into social relationships–that order is created by a collective social phenomena.

Alexander and Giesen do not say anything here about Neo-Functionalism but it would fit into option four wherein micro levels of social life influence, and are influenced, by macro level social phenomena.

Table 5.1 Five options of linking micro and macro dimensions of social life

Options	Descriptions	Illustrative authors
ONE	Rational individuals create society through contingent acts of freedom (micro–>macro)	Adam Smith, utilitarians, 19th century capitalism, Homans and Exchange theorists
TWO	Interpretive actors create society (micro–>macro)	American pragmatists, Freud, psychoanalysts, Blumer and Goffman
THREE	Socialized individuals re-create society through contingent acts of freedom (micro—>macro)	Weber
FOUR	Socialized actors reproduce society by translating existing social environments into micro social phenomena (micro- - →macro)	Durkheim, Parsons
FIVE	Rational, purposeful actors acquiesce to society because they are forced to by external, social control mechanisms (macro- - →micro)	Marx, Conflict theories, and feminism (my addition)

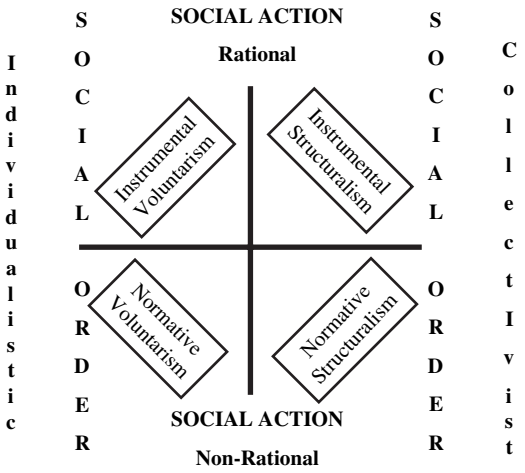


Fig. 5.2 Cells of social action and social order

In a work devoted to social structure and social action, Alexander (1988) attempts to integrate social structures into sociological theory by discussing the link between social action and social order, and to incorporate action theory and structural theory. Figure 5.2 illustrates this.

In reference to this figure, structure is described as a meeting of social action and the collectivist social order. From the perspective of the instrumental-structural cell, social life is considered rational, strongly influenced by the collective order. In fact, this social life is a creation of the rational collective order. Weber's notion of bureaucracy and Marx's analysis of capitalism are illustrative. Normative structuralism captures the notion that social life consists of submission to norms, to laws, to values that originate in the culture of the collective order. Durkheim's sociology is an example of this as well as Parsons in his later writings.

Voluntaristic social theories do not accent structure. They focus substantially on social process–the image that all social phenomena are constructed by individual actors. There are two nuances: normative voluntarism and instrumental voluntarism. Normative voluntarism presents society as the consequence of social actors creating their own norms, values, and beliefs. Examples of voluntaristic social theories include: symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and hermeneutics (with an addition of meaning implied in social action). Instrumental voluntarism accents the rational dimension of social action and is represented by the nineteenth century utilitarians and twentieth century exchange theorists.

What Alexander hopes for in structural theory is to recognize the need for freedom, contingency, and the agency of the social actor. On the other hand, those voluntaristic views need to take cognizance of the collective, structural nature of social life. Again, his goal is synthesis, multidimensionality, and multi-level. This is important in the development of a Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework of the family.

From these insights, several concepts and propositions emerge as being in the framework of Neo-Functionalism:

- Social action in the familial configuration includes affective, rational and normative elements (micro).
- Social order is to be considered to be created by active social agents as well as by social collectivities (macro).
- The action system of Parsons is retained with it various sub-systems: *personality*, *cultural, social, organic* (renamed from Parsons who called it "Behavioural") and *physical* (links between the micro and the macro).
- From the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986), the social system is divided into the *mesosystem*, the *ecosystem* and an additional system, the *chronosystem* or the dimension of time (various multi-levels beyond the broader micro-macro).
- The most promising option in linking micro and macro levels of social phenomena appears to be this option: that individuals interact with others using both non-rational and rational processes; that social order, the macro dimension of life, is both created by interacting individuals (the social construction theme) and constrained, coerced by a collectivist order; and that a collective order is present before any social actors enter into social relationships–that order is created by a collective social phenomena (links between the micro and the macro).
- Culture, of which religion is a subset, is be maintained as a vital domain in social life (macro).
- The basis of differentiation is the discrimination of a system from its environment (a vital insight to multi-level theorizing).
- Differentiation within a system is a consequence of changes from the environment (I would add: changes from within the system also affect the environment. An example is that differentiation of various family structures does, in part, have an effect on the larger socio-economic and political changes on the macro level.).
- The core form of differentiation is functional differentiation. Each sub-system has a specialized function for the whole society which in turn is functional for the well-being of its members (a link between the micro and the macro).
- Sub-systems are independent and relatively autonomous while, at the same time, interdependent with other sub-systems (a link between the micro and the macro).

Figure 5.3 expands this micro-macro link and illustrates how the family is both an outcome of macro influences (physical, cultural and chrono) and the micro systems (organic and personality). The outcomes of the family are the socialization of children and the stabilization of adults.

Figure 5.4 is an operationalization of this figure with a specification of a selection of the physical and cultural systems as macro factors as well as physical, cultural, social and personality micro predictors of child outcomes that reflect the personality system.

The physical system is operationalized as socio-economic status and the cultural as ritual or weekly attendance at religious services. Selecting various personality characteristics of children as micro outcomes, the following two propositions are presented:

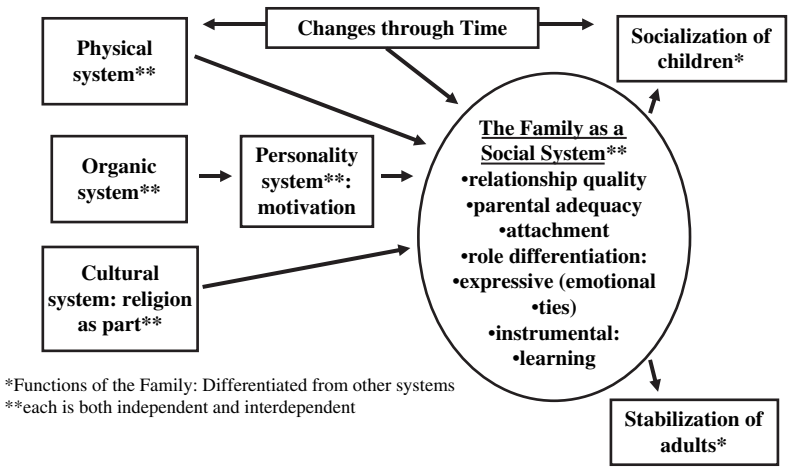


Fig. 5.3 Micro-macro factors of the family

(1) Variations of the religious cultural environment, as well as micro factors, are correlated to variations of personality characteristics of children.
(2) Variations in the economic status of adults in the macro system, as well as micro factors, are correlated to variations of personality characteristics of children.

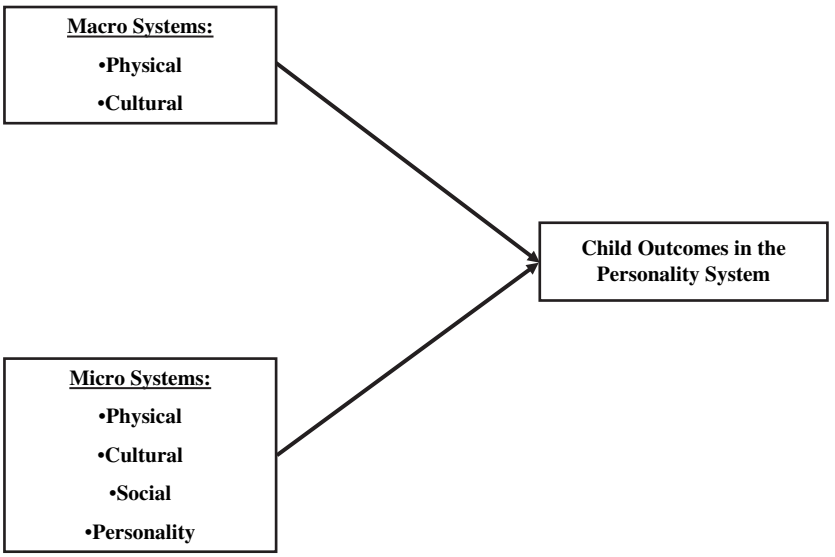


Fig. 5.4 A macro-micro influences of child outcomes

An Empirical Test

The National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY)[1] is a long-term study funded by Human Resources Development Canada and managed by Statistics Canada. It is designed to follow a representative sample of Canadian children, from birth to 11 years, into adulthood, with data collection occurring every 2 years. As of 2005, the data set consists of five waves: Wave I (1994), II (1996), III (1998) and IV (2000). The current analysis utilizes Wave III.

The study was, and continues to be, national. It does include the Yukon, the North West Territories and Nunavut, however, items used in this study do not represent data from these northern territories. NLSCY has a complex data structure that includes the child as the focal choice. The child is then linked to the person most knowledgeable (PMK and is most often the mother), his/her spouse or partner. For children in grades two and up, the teacher was also interviewed. Along with providing an interview about the child, he/she gave exams to the focal child, testing both math and reading scores. Next, the principal was also interviewed. Finally, the interviewer gave information about the social/geographical area that surrounded the child.

The first survey represents all Canadian children who were followed through two subsequent surveys. Weights were created (and used in the subsequent analyses) to meet the following problems in generalizing the sample to the Canadian population. Cross-sectional weights were used to compensate for over- sampling of provinces like Prince Edward Island; to take into account the loss of subjects (sample erosion) over the three wave periods and to reduce bias because of non-response to some items. The response rates of the PMKs, the teachers and the principals surrounding the focal child ranged from 87 to 100% (Statistics Canada, 2002).

Descriptive Data

Using HLM6 (Raudenbush, Bryk, Fai Cheong, & Congdon, 2004), four dependent variables (all of the personality system), child security (scale), motivation (scale), social (scale) and conformity (scale) four different models as well as measures of the child's temperament (a scale and personality), parenting (parental rejection and a scale, social), participation in religious services and family income (SES a composite measure of income, education and occupational prestige) as predictor variables were used in this analysis. Macro factors are the aggregate measures of SES and ritual varied across provinces. Data from the PMK inform parenting, temperament, insecurity, participation in religious services and family income. Data from the child's teacher inform motivation, conformity and social behaviour. All of

[1] The research and analysis are based on data from Statistics Canada and the opinions expressed do not represent the views of Statistics Canada.

Table 5.2a Descriptive statistics: individual level

	N	Mean	STD	Range
Parental Rejection (scale of 7 items, α=.84)	2901	8.47	3.58	0–24
Temperament of the Child (scale of 8 items, α=.83)	2901	4.33	3.52	0–16
Insecurity (scale of 8 items, α=.84)	2901	2.48	2.47	0–14
Motivation (scale of 3 items, α=.84)	2901	10.53	3.44	3–15
Conformity (scale of 4 items, α=.84)	2901	16.09	2.52	6–20
Social (scale of 9 items, α=.93)	2901	31.06	5.93	8–40
Income	2901	.04	.64	−2.55–2.91
Ritual	2901	3.10	1.55	1–5

Table 5.2b Descriptive statistics: second level (aggregated by provinces)

	N (Provinces)	Mean	STD	Range
Income	10	−0.01	0.13	−.240–.196
Ritual	10	3.250	.41	2.534–3.930

them were measured as continuous variables. the models tested and the descriptive data in Tables 5.2a and 5.2b.

The program used was HLM6 by Raudenbush et al. (2004). The method of estimation was restricted maximum likelihood (REML) that is designed for low numbers of groups (Marsden, 2006). The independent variables, at both levels, were centered about the grand mean to control for collinearity among the independent variables (see Raudenbush and Bryk [2002]). Weights were used on both levels and the type of modelling utilized is a fixed slope effects and a random intercept model. This kind of model was used because the theory is to explain variation of the intercept (the child outcomes) of the first level from the level 1 (the child) and level 2 (provincial) predictors. Following Luke (2004), a null model that included only the level one predictors was first estimated. Interclass correlation coefficients (ICC) were calculated to judge if there was enough evidence for contextual effects. Then, a full model that included level 2 predictors. To search for significant variations across provinces, variances of the null model were compared to variances of the full model. Regression coefficients are not recorded as they are not useful in this program (Marsden, 2006).

The Analytical Data

The following tables (Tables 5.3–5.6) capture the essential statistics. To illustrate differences between the null and the full models, a variance difference statistic was calculated.[2] These differences appear in the second last row of each outcome model.

[2] The value of the variance (τ or tau) of the full model is subtracted from the variance (τ or tau) of the null model. This product is divided by the variance (τ or tau) of the null model (see Marsden, 2006).

Table 5.3 Insecurity level 1 and level 2 (2901 children in 10 provinces)

Outcome	Predictors			
Insecurity	Temperament .242***	Parental rejection .1560***	SES (Level 1) .108	Ritual .005
			SES (Level 2) .026	Ritual (Level 2) −.531***
Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Null Model	Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Full Model		Variance Model Differences	
.036	.016		.55	
			ICC=.03%	

Table 5.4 Motivation level 1 and level 2 (2901 children in 10 provinces)

Outcome	Predictors				
Motivation	Temperament −.286***	Insecure .080***	Parental rejection .022	SES (Level 1) 1.202***	Ritual .026
				SES (Level 2) −2.097***	Ritual (Level 2) −.235
Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Null Model	Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Full Model			Variance Model Differences	
.105	.073			.30	
		ICC= .08 or 1%			

Table 5.5 Conformity level 1 and level 2 (2901 children in 10 provinces)

Outcome	Predictors			
Conformity	Motivation .000	Prosocial .393***	SES (Level 1) .071**	Ritual –.008
			SES (Level 2) .763**	Ritual (Level 2) .453**
Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Null Model	Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Full Model		Variance Model Differences	
.016	.006		.62	
	ICC= .02 or 2%			

Table 5.6 Social level 1 and level 2 (2901 children in 10 provinces)

Outcome	Predictors			
Social	Motivation .000	Conformity .393***	SES (level 1) .071**	Ritual –.008
			SES (Level 2) .763**	Ritual (Level 2) .453**
Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Null Model	Tau (Variance of Intercept) of Full Model		Variance Model Differences	
.108	.027		.30 or 30%	
	ICC=.02 or 2%			

The intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) do not yield much of a variance due to the context. However, when one uses the full model, the variance model differences range from .30 of the motivation model to .62 of the conformity model. For example, on the conformity model, 62% of the variation on the conformity of a child is attributed to provincial effects. Similar percentages exist for motivation (30%), social behaviour (30%) and insecurity (55%).

The provincial predictors are relatively significant. In the case of the insecurity of a child, provinces with average low religious attendance tend to effect more insecure children. In regard to motivation, the direction of influence is opposite to that predicted. Those provinces of average low incomes produce more motivated children. Lastly, children tend to be more conformist in provinces of high average SES as well as high levels of ritual attendance.

A Discussion

There appears to be substantial evidence for the theory. Contextual effects matter in all of these three models as indicated by the variances between individual effects models and contextual effects models. Also climates of religious participation as well as environments of high SES make a difference in child outcomes. The only problematic result is that of motivation. It does not seem to make theoretical sense that those provinces of low SES tend to have more motivated children. This is one result that needs further discussion and interpretation.

These results indicate that there is an inter-penetration of the systems (first inspired from Parsons) that reflect the Neo-functionalist framework. This inter-penetration occurs in the personality, physical, cultural and social systems. In addition, as in the development of the framework, child development and attachment theory have a special place. Here, one finds evidence that the security of the child, a central element of attachment theory, is a product not only of characteristics of the parents, the child him/herself but also of a more global factors, the sacred participation rates of a province.

Ritual and Sacred Organization: Two Studies of Adolescent Substance Abuse

A relatively recent focus on the functions of religion has been on health related issues (see Barkan and Greenwood, 2003; Ghorbani and Watson, 2006; Krause, 2003; Krause, 2006; Krause and Wulff, 2005; Nooney, 2005). In fact the topic is so current that a whole journal has been devoted to the relationship: the *Journal of Religion and Health.* Health is understood to be an omnibus term including mental and physical health as well as psychological and physical well-being. The article summarized here is on the effects of ritual and involvement in sacred organizations and adolescence substance abuse.

In a study of low SES income families, Sim, Jordon-Green & Wolfman (2005), consisting of a qualitative study of 25 parents, found that both youth attendance of church services and participation in a sacred organization reduced the use of substance abuse among adolescent youth. A combination of exogeneous factors such as parental supervision, family attachment, academic achievement, school bonding and pro-social peers reduced the risk of substance abuse.

The religious factors included ritual participation, involvement in church related functions and spirituality all played a significant role. The path model illustrates the following. Parental influence and family attachment factored ritual and involvement which in turn, influenced the type of peers the youth would become attached to. It was the peer link that had the most direct effect on the reduction of substance use.

A second study was conducted by Bahr, Hawks & Wang, (2003) involving 322 adolescents and parents in a Western US state. Using control theory (developed by Hirschi, 1967), they tested if and how much did ritual and involvement in a sacred organization factor substance use. The general theory of Hirschi consists of the level of bonding that persons have to others, commitment to norms, involvement in patterned activities, and a belief in the legitimacy of social norms. The primary thesis is that to the extent people are bonded to others, committed to follow social norms, involved in social organizations and believe in the legitimacy of the same social norms, they will be less likely to commit crime and to be deviant. In addition to control theory, they add social learning theory outlined by Lott and Lott, (1985). The heart of this theory is that to the extent people follow social norms they will be rewarded and, vice versa, to the level they engage in delinquent behaviour they will be punished.

Combining these theories, the researcher discovered that the youth who had strong parent child bonds, who attended sacred services regularly, who were involved in sacred organizations, were less likely to abuse drugs than those youth who had lower levels of such involvement.

These authors emphasize the importance of establishing attachment to social institutions (in this case, Christian churches) to encourage youth to gain a sense of social belonging and to minimize exposure to negative social behaviours of others not linked to these institutions. These institutions, in light of social learning theory, reinforce and reward youth who are involved. All this acts as a barrier or a constraint to negative behaviour.

Ritual and Sacred Educational Organization: Three Studies of Academic Achievement

Churches, mosques, temples and synagogues are not the only kind of sacred organizations to function as a carapace of the sacred. Religious schools supplement the socialization process of youth that, in turn, lead to personal and social outcomes. Jeynes (2002a, 2002b, 2005) presents three studies that contextualize education within religious schools. His first study compares differences in academic

achievement between religiously based schools with their secular counterpart, public ones. In his second study (2002b), he investigates the relationship between religious school attendance and personal religious commitment to academic success. The third study he (2005) gives evidence for enrollment in religious schools and attending revival services in facilitating academic achievement.

Jeynes (2000a) provides evidence that children who attend religious contextulized schools (both Catholic and Protestant) tend to have higher levels of academic achievement than those students who are enrolled in publically funded institutions. His evidence comes from the National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS, 1992) which is a national sample of children enrolled in the American lower level educational systems. His central finding consist of:

- Children in religious schools have higher levels of academic achievement than those who attend public schools (holding race and gender in constant).
- African and Hispanic American children, enrolled in religiously based schools, are less likely to drop out.
- Hispanic and African American youth (from low SES families), enrolled in religiously based schools, achieve greater academic achievement than their counterparts in public schools.

Jeyne's research lends credibility to the fact that religious schools provide a learning context with a greater level of equality (of academic outcomes) than non-religious schools. One of the most important findings is that children from social minority groups such as low SES families and racial or ethnic minority groups are more likely to be advanced in academic performance. This is promising for marginalized families and children because of poverty, race and ethnicity.

In Jeynes (2002b) second study, he aggregates data from 15 studies that examine the effects of personal and educational religious commitments on academic achievement among Black and Hispanic students. Familial factors and outcomes are not measured in the analysis but the link is by hypothesizing that because these youth are still living with their families, families function as a background or a set of exogeneous factors to youth outcomes in schools.

The religious schools provide either a Catholic or an Evangelical culture. A summary of Jeynes' findings include:

- Both Black and Hispanic students who attended these private schools tend to perform better academically than students who do not attend these kinds.
- Academic achievement outcomes were more pronounced for students in high schools than in elementary schools.
- Students who had higher levels of personal religious commitment scored higher than those who had less personal commitment.

Jeyne's work demonstrates how both religious schooling and religious commitment delivers positive outcomes of academic performance to Black and Hispanic Americans. According to his results, religious schooling seems to have a greater correlation with students' academic improvements than personal religious commitment.

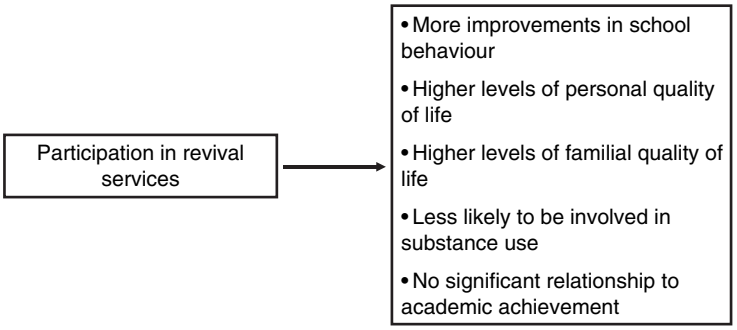


Fig. 5.5 Revival services and familial, personal and school outcomes

Moreover, Jeynes tends to point out that social minority groups are likely to be benefited from the religious schools' learning culture.

In the 2005 article, Jeyne's samples 125 students who all attend a religious school. He randomly selected two groups: a control group and the experimental one wherein the students attended a set of Christian revival meetings. Participation had a positive effects on a variety of school, personal and familial outcomes. However, attendance did not affect academic performance. Figure 5.5 summarizes Jeyne's results.

Religious revival services do operate in channelling or focusses youths' social behaviour patterns in positive ways. Jeyne found that the attendance at Christian revivals helps students to achieve positive school behaviour and other social actions that facilitate both personal and familial quality of life. Further, religion and its revival services appear to offer teaching that ameliorate positive and life giving outcomes for these urban youth. This, in turn, leads to attachments to school, the family and the church. It could be averted that this, in turn, leads to academic success.

Ritual and Religious Organization in Time: The Chronosystem Revisited

This section will test the dimension and the theory of the family called the chronosystem developed in Chapter 2 using the Canadian Longitudinal Study of Children and Youth or NLSCY (1994, 1996, 1998).

Relying on the theoretical basis of the chronosystem constructed in Chapter 2, a **theoretical model** and an **empirical model** has been created. The theoretical model is the use of the life course perspective that has been contextualized in the Neo-Functionalist framework. The empirical model given here is reflected in Figure 5.6.

This model is the full model of the theoretical model in that it represents all the various elements of the theoretical framework: multidimensionality (capturing both

social action and social order-measured by family structure), the interpenetration of all systems, time, and all the systems (organic, personality, systems, cultural and physical).

Temperament and the mother's depression tap both the organic system (from the scholarship of Wachs [1999] and Campbell, Cohn & Meyers, [1995] who all consider a part of temperament and depression to be biological) and the personality system. The endogenous variable "Pro-social" is a latent one that measures the social system. Motivation for learning is a personality measure, as is insecurity of the child. Hostile parenting and partner quality are of the social dimension while ritual and conformity capture the cultural system. A measurement of the physical dimension is socio-economic status (SES). Lastly, because this is a longitudinal study, time (the chronosystem) as part of the theoretical framework is able to be tested.

In the light of both the theoretical model and the wider theoretical framework, it is theorized that children are more likely to be pro-social in their behaviour to the extent that they conform to societal rules. They, in turn, are more likely to conform to the extent that they are motivated to learn. They are more likely to be motivated to learn to the level that they are secure. Security is a consequence of both effective, positive parenting and the temperament of the child. Parenting is an effect of partner quality, religious participation, the mother's depression and socio-economic status. Further, social structure is measured by marital status and family type, affecting child outcomes.

The general theory is that children's security, motivation to learn, conformity and pro-social behaviour are effects of parenting (how attached are parent(s) to children) and children's temperament (adding potential further evidence to attachment theory embedded in the Neo Functionalist framework). Further, parenting (measured here as ineffective or negative parenting) is a result of the mother's depression, partner quality, ritual, various family structures and SES. This is consistent with the Neo-Functionalist framework that posits child outcomes (especially conformity to societal rules and pro-social behaviour) as an effect of the child's motivation to learn, security, and parenting.

The same study used to test the multi-level theory is used here as well (NLSCY). The present data set used in this analysis is a combination of Waves I (1994), II (1996) and III (1998).

Some of the composite measures and variables were created by statisticians from Statistics Canada. For the self report part of the survey, scales were constructed. Each construct was created at each wave so that there are three constructs of each of the following, corresponding to the three waves. They include: maternal depression, parental rejection, the youth's temperament, family functioning, and anxiety. The author constructed other scales: self, motivation, and prosocial behaviour.

From Fig. 5.6, the meaning of the terms consist of: **prosocial**: the pro-social behaviour of the child; **motive:** the motivation of the child to learn; **self**: the child's sense of selfhood; **anxiety**: attachment insecurity of the child; **parental rejection**: negative parenting behaviours of the parents; **self temperament:** the temperament of the child; **relationship quality**: the relationship quality of the parents; **maternal depression**: the depression of the mother; **family functioning**: how well the

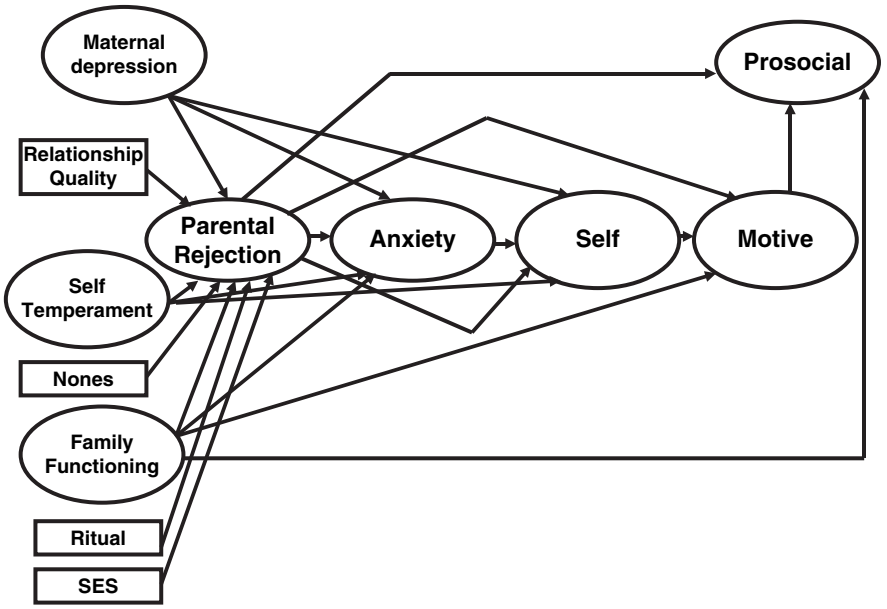


Fig. 5.6 Time dimension of a Neo-functionalist theoretical framework of child development

members of the family function together; **ritual**: religious services participation of the parents; **nones**: a categorical variable indicating religious affiliation; and **SES**: the socio-economic status of the parents.

Five empirical models were constructed and tested using panel regression to estimate if time is a significant predictor of child outcomes over a 6 year period. Figures 5.7–5.11 illustrate these models.

The statistical program from Stata (StataCorp, 2005) termed panel regression was used in this analysis which makes it possible to do time estimation tests. It is a set of techniques for modelling data in which a sample of units of analysis (individuals, countries, firms etc.) are observed at several points in time. Time constant characteristics of individuals are not included in the models (in this analysis, marital status did not vary across the 6 years and is not included).

The total number of children and youth consisted of 1999 measured in three waves (1994, 1996, 1998). A summary statistics test was conducted on each variable to see if they varied over the 6 year period. All the variables used in this analysis did vary and were thus included in the estimations. Further, Stata give information as to the average number of observations on any one test compared per child/youth. The ratio fell into acceptable ranges to do adequate analysis.

A major problem of doing time series analysis is that the errors of the variables correlate with one another and thus produce suspect results. Stata has a feature to control for this problem and it was used in the analysis. The problem, however, is that the program does not allow the use of weights in doing so.

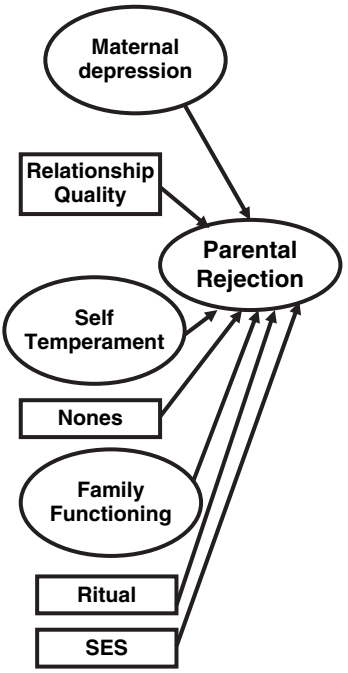


Fig. 5.7 Model 1: parental rejection

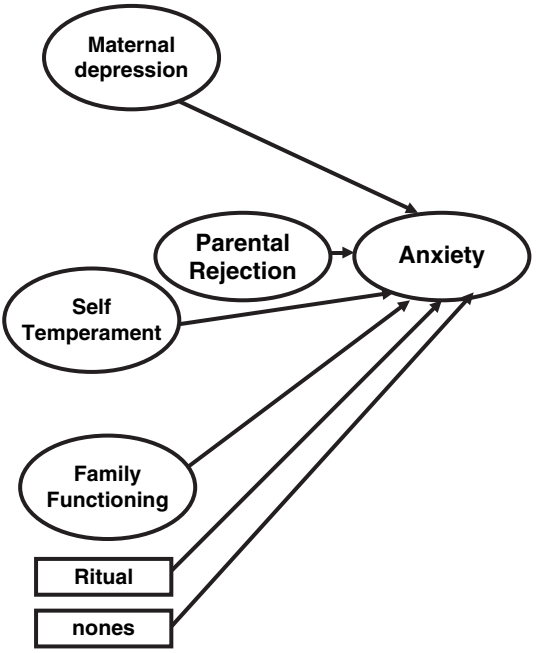
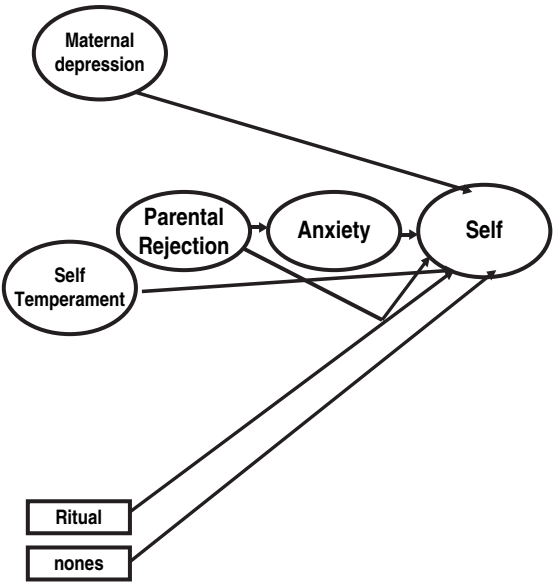


Fig. 5.8 Model 2: anxiety

Fig. 5.9 Model 3: self



Results of all the models (Figs. 5.7–5.11) indicate that the fixed (measuring time) R^2 of each model ranged from .06 to .21. The significant time predictors of model 1 was self temperament; of model 2, mother's depression, self temperament, and parents having no religious affiliation); of model 3, anxiety, parental rejection, and self temperament (the sense of self is negatively correlated with all three); of model 4, sense of self (positive) anxiety (negative) and parental rejection (negative) and model 5, motivation and sense of self.

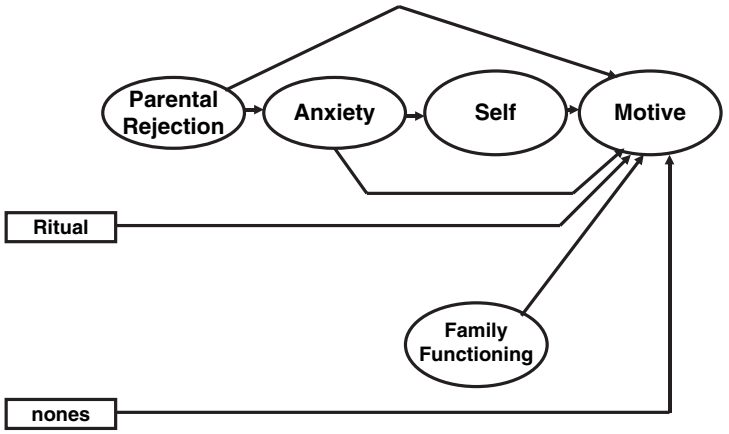


Fig. 5.10 Model 4: motivation to learn

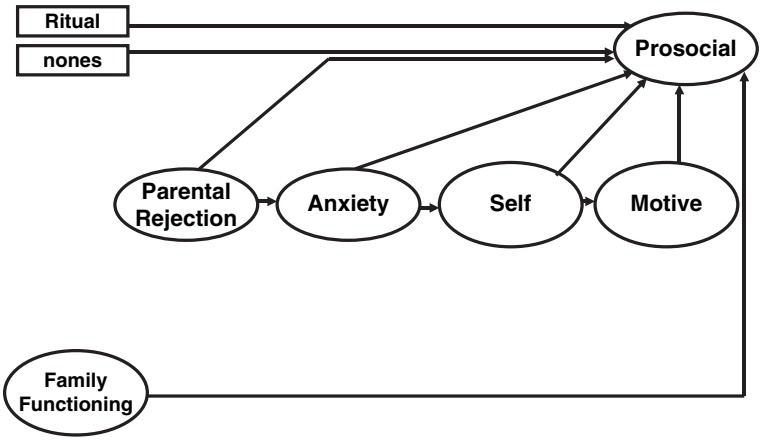


Fig. 5.11 Model 5: prosocial behaviour

The theoretical model was generally substantiated but only one measure of religion (affiliation as a measure of belonging to a sacred organization) was significant (but not ritual). The general story is that a child/youth experience of parental rejection is caused by his/her self temperament; that their sense of anxiety or insecurity is an effect of their mother's depression, their own self temperament, and their parents not being a member of a religious organization; that their understanding of themselves is caused by their own anxiety, the rejection by their parents, and their own self temperament; that their motivation to learn is an effect of their self image, their anxiety, and parental rejection; and, lastly, from model 5 (Figure 5.11), these young people exhibit prosocial behaviour because of their motivation to learn and their sense of self.

It should be noted that only one measure of religion (affiliation) of one model (anxiety) is a time sensitive predictor of the outcome variable. The ritual behaviour of the parents did not affect the children in any of the estimated models.

These data provide some affirmation to both the Neo-Functionalist framework and to life course theory. The personality and organic systems are reflected in the mother's depression and the child's self temperament. The most common system represented was the personality system as given from anxiety, motivation, and self image. The social system is illustrated by prosocial behaviour and parental rejection. The only cultural system that was empirically rooted was belonging to a religion which affected the child's insecurity. SES would have measured the physical system but there was no evidence for that.

The chronosystem is well represented in this analysis. It can be, especially, linked to the life course perspective in the following way. As outlined above in Chapter 2, the life course perspective distinguishes various dimensions of time: ontogenetic, generational, and historical. These data provide us with evidence that reflects generational time. Changes in the mother's depression, parental rejection, the child's insecurity (as a predictor), motivation, and self image over time do affect several

child outcomes such as child' insecurity, sense of self, motivation and prosocial behaviour. These data do not provide us with information of natural ontogenetic progression or macro factors which may affect these child outcomes.

Religious Organization and Divorce-Remarriage

An investigation of the problem of divorce and remarriage among American Roman Catholics has been documented by Hout (2000). I will present the data the author gathered as well as his interpretative reading of it.

Tables 5.7–5.9 capture the essential statistics: the number of divorced Catholics, the comparison of divorce rates among Catholics and other, and the identity of divorced Catholics and the estimate of those who remarry without an annulment.

These tables reveal how extensive is the phenomena of divorce, separation, and remarriages is among American Catholics. Even though the teaching of the Catholic Church is strongly opposed to divorce, the practise of Catholic Americans is that the teaching (the mythological or belief system foundation) does not seem to buffer them against divorce.

Hout goes beyond these statistics to argue that these remarried Catholics are very much like other Americans who divorce. Those who are remarried are as likely to have lived with their current spouse as other Americans and divorced Catholic women, like other divorced women, struggle with economic disadvantages, are less likely to be homeowners and be satisfied with life.

A unique finding for the divorced remarried Catholics is that they feel angry at the Catholic Church, are alienated, and have shown less confidence in church leaders compared to married, single, or widowed Catholics. This short study is able to

Table 5.7 Estimates of divorced and remarried catholics

Marital Status	Percentages
Divorced and remarried	9%
Divorced and Separated	16%
An expectation of divorce compared to others of no religious affiliation	15%

Table 5.8 Probability of divorce

Catholics	48%
Jews	49%
Protestants	56%
No religious Affiliation (Nones)	59%

Table 5.9 Continued catholic identity or switching

Status	Percentage
Divorced who still maintain identity of being Catholic	77%
Married who still maintain identity of being Catholic	80%
Remarried who still maintain identity of being Catholic	60%

provide adequate statistics of comparing the living conditions of remarried Catholics to other Catholics' quality of living. In addition, such a study tends to emphasize the concern that remarried Catholic Americans would encounter both emotional and living challenges after experiencing the "failure" of their first marriages. Moreover, the divorced and remarried Catholics have shown that their confidence in Catholic beliefs is curtailed by the remarriages. Besides, one ought to realize that the divorced and remarried Catholics are not the only individuals who contribute to the recent increase in divorce and remarriage rates. Individuals with no or other religious affiliations such as Protestants and Judaism are also displaying high percentages of divorce.

However, the study does not embrace how rates in divorce and remarriage in the United States are affected by other measures of religion like beliefs and spirituality. Moreover, other elements such as the rise of individualism and the decline in the functionality of the family may also determine the rates of divorce and remarriage.

Social Relationships, Ritual, Divorce and Religious Involvement Among Young Adults

Zhai, Ellison, & Glenn (2007) provide both a theoretical and empirical base as to youth religious outcomes following parental divorce. They theorize that the primary religious socialization agents of children and youth are their parents. Their argument is that spiritual modelling (SM), the view that young people mature spiritually by imitating the conduct of their parents, and spiritual capital (SC), the spiritual resources that parents offer to their children in the form of teaching, sharing spiritual insights and praying together, contribute to the sacred socialization of their children. Zhai et al. (2007) further aver that parental divorce is a risk factor that jeopardizes this socialization.

Three key hypotheses are offered:

- Young adults of divorce will participate ritually less, will privately pray less, and will not feel close to God than youth whose parents do not divorce.
- Youth of divorce will report having less respect for their parents' morality and are more likely to doubt the sincerity of their parents' religiosity than youth from intact families.
- Young adults of divorce will report that their fathers were less involved in their religious socialization as compared to youth from intact families.

The data the authors used was the National Survey on the Moral and Spiritual lives of Young Adults from Divorced and Intact Families, a nationally representative sample of 1506 youth subdivided into 751 from divorced families and 755 from intact families. The measures they used consist of: youths' ritual (weekly attendance at a public sacred service), frequency of prayer, closeness to God, parental divorce, religious socialization by mother and father, beliefs about parents' morality and beliefs about the sincerity of parents' religion. Further, several

background variables included childhood religious involvement (being part of one of five traditions), childhood ritual (attendance at religious services) and personal prayer. Also included in the analysis were a number of control variables.

The first hypothesis received partial support. Youth from divorced families had lower levels of ritual participation and prayer than their counterpart youth in intact families. However, there were no meaningful differences on levels of closeness to God between youth of intact and divorced families. The second hypothesis was supported: youth of divorced parents express less admiration for the morality and the spirituality of their parents. Also as predicted by the third hypothesis, the children of divorce report lower levels of religious socialization from their fathers. Reasons for these results are linked to the theoretical base. Spiritual modelling (SM), is less likely to occur in divorced families and that spiritual capital (SC) occurs less in divorced families because, especially, the father is not involved.

Zhai et al. (2007) offer a conclusion that is not only relevant to this topic but to the linkage between religion and the family in general:

> . . .We believe this study has broken new ground by casting fresh light on the relationships between parental divorce and multiple dimensions of religious involvement among young adults, and also by exploring several potential explanations for the observed associations. Over the past two decades, we have witnessed a resurgence of scholarly interest in the complex connections between the social institutions of religion and the family. Closer attention to the spiritual consequences of relationship conflict and divorce, within and across generations, promises to enrich our understanding of this vital but neglected area in the 21st century (2007:142).

Religious Organization, Ritual and Marital Fidelity

Dollahite and Lambert (2007) have conducted a qualitative study of fifty-seven highly religious, middle-aged married couples from the **Abrahamic** faiths living in New England and Northern California and have documented from their research why these couples remain faithful to each other. They used a **grounded theory** mechanism and constructed Fig. 5.12 to explain why these couples are faithful to each other by relying upon sacred resources.

The authors legitimately note that survey research suffers from the inability to capture the richness of concepts that capture complex phenomena and patterned relationships. Referring to Fig. 5.12, I shall, first of all, explain the descriptive data and then comment on their theory.

The term sanctified marriage refers to the couples' perception that their marriages are sacred or "made in heaven" and are not only relational–they are rooted in a sacred world view. These marriages are operationalized by a couples' participating in religious services, scripture study and prayer, and observing holy days together. Engaging in these activities together bound them together with one holy vision and purpose in life. Their marriages also reflected the development of virtues that were conducive to a healthy and life-giving relationship. All of these couples recognized

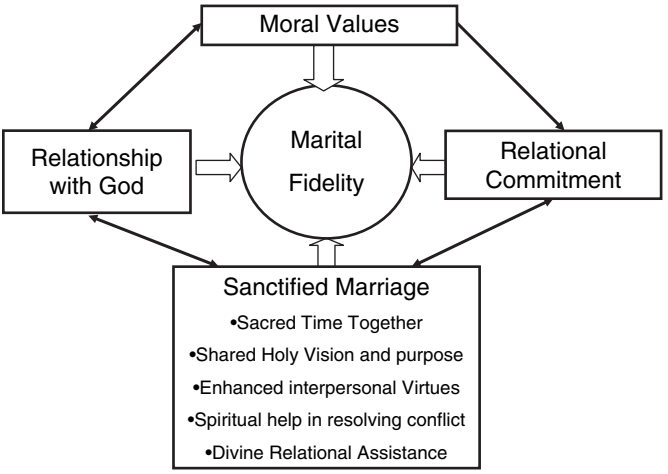


Fig. 5.12 Buffers to infidelity (Dollahite and Lambert, 2007:301)

that conflict was part of their marriage but, more importantly, they sensed that they could resolve them by praying and relying on divine assistance.

Their own relational commitment to each other was grounded on their frequent recollection of the vows they made to each other at the time of their marriage. This relationship was contextualized in their personal relationship to God. Lastly, the moral values the couples' adhered to were not transient and relative: they are firmly rooted in their lives and guide their thoughts and their actions.

From their model, they offer the following empirical links. Marital fidelity is an effect of sanctified marriage, a couple's relationship to each other, their relationship to God and their adherence to moral values. Moral values, in turn, affect relational commitment and that, in turn, has a reciprocal correlation with sanctified marriage. As can be seen from the figure, sanctified marriage is reciprocally related to the couples' relationship to God. Finally, another reciprocal relationship exists between moral values and the couple-divine link.

Ritual in the broad sense is seen to be the dimension of religion that captures all of these domains: prayer (both public and private), praying together and being involved as a couple in sacred activities. As seen from Fig. 5.12, these sacred activities, in turn, enhance moral virtues, reduce marital conflict, and unite them in one vision and purpose. All together, they act as buffers to marital infidelity and encourage faithfulness to each other.

Roles in Religious Organization and Families

At the heart of the analysis of organizations or institutions in sociology is the notion of the role. Before the discussion leads to how religious roles or family roles are linked from the work of Chatters and Taylor (2005), a definition of the term is in order from Franks:

> Social role is a critical analytical tool for sociology and social psychology because it provides the nexus between social structure and individual behavior. The term role is a metaphor that comes from the theater and Shakespeare's famous statement about people playing roles with entrances and exits throughout their lives. Social structures consist of roles or performance parts that provide vehicles for the organization of selves and social relations. People have many different sides, and different roles can produce very different behaviors from the same person. In the past century, role theory has evolved from a framework wherein "causation" flows down from preexisting roles shaping individual behavior, to a theory wherein "causation" also flows upward from social interaction to establishing a constant recreation of structure (2007).

Closely related to the definition of the role is role theory. It is described by Hindin:

> Role theory is designed to explain how individuals who occupy particular social positions are expected to behave and how they expect others to behave. Role theory is based on the observation that people behave predictably and that an individual's behavior is context-specific, based on their social position and situation. Role theory is often described using the metaphor of the theater (2007).

The concept and the theory, when applied to the links between religion and the family, refers to how one's role in the family has implications for religion as an institution, and, on the other hand, how roles in religious organizations have an impact on familial roles. The literature review done by Chatters and Taylor (2005) have focussed on the later kind of relationship in addition to role changes. They argue that sacred tenets and scripture provide norms that, in turn, create roles that may impact familial roles and responsibilities. These norms involve prescriptive directions (what one is to do) and proscriptive ones (what one should not do).

In Judaism, the ten commandments provide both kinds:

> **Prescriptive**: "Honour your father and your mother." (Exodus 20:12). **Proscriptive**: "You shall not commit adultery." (Exodus 20:14).* This norm is updated by Jesus who teaches: "you have learnt how it was said: 'you must not commit adultery.' But I say this to you: if a man looks as a woman lustfully, he has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Matthew 5:28).

The proscriptive kinds of norms predominate the Christian New Testament. Two examples illustrate this: "I give you a new commandment: love one another; just as I have loved you, you also must love one another" (John 13: 34). This kind of love (termed **agape** in Greek) is further described by Paul: "Love is always patient and kind; it is never jealous; love is never boastful or conceited; it is never rude or selfish; it is not resentful. Love takes no pleasure in other people's sins but delights in the truth; it is always ready to excuse, to trust, to hope, and to endure whatever comes" (I Corinthians 13:4–7).

If, for example, one appropriates to oneself the role of a member embued with this kind of love, then one has the potential of being like that as mother, father, husband or wife in the family.

Another set of articles reviewed by Chatters and Taylor illustrate changes in status from one role to another. They use the examples baptisms and christening in

* All scripture quotes to *Bible* are from Jones (1966).

Christianity and *bar* and *bat mitzvahs* in Judaism. One could add to that the high status that a Muslim receives when he or she goes on pilgrimage to Mecca.

In sum, to the level one internalizes the meaning of role transitions as well as accepting norms into one's role in a sacred organization, then a person can exhibit these norms in the life of the family.

Social Networks

Being an active member of a religious organization enables a person to create social networks that may assist one in receiving social support in time of need. A social network is defined as: ". . .the collections of relationships that surround individuals, are described in terms of characteristics such as size, homogeneity, proximity, and reciprocity" (Chatters and Taylor, 2005:524).

The theory underlying these relationships is that, most of the time, if one has a social network of significant friends, and if one experiences crisis, one is more likely to receive social support from that network. Religious organization can function in that way. Chatters and Taylor describe a number of them. These "sacred" social networks support the elderly, the divorced-separated, women suffering from domestic violence, persons inflicted with AIDS/HIV, and those who have recently lost a family member through natural, criminally induced or accidental death.

An image one may have of these kinds of relationships may be illustrated with Fig. 5.13.

The networks that one is linked to in religious organizations overlap familial relationships and provide for family members social support in time of need or crisis.

Cohort Effects, Ritual and Family Structure

Using data from the United States General Social Surveys from 1972 to 1990, Chaves (1991) asks the question about cohort effects of Protestant ritual attendance and family formation. He found that nuclear family formations are correlated to

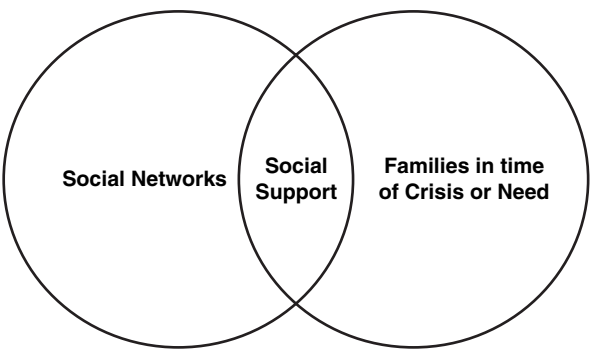


Fig. 5.13 Social Networks and social support

church attendance in a curvilinear way. Young people tended not to attend services and engage in family formation but as they did marry, they did construct families and were more likely to attend religious service. As they became older, many experienced divorce and they tended to reduce their participation rates. Another factor present was the rise of social-economic status as a predictor of low attendance rates.

The author argues that the presence of cohort effects had constituted the conversion of family structures from nuclear families to alternate ones (single and remarried) wherein the members are less involved in regular church services. According to the research study, those individuals from alternate families and later age cohorts were less likely to participate in church attendance than those from nuclear family units and early age cohorts. In addition, the emergence of changes in religious congregations among Christians could be influenced by a series of cultural formations and social processes such as economic conditions as one of the most prominent determinates.

Religious Homogamy and Marital Quality

Meyers (2006) sought to understand the relationship between religious homogamy, ritual and marital quality. Using a national longitudinal survey of 3211 respondents from 1980 to 1997, the author was able to understand more of the relationship. The proposition that underlies the analysis was that those couples who are religious homogamously and who attend religious services on a regular basis together, have higher levels of marital quality than those who have heterogeneous marriages and who are not united together in being active in ritual.

In many ways, the data do support the primary position. Some of the results consist of:

- Religious homogamy is consistently and statistically linked with higher levels of marital quality and stability.
- Couples who report different levels of religious homogamy also report lower levels of marital happiness and stability.
- Also, levels of marital quality and stability are greater among couples who attend religious services more frequently.

On the other hand, the analysis yielded other results that nuance these findings. Although the relationships were significant, they became less robust for the later generation of couples (those of 1990s than those of the 1980s). In other words, there was less of a relationship between religious homogamy and ritual observance and marital quality. Meyers interprets that the couples of the later generation are more likely to accent the ideology of gender equality than dimensions of religion.

The data account for this story. The levels of marital quality were statistically similar among the married couples from the 1980s and the 1900s. Moreover, religious homogamy tended to have less of a correlation with marital quality and stability with joint ritual participation and sharing similar religious beliefs

and experiences. Other factors such as departing from the beliefs in traditional family values and gender roles have also attributed to religion as an influential form of authority to marriage, had gradually declined in the lives of married couples within the younger generation.

Conclusions

The capturing dimension of the Neo Functionalist framework to synthesize some of the literature linking the family and religion together was the social system which consisted of ritual and social organization. The studies reviewed yielded evidence that both ritual and belonging to a religious organization makes a difference in the lives of family members. In the Canadian study of children and youth, there is evidence that ritual in provincial context made a difference in their lives. We have found that ritual and belonging reduced young people's tendency to abuse drugs and reduce delinquency and assisted them in achieving academically. Divorce and active religious involvement are negatively correlated. Divorced Catholics felt alienated from their church while youth whose parents divorced were less likely to be active in ritual or sacred organizations than those whose parents remained married.

On contrast to divorce, ritual and belonging to a religious organization increased levels of fidelity across a range of affiliation (Protestant, Catholic, Mormon and Muslim). Various ritual that captured rites of passage enabled people to achieve a new status and religious organizations acted as social supports to many people outside of the religious body. Evidence was found also that Americans varied in their ritual participation according to their marital status. Lastly, being of one mind and heart in regard to sacred affiliation ameliorated marital quality. The one study that did not provide evidence of the effect of ritual was the longitudinal study of youth in Canada–the ritual participation of children and youth's parents did not effect child/youth outcomes.

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Chapter 6
The Cultural System: Mythology and Ethos

Overview

The cultural system of religion and the family has to do with the belief systems and the ethos of both institutions. I shall first of all outline the meaning of myth and ethos and then proceed to synthesize the research that surround the cultural system as it relates to religion and the family.

Definitions of Myth and Ethos

In a very simple way, a myth is a story of the sacred–told in the escapades and journeys of supernatural beings or essences that affect humans in ordinary, mundane events and processes of human life. A more scholarly approach is from the comparative religious intellectual, Eliade, who describes myths as:

> . . .breakthroughs of the sacred (or the supernatural) into the world. It is this sudden breakthrough of the sacred that really *establishes* [italics in the original] the world and makes it what it is today. Furthermore, it is a result of the intervention of supernatural beings that man himself is what he is today, a mortal, sexed, and cultural being (1973:70).

The anthropologist Geertz presents ethos as:

> . . .the tone, character, and quality of their (people's) life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. Their world view [in my terms, myth] is their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order. . .the ethos is made intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life implied by the actual state of affairs which the world view describes, and the world view is made emotionally acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs of which a way of life is an authentic expression (1973:127).

Mythologies are similar to but different from beliefs. Beliefs are internal to a believer while a myth is an element of a culture or a religious organization. Ethos is also a characteristic of a culture or a sacred organization while elements of ethos consist of values, norms, mores, laws and taboos. In a summary of the literature on both myths and ethos, it will be theorized that sacred stories and ethos influence

the actions and behaviour of family members and familial phenomena. The topics to be discussed consist of attachment theory in the family; parental and self images of God concepts of young adults, adopting new religious beliefs, images of God and marriage; beliefs and ritual in resolving marital conflict; nascent Islamic Law, marriage and divorce; assimilation and Arabs in America, Bangladeshi Muslims in Canada; religious conservatism and women's public employment; moral cosmology and adult values for children; and religious transmission.

Attachment Theory and the Mythology of Christianity: Concepts of the Divine

Especially through the scholarship of Kirkpatrick (1992, 1999, 2005), a groundbreaking interpretation of attachment theory linked to images of the divine has begun. The intent of this section of the chapter is to extend Kirkpatrick's analysis and present a special case in the images of the divine in the Christian tradition. To begin with, I present the meaning of the sacred attachment figure (under the rubric of mythology), followed by "the sacred-attachment-behavioural -system." Next, there will be a discussion of interpersonal attachment variations and attachment to the sacred attachment figure. Following that is a discussion of attachment variations and conversions and a presentation of the psychological effects of this kind of attachment. The primary source for most of this material is from Kirkpatrick (1999, 2005). In addition, I outline the basic meaning of specialized terms from the theory that includes a discussion of adult security and insecurity from the work of the British sociologist, Giddens (1991).

In the final part of this section, I construct a Neo-Functionalist theory of the link between religion and the family that is informed from the discussion above. For this, I rely on an earlier work on a Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework of the family (Swenson, 2004).

Attachment Theory Terms

Ainsworth (1973), and updated by Bugental, and Goodnow (1998) provide us with a definition of *attachment* that is "an enduring affectional tie that unites one person to another, over time and across space" (1998:35). Cassidy (1999), in an introduction to a major handbook on attachment, presents several nuances to this basic definition. *Attachment behaviour* is behaviour that promotes proximity to the attachment figure (typically a parent or another adult care giver). *Attachment behavioural system* is the organization of attachment behaviours within the individual while the *attachment bond*, defined by Ainsworth (1989:711, and cited by Cassidy, 1999:12) is as an affectional tie that is not an attribute of a dyad but is rather a characteristic of the individual entailing representation in the internal organization of the individual. This bond is the connection one individual has to another who is perceived as stronger and wiser. A person can have a bond to another even if it is not reciprocated.

Citing both Bowlby (1979) and Ainsworth (1989), Cassidy (1999) notes that the attachment bond is a specific type of a larger class of bonds called *affectional bonds*. It has five criteria: is persistent and not transitory; involves a specific person; is emotionally significant; and, the individual feels distress at an involuntary separation from that specific person. In addition, the individual seeks security and comfort in the relationship with the attachment figure. The defining element of the attachment bond is the desire to seek security. Thus, there is a difference between a *parental bond* and a *child attachment*. It is children who seek security from a parent and not vice versa.

There is another relevant nuance in relation to attachment behaviour and the attachment bond. The former is largely situational and may or may not be activated. The bond, on the other hand, is considered to exist over time whether or not attachment behaviour is present (Cassidy, 1999, citing Bowlby, 1969).

A fuller understanding of the attachment behavioural system is in order. Siegel, an academic psychiatrist (1999:67–68) describes it in the following way. An infant is programmed by nature to seek proximity to parents or other caregivers and to create communication with them. The emotional transactions of secure attachment consist of a parent's emotionally sensitive responses to a child's signals. The system has many functions: overt behaviour, interpersonal communication, emotional regulation, autobiographical memory, and narrative processes. The primary function of the system is to provide to the infant/child a sense of security.

Hazan and Zeifman (1999), relying on Bowlby (1969), summarize the dimensions of the attachment behavioural system as: proximity maintenance (the child seeking physical contact with the caregiver), separation distress (the child experiencing distress when separated from the caregiver), safe haven (the caregiver as a source of safety) and secure base (the caregiver is a security "blanket" from whence the child learns and explores).

Frequently, a child does not experience these dimensions and insecure attachments emerge. Attachment theorists and researchers have identified various kinds of insecure attachments. Kobak (1999:27) summarizes two types of insecure attachments Avoidantly insecure infants and children have reason to expect rejection from their care givers (primarily mothers) and modify their attachment behaviours by avoiding the care giver. Ambivalent/resistant infants, who have reason to be uncertain about their mother's response, exhibit angry, resistant, or passive behaviour and use an attachment strategy of "clinging," or "whining" to get the mother's attention. A third classification was constructed by Main and Solomon (1986): "disorganized/disorientated" that occurs in the case of infant or child abuse. The child seems to be unable to maintain one coherent attachment strategy in the face of distress. This disorganized classification has been consistently linked to a variety of adjustment difficulties and psycho-pathology such as aggressive and anti-social behaviour.

Security is understood to be the sense that one is safe, that one has nothing to fear, that one is protected from external intrusions that may impinge on this state. Attachment theorists apply this, primarily, to children. However, many of these theorists and researchers have gone beyond that to discuss security and attachment behaviours in adults (for example, Thompson, 1999). Giddens is one such person.

He presents the term *ontological security* which means "the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action. A sense of the reliability of persons and things, so central to the notion of trust, is basic to feelings of ontological security; hence the two are psychologically closely related" (1991:92).

What challenges this sense of security are such things that other sociologists have identified as *alienation* (Marx and Berger), *anomie* (Durkheim), *disenchantment* and the *iron cage* (Weber). These are the equivalents, in the case of an infant or child, to external intrusions. Some such adult intrusions include: broken relationships, unemployment, intimate violence, war, and, more currently, terrorist threats. It is my intention to see how a sacred attachment figure comes to provide security to the adult in face of these intrusions and, also, to intensify and augment current states of security.

The Sacred Attachment Figure

This section brings us into the landscape of the sociology and psychology of religion. A subsidiary academic discipline that is relevant to this is the comparative-historical method in the study of religion. After presenting the meaning of these disciplines, I shall outline the sacred attachment figure in Biblical Judaism and Christianity. In doing so, I will also explain why I am restricting this part of the discussion to these mythologies.

Smart (1995) contrasts the comparative-historical method in the study of religion to the phenomenology of religion that has as its heart the timeless patterns or types of religious phenomena. The concept of the holy or the sacred is within the domain of this discipline. Of more interest to us here is the comparative-historical method. Religion is understood to be an element of human culture. The discipline considers it important to explore recurrent patterns of religious thought, symbolism, ritual, and sacred experience that can be found cross-culturally and cross-historically. Smart writes: "This approach suggests that religions have a relatively independent occurrence-whatever the theory at which we might ultimately arrive regarding their ultimate origin-and so may be used to explain various historical developments" (1995, Vol. 3:572).

The approach does not make any "truth" claims of any particular religion but does posit how religions are similar, how they are different, and theories as to why they are similar or not. Ringgren (1995), in his study of comparative mythology, makes the claim that the deities of many religions symbolize political and social structures of societies, warfare, wealth, nature and fertility. The symbol of fertility brings these symbols closest to familial images. Many of these deities (from the Levantine, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Scandinavia and the Celtic regions) are married, they have children, have sisters and brothers. In this way, they symbolize family.

Another example is from the work of Paper (1989) in his study of ritual among aboriginal people. His focus is on the vitality and importance of the Sacred Pipe

ceremony. He argues that the Sacred Pipe and the sweat lodge are the most pervasive rituals throughout Native North America and that the Sacred Pipe is as central to these religions as is the Torah to Judaism, the Qur'an to Islam, and the Bible to Christianity. The sacred pipe is the ritual symbol that connects the self to his/her family, clan, humanity, nature, the cosmos and to the eternal or spiritual realm (Paper, 1989:39ff).

Family images are redolent in this symbol and ritual. Through the smoking of this Sacred Pipe, one becomes integrated with the whole of creation wherein "all are my relations" (1989:53). The bowl (made of stone and symbolizing earth) is female, whereas the stem (made of wood and symbolizing trees and the sky) is male having a phallic symbol. In unison with the analysis of religion in folk societies, aboriginal peoples hold no absolute distinction between the creator and creation. Spirits dwell in animals, plants, minerals, and the earth. These various forms are termed grandfather, grandmother, mother, and father.

Primary spirits are distant and remote. The Great Spirit, the Creator, is beyond all spirits and is symbolized by the sky, the heavens. This Great Spirit is masculine and is called Father or Grandfather. The Earth is Mother or Grandmother, whereas the moon is Mother and the Sun is Grandfather. Spirits that are less remote are effective spirits and it is to them that the Sacred Pipe can be offered. Every animal has one of these spirits; these animals are referred to as brothers or sisters. Originating spirits are special spirits which dwell in some animals, and their function is to create order out of chaos or to restore what has been undone by human malice or natural catastrophe.

Although familial images are common in these mythologies, they are not centred in a unique sacred attachment figure. Biblical Judaism and Christianity are the kind of mythologies that do accent this kind of figure.

Yahweh, the divine name in Biblical Judaism, and Father, in Biblical Christianity, is the one deity who is said to be unique, the creator and the redeemer of humanity. I shall cover several familial divine images that are relevant to our discussion here.

The images that are relevant is that of God as Parent and God as spouse. More particularly, God as lover, Israel or the Christian church as beloved, and God as Father with maternal characteristics.

The later imagery is more relevant to the divine attachment figure in the parent-child relationship in attachment theory and research while God as lover is more connected to adult romantic attachment and couple relationships (Feeney, 1999).

Several images of God as parent appear in the sacred writings of Judaism and Christianity:

- Do not let your compassion go unmoved, for you are our Father. For Abraham does not own us and Israel does not acknowledge us; you, Yahweh, yourself are our Father (Isaiah 63:16).[1]
- And yet, you, Yahweh, are our Father; we the clay, you the potter, we are the work of your hand (Isaiah 64:8).

[1] All scripture quotes to *Bible* are from Jones (1966).

- He is like a shepherd feeding his flock, gathering lambs in his arms, holding them against his breast and leading to their rest the mother ewes (Isaiah 40:11).
- Does a woman forget her baby at the breast, or fail to cherish the son of her womb? Yet even if these forget, I will never forget you (Isaiah 49:16).
- I have loved you with an everlasting love, so I am constant in my affection for you (Jeremiah 31:3).
- For I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born son (Jeremiah 31:9).
- Is Ephraim, then, so dear a son to me, a child so favoured, that after each threat of mine I must still remember him, still be deeply moved for him, and let my tenderness yearn over him? (Jeremiah 31:20).
- When Israel was a child, I loved him, and I called my son out of Egypt (Hosea 11:1).

Several texts from the Christian testament reveal that Jesus is believed to be the Son of the Father and that those who believe in Jesus become sons and daughters of the same Father:

- You are the Christ, the Son of the Living God (Matthew 16:17-spoken by Peter to Jesus as a proclamation of faith).
- Christians are counselled to pray with the prefix: "Our Father. . ." (Matthew 6:9).
- I tell you most solemnly, anything you ask for from the Father he will grant in my name (John 16:23).
- . . .the Father himself loves you for loving me and believing that I came from God (John 16:17).
- . . .I have loved them as much as you loved me (Jesus praying to his Father, John 17:23).
- Everyone moved by the Spirit is a son of God. . .it is the spirit of sons, and it makes us cry out, "Abba, Father!" The Spirit himself and our spirit bear united witness that we are children of God (Romans 8:14–17).

Similarly, the texts that speak of God as husband and lover and Israel or the church as bride, wife or beloved consist of:

- Because you are precious in my eyes, because you are honoured and I love you (Isaiah 43:4).
- For he has clothed me in the garments of salvation, he has wrapped me in the cloak of integrity, like a bridegroom wearing his wreath, like a bride adorned in her jewels (Isaiah 61:10).
- You are to be a crown of splendour in the hand of Yahweh, a princely diadem in the hand of your God; no longer are you to be named "forsaken," nor your land "Abandoned," but your shall be called "My Delight" and your land "The Wedded;" for Yahweh takes delight in you and your land will have its wedding (Isaiah 62:3–4).
- Like a young man marrying a virgin, so will the one who built you wed you, and as the bridegroom rejoices in his bride, so will your God rejoice in you (Isaiah 62:5).

- I have loved you with an everlasting love, so I am constant in my affection for you. I build you once more; you shall be rebuilt, virgin of Israel (Jeremiah 31:3–4).
- At birth, the very day your were born, there was no one to cut your navel-string, or wash you in cleansing water, or rub you with salt, or wrap you in napkins. No one leaned kindly over you to do anything like that for you. You were exposed in the open fields; you were as unloved as that on the day you were born. I saw you struggling in your blood as I was passing, and I said to you as you lay in your blood: Live and grow like the grass of the fields. You developed, you grew, you reached marriageable age. Your breasts and your hair both grew, but you were quite naked. Then I saw you as I was passing. Your time had come, the time for love. I spread part of my cloak over you and covered your nakedness; I bound myself by oath, I made a covenant with you-it is the Lord Yahweh who speaks-and you became mine. I bathed you in water, I washed the blood off you, I anointed you with oil. I gave you embroidered dresses, fine leather shoes, a linen headband and cloak of silk. I loaded you with jewels, gave you bracelets for your wrists and a necklace for your throat. I gave you a nose-ring and earrings; I put a beautiful diadem on your head. You were loaded with gold and silver, and dressed in fine linen and embroidered silks. Your food was the finest flour, honey and oil. Your grew more and more beautiful; and your rose to be a queen. The fame of your beauty spread through the nations, since it was perfect, because I had clothed you with my own splendour-it is the Lord Yahweh who speaks (Ezekiel 16:4–14).
- I will betroth you to myself for ever, betroth you with integrity and justice, with tenderness and love; I will betroth you to myself with faithfulness, and you will come to know Yahweh (Hosea 2:19–21).
- I will sow him in the country, I will loved Unloved; I will say to No-People-of-Mine, "You are my people," and he will answer, "You are my God." (Hosea 2:24).

The Song of Songs is redolent with romantic love images between Yahweh and his people, Israel. Only a few are selected here to illustrate the poem.

- How beautiful you are, my love, how beautiful you are (Song of Songs 4:1).
- You are wholly beautiful, my love, and without a blemish (Song of Songs 4:7).
- I awakened you under the apple tree, there where your mother conceived you, there where she who gave birth to you conceived you. Set me like a seal on your heart, like a seal on your arm. For love is strong as Death, jealously relentless as Sheol. The flash of it is a flash of fire, a flame of Yahweh himself. Love no flood can quench, no torrents drown (Song of Songs 8:6).

Texts from the New Testament, the Christian Biblical text:

- The bride (the church) is only for the bridegroom (Jesus); and yet the bridegroom's friend (John the Baptist) who stands there and listens, is glad when he hears the bridegroom's voice (John 3:29).

- I arranged (Paul speaking) for you to marry Christ so that I might give you away as a chaste virgin to this one husband (II Corinthians 11:2).
- Husbands should love their wives just as Christ loved the Church and sacrificed himself for her to make her holy. He made her clean by washing her in water with a form of words so that when he took her to himself she would be glorious, with no speck or wrinkle or anything like that, but holy and faultless. . .I am saying it applies to Christ and the Church (Ephesians 5:25–31).
- Let us be glad and joyful and give praise to God, because this is the time for the marriage of the Lamb. His bride is ready, and she has been able to dress herself in dazzling white linen, because her linen is made of the good deeds of the saints (Revelation 19:7–8).
- Come here and I will show you the bride that the Lamb has married (Revelation 21:9).

A sample of texts from the Judaistic and Christian testaments reveal an abundance of imagery that provides a basis for believers to attach themselves to a sacred parent or a lover. The research summary that follows from Kirkpatrick (1999) has been taken, primarily, from subjects who are aligned to the Christian tradition.

The Sacred-Attachment-Behaviour-System

Kirkpatrick (1999) divides a range of research on the attachment of a believer to the sacred figure that approximates the relationship of a child to a parent: God as being proximate, God as a haven of safety, God as a secure base, and responses to separation and loss.

Seeking Proximity to God

Believers engage in attachment behaviour in seeking proximity to the sacred figure in a variety of ways. One noted way is private ritual or prayer. Kirkpatrick cites several authors to that effect: a devotee who prays believes that he/she speaks with God who is present and is personal (Heiler, 1932). A variant form of prayer is glossolalia that is similar to an infant babble and the lifting up of hands in public prayer that is similar to a child lifting up his or her hands to be lifted up by a parent (Shaver and Hazan, 1988).

God as a Haven of Safety

Attachment theorists and researchers consider a dimension of the attachment-behavioural system to be a child seeking protection from frightening contextual events, illness, and separation or threat of separation from attachment figures. A child will activate the attachment system in light of these threats and seek

protection. Kirkpatrick (1999) argues that there is abundant evidence to see that people turn to a sacred figure in time of trouble, crisis, danger, or the death of a loved one (Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Haun, 1977; Pargament, 1990).

God as a Secure Base

Another dimension of the attachment-behavioural system is that it provides a secure base for exploration of the environment. Several studies of devotees who have a secure relationship with the divine figure have a sense of personal competence and control, are optimistic, confident in the future and an ability to be flexible in problem solving (Pargament, Steele, and Tyler, 1979; Ventis, 1995).

My reading on this is that devotees turn to the sacred attachment figure not out of fear or want but out of a desire to be whole. This position challenges the psychology of religion as presented by Freud (see Pruyser, 1973).

Responses to Separation and Loss

Ainsworth (1985) presents a fourth dimension of the attachment-behavioural system by demonstrating that it is separation that causes anxiety in the attached person and the loss of the attached figure that causes grief. For Christians, God will never leave them as reflected in the text from Jeremiah 31:3, above. In this tradition, the sacred figure does not leave but a devotee may leave the sacred figure. Some research on those who leave a new religious movement experience anxiety and stress that is similar to marital separation and divorce (Wright, 1987).

An interpretation that comes from within the Christian mythological tradition is that committing sin is a decision by a believer to move away from the divine figure. Guilt is the equivalent of anxiety in attachment theory.

Interpersonal Attachment Variations and Attachment to the Sacred Attachment Figure

Kirkpatrick converges the literature in attachment theory and research under internal working models[2] of the attached person by looking at how they are guided by these models in their later attachments. He then posits in his *correspondence hypothesis* that differences in religious beliefs and experience should parallel individual differences in attachment styles and mental models (1999:809).

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[2] Citing Bowlby (1979), Bretherton and Munholland (1999) argue that beyond infancy, attachment relationships come to be influenced by *internal working models* that children construct from their interaction patterns with their attachment figures. They serve to regulate, interpret, and predict both the attachment figure's and their own attachment behaviour, thoughts and feelings.

He expands his argument and cites several studies that give some evidence for the hypothesis. A cross sectional study by Kirkpatrick and Shaver (1992) found that those respondents who classified themselves as secure or insecure (avoidant or ambivalent) noted that those who were secure in their personal relationships scored higher than those who were avoidant on measures of images of God as being close, loving, or distant. Thus patterns of security to a loving God and avoidant to a distant controlling God were not found.

They did, however, discover that if they collapsed the two sub-types of insecurity (avoidant and ambivalent) into a category termed insecurity, they noted that those who were securely attached to their partners were more secure in their relationship to God. Likewise, those who were insecure in their primary personal relationship were less attached to the divine figure.

By reviewing several other studies, which include self-images, they conclude that there is an established pattern between secure attachments and images of God. A more specific conclusion is that those who are secure in their relationships (both past and present) hold an image of God as close, proximate and caring. On the other side, those who have experienced avoidant and ambivalent attachments are likely to envision God as controlling, distant and unavailable.

Summary Notes on Attachment Theory and Religion

To summarize this section, the theoretical presentation, the following diagram was created to illustrate a potential theory of religion and the family linkage using attachment theory and research.

Using the dimensions of the attachment behavioural system from Ainsworth (1985), Kirkpatrick created an equivalent system in relationship to the attachment to a sacred figure. These five dimensions are illustrated in Fig. 6.1 as predicting

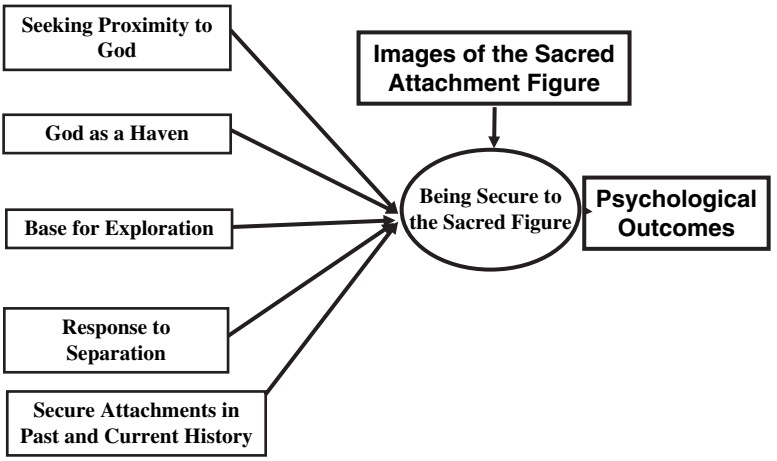

Fig. 6.1 Attachment sacred figure and psychological outcomes

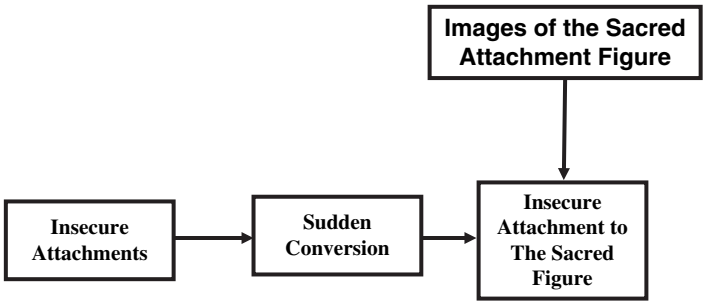

Fig. 6.2 Insecure attachments and conversion

one being securely attached to a sacred figure. Being attached to the sacred figure is also informed by one's image (in attachment theory, an internal working model) of the divine. To the extent that God is envisioned as loving, caring, supportive and not controlling, then one becomes secure in his or her relationship to the divine. This security, in turn, results in a variety of positive psychological outcomes as outlined above.

Conversion and attachment theory was discussed in Chapter 4 but can also be investigated here in the light of outcomes. The model that reflects attachment theory with religion is a model of sudden conversion. Figure 6.2 illustrates this. To the level that an individual has had a history of or is currently involved in an insecure social-intimate relationship, to that extent is one more likely to experience a sudden conversion. The outcome of that conversion is having a insecure relationship with the divine figure. However, as in the case of the previous model, the image of God is also an important predictor of being secure.

Attachment Theory Embedded in a Neo-Functionalist Theory

The final part of this section is intended to combine the insights that have emerged from Kirkpatrick and to embed them into a Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework. Figure 6.3 is a theoretical model that attempts to capture the link between religion and the family using Kirkpatrick's summary of research that is embedded within a Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework.

At the very core of the model is the security one feels in relationship with the divine attachment figure. This is predicted by the various ways a person seeks this security (seeking proximity, seeing God as safety or a haven, being a base for exploration, responding to separation, and having human secure attachments.

These five systems of seeking divine security are predicted by social support (typically a sacred community), participating actively in sacred spaces (private and public), economic well being, and various family structures. The latter predictor is reinforced by previous research on religion being a family surrogate (see Christiano, 1986). He established evidence that those who are married and have children

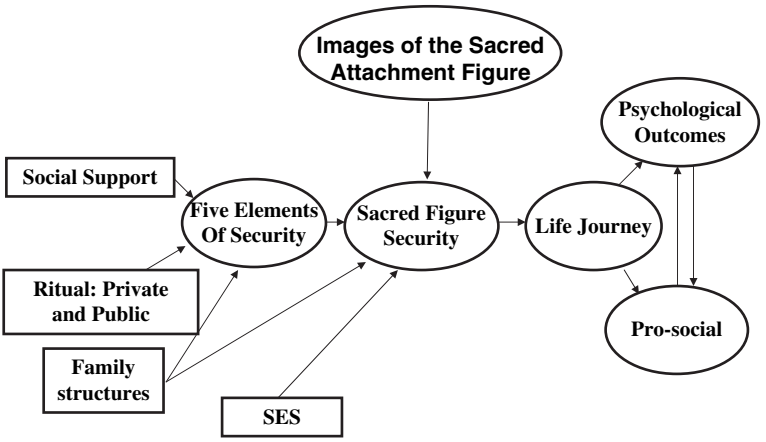

Fig. 6.3a A Neo-Functionalist model of a sacred attachment figure and outcomes

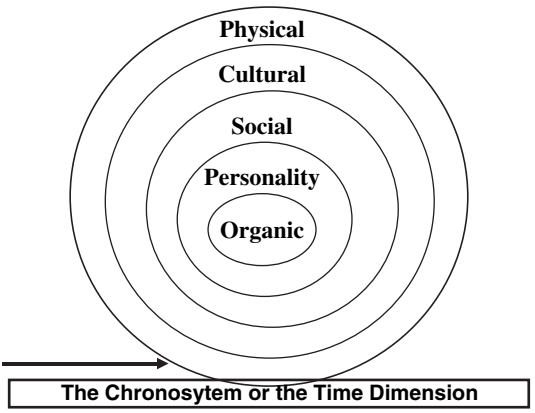

Fig. 6.3b Neo-functionalism and the six systems

are more likely to be active in religion than those who are single, divorced or do not have children. Further, one's sense of being secure in one's relationship to the divine is related to some level of economic well being.

The outcomes of this divine-human security is to enable the individual to live life well throughout the life-course. As one accomplishes this, he or she is more likely to have positive psychological outcomes and be pro-social or altruistic in behaviour. There is a predicted reciprocal relationship between psychological outcomes and pro-social behaviour.

The characteristics of the theoretical framework are illustrated in this model in the following way. The multi dimensionality of social action and social order is seen with the various kinds of social relationships in the model: the history of attachment and social support tap social action while the various family structures are

indicative of social structure. The social order is presented by discovering patterns in the model. The image of multi-level dimensions is seen by influences from social support (the interpersonal level) and through intra personal sources, namely, images of the sacred figure. All six systems are presented:

- organic – the biological propensity to seek security
- personality – the sacred security the person senses
- social – the social support one has or not
- cultural – the images of the sacred attachment figure and ritual
- physical – economic and physical well being
- Chrono – the element of time as given in ones journey throughout the life-course

Conclusions

The major conclusion of the first part of the section on conceptual issues in the link between religion and the family is that it is vitally important that researchers understand well the literature of the social scientific study of religion. As noted in the introduction, scholars tend to be well versed in the conceptualization of terms emerging from the social science of the family but less so in the study of religion. Once this is done, one reaches a clear understanding of the links between the two social domains.

In the second part of this section, the author attempted to embed the findings from the literature on God as an attachment figure into the Neo-Functionalist theoretical framework. An important feature of this unification is the empirical model that is amenable to testability.

Parental and Self Origins of Young Adults' God Concepts

Another set of researchers continue attachment theory and God images and endeavour to search for young adults' sources of divine images from their parents and their own selves. Building on attachment theory, Dickie, Ajega, Kobylak, and Nixon (2006) argue that when children are dependent, their images of God are primarily predicted from their images of their parents. However, as they mature and begin to distance themselves from their parents, their divine images are predicted, primarily from their own images of self. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 illustrate these models.

However, a more long term model that depicts early childhood experiences of children of their parents has been modelled by many researchers to impact images

Fig. 6.4 Images of parents and concepts of god

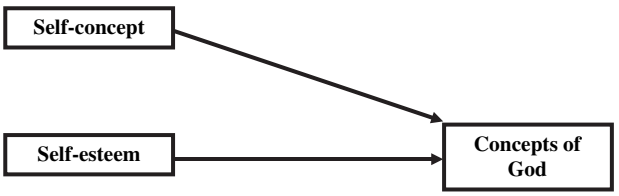

Fig. 6.5 Images of self-concept, self-esteem and concepts of God

of the self. Thus, Fig. 6.6 depicts a two factor stage: of a child's image of parents that, in turn, influences their self image that is followed by their more independent images of God from their own self images. Figure 6.6 illustrates this.

Dickie, Ajega, Kobylak, and Nixon (2006) used a sample of university students (N=132) from a small, church-affiliated liberal arts college in the Midwest United States to test their theory. They used a religiosity scale (consisting, in part, of questions of how important God is in their lives, how they think of God, and that God gives them purpose in life) and items of how close they are to God, their mother and their fathers. Further, there were measures of self esteem: self accepting and confident. Fourteen items of their concepts of parents, God and self (self-concept) were used to create scales of parents, self or God as nurturant, powerful, and punishing/judging.

Results varied between men and women. From Fig. 6.6, for men, mothers' nurturing affected their sons' self-esteem that, in turn, impacted their perception of God as nurturing, seeing themselves as religious and feeling close to God. In contrast, for women, both mothers' and fathers' nurturing and power affected their daughters' sense of self as nurturing and powerful that, in turn, predicted their sense of God as nurturing and powerful.

The authors continue to test for a variety of intricate relationships with various variables between men and women, mothers and fathers, images of the self, self-concept and divine images. For a summary in this section, I will only record the most salient findings. Linking their findings to attachment theory, they found that in adulthood, mothers continue to exert influence on their children's religious perceptions and divine images. If the adult children experience parental nurturance (especially from mothers), they have a positive sense about themselves, which results in their viewing God as loving, warm, and nurturing. Yet, it is still mothers who have the

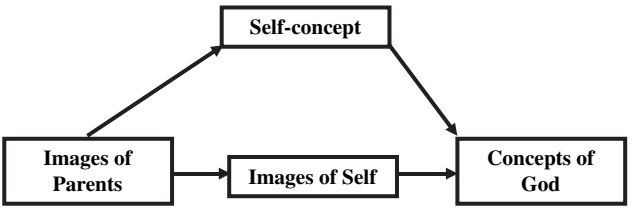

Fig. 6.6 Early childhood experiences, images of self and concepts of god

greatest impact on divine images. Men still saw God as more punishing/judging while women imaged God as more nurturing. For the students who envisioned God as male, it is the mothers' qualities, especially mothers' power, that best predicted the divine image of God as powerful.

Adopting New Religious Belief Systems: A Case of Taiwanese Immigrants

Chen (2005) did a qualitative analysis of 25 Chinese converts to Evangelical Christianity who had recently immigrated from Taiwan. Those interviewed included professionals, men, women, entrepreneurs, and educated persons. The researcher investigated how these converts moved from Confucian values which accented filial piety to Christian values which focussed on sacred piety–of being sons and daughters of a god who is believed to be Father.

As the adults transformed from one form of piety to another, they challenged traditional hierarchical orders of the family to accept a more friendship-companion order of familial relationships. The immigrant parents began to realize the need to change from imposing authoritarian power on the children with love and kindness. The former parental mechanism could damage the parent-child relationship while the latter could enhance it.

The vehicle or carapace of conversion was through socialization processes in regular church services and in home Bible studies. In this vehicle, friendship bonds were formed and there emerged support groups. The family based Bible studies allowed both parents and children to pray, sing, and to read the Scriptural texts. These relationships developed a shared familial experience, and the children cultivated their spiritual lives through developing affection and wholesome communication.

In summary, Chen proposed that the family relations of Taiwanese American families are maintained by Christian values and discipleship instead of Confucian and traditional values in America. According to the interviews of the Taiwanese respondents, the parent-child relationships between parents and American born children were more appropriately strengthened by adopting certain values of Christianity such as delivering love and respect to children as God's gifts for parents. Moreover, the roles of parents were transformed from authoritarian-oriented into friendship-orientated forms in order to create a healthy family relation. Besides, having a mutual communication between parents and children in a way that allows the parents to have sufficient understanding of their children's culture and spiritual needs. This is further fulfilled by the children participating in religious activities such as Bible studies and activity groups for youth. The children could be also regulated and cultivated by the Christian teachings and religious agents' daily experiences. As the Christian teachings and values substitute for the Confucian and traditional values within the Taiwanese Christian families in America, the parent-child relationship is more shifted to a sphere that would facilitate further development of familial relationships.

Images of God and Marriage

One dimension of religion that is of the cultural system of social phenomena is mythology as presented in the overview of this chapter. Already reviewed in the section of Muhammad's image of God, a subset of mythology is how people image or view God. Research on this (for example Swenson, 1995) has resulted in this proposition: believers' images of God influence familial phenomena.

Goodman and Dollahite (2006), using the same data set, developed by Dollahite and Lambert (2007) and outlined in Chapter 5, opine that these highly religious Jews, Christians, and Muslims see that God is involved in their marriages in a positive way. To present their findings, I will use their model (Fig. 6.7) that they created using **grounded theory** methodology.

Nearly all those interviewed believed that God is the most important aspect of their marriage. This belief was expressed in two different pathways or processes: direct and indirect. The authors constructed an image of God: "God as doing" and "God of being." Couples perceived "God as doing" by experiencing answered prayers, the intervention of the Holy Spirit and grace. "God of being" included God as being an example, a source of eternal consequences for sin, and a resource or providing strength and guidance. The believers' perception of indirect effects consisted of social networks as well as teaching about fidelity, humility, charity and morality such as gender roles.

The empirical links are envisioned in the following ways. God is directly involved in the couples marriages both in a direct and indirect way. Further, the

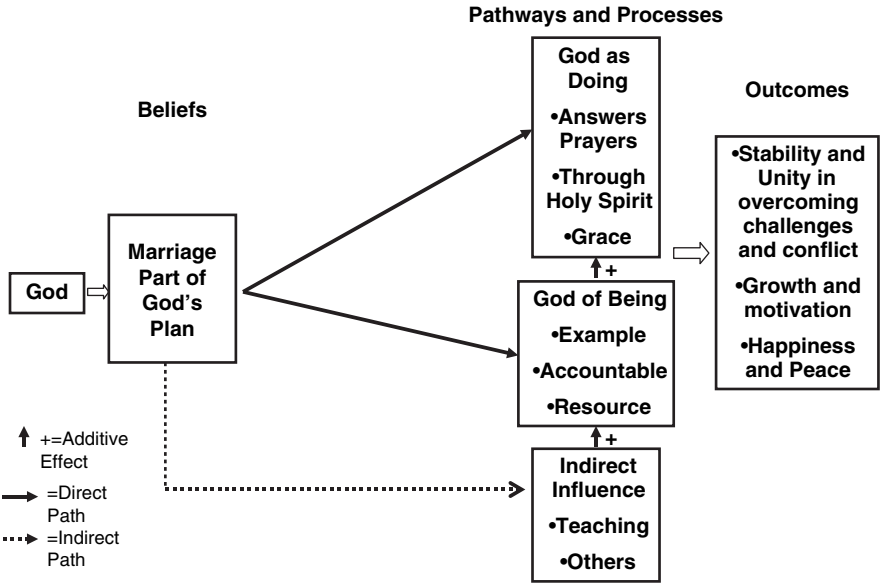

Fig. 6.7 God as direct or indirect influence on marriage (from Goodman and Dollahite, 2006:151)

indirect influences had an additive effect upon "God as being" and, it, in turn, had a further additive effect on "God as doing." Altogether, both the direct and indirect effects contributed to these outcomes. Couples experienced stability (keeping a marriage intact) and unity that enabled them to overcome challenges and conflict. These perceptions and experiences empowered them to grow in their faith and to be motivated in life tasks. Finally, their marriages being influenced by God brought them happiness and peace in life.

Beliefs and Ritual in Resolving Marital Conflict

The primary predictor of resolving marital conflict is an active belief in God and thus the reason for placing this study under mythology. Lambert and Dollahite (2006), using the same data set as the study of divine images and marriages, developed by Dollahite and Lambert (2007), argue that these highly religious Jews, Christians, and Muslims use belief and ritual to resolve marital conflict. Their research questions are:

(1) Do highly religious couples perceive that their religious beliefs and practices influence conflict within their marriage?
(2) To what extent and, specifically, how does religiosity affect marital conflict?

Figure 6.8 is a duplication of the model that Lambert and Dollahite created from an analysis of their data using the methodology of **grounded theory**. I shall rely on the figure to outline evidence for their model.

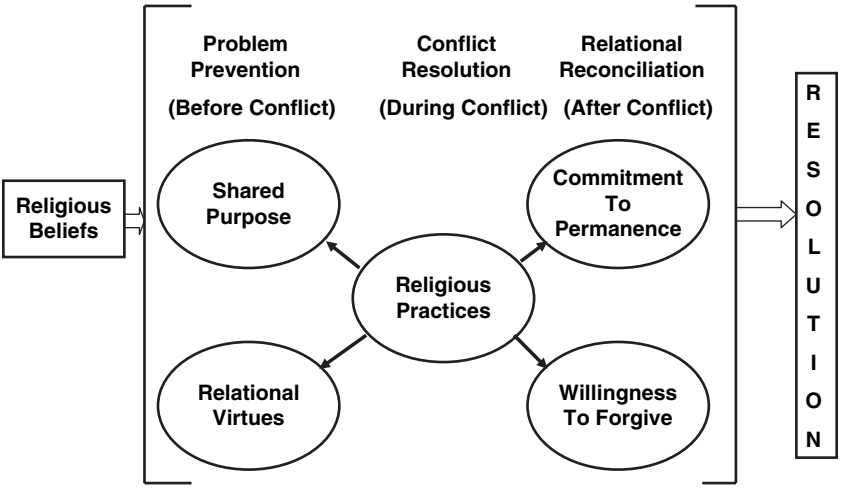

Fig. 6.8 The influence of religiosity at various phases of marital conflict (from Lambert and Dollahite, 2006:446)

The **core concept** they use in interpreting their data is "religiosity acted as a safe container for marital conflict in which conflict is prevented, resolved, and overcome" (Lambert and Dollahite, 2006:439). From the figure, one can observe that both belief and religious practices (prayer, study of scripture teachings and ritual) contributed to a shared sacred vision and purpose and relational virtues. A shared sacred vision refers to a common belief system and ultimate purpose of life. Relational virtues refer to such norms as selflessness, humility, and loving unconditionally.

Dimensions of the sacred were relied on in the midst of the conflict to achieve resolution. The three most common ways couples came to this were scripture teachings, attendance at religious services, and prayer. For a Muslim respondent, studying the ***Qur'an*** and the ***Hadith*** helped him and his wife to be guided in this resolution. For others, ritual participation and personal prayer were vital in the challenge of conflict.

Religious practices and beliefs were also related to relational reconciliation which were "the attempts couples make to heal their relationship following resolution or active conflict" (2006:444). In the model, the more the couples believed and the more they were engaged in sacred activities the more likely they were to strengthen their commitment to relationship permanence and a willingness to forgive.

In statistical language, a path model can be identified in the data that the Lambert and Dollahite have interpreted. Both religious practices and beliefs result in a shared sacred purpose in life as well as relationship virtues, especially love. In turn, shared purpose and relational virtues (intuitively but not in the model) contribute to the commitment to a permanence in marriage and a willingness to forgive. All this, then, results in a positive resolution of conflict that, subsequently (but not in the model) have a positive effect on marital quality.

Nascent Islamic Law, Marriage and Divorce

Family life is central to Islam. A ***hadith*** record reports the following:

> Narrated Abdullah bin Mas'ud: I asked Allah's messenger: "O Allah's messenger! What is the best deed? He replied, "To offer the prayers at their early fixed stated times." I asked, "What is next in goodness?" He replied, "To be good and dutiful to your parents." (Din Al-Hilad, 1993 and the quote from Sahih Al-Bukhari, 1993:45).

In this section, I will present some documentation from ninth-century Muslim scholars through the work of Spectorsky (1993). Many scholars of Islam claim that the heart of the religion is the Law. For example, Huff, in a major publication on Islam and Weber, acknowledges:

> It cannot be too strongly stressed that the central structure of Islamic thought is based on jurisprudence. Law in the Islamic world is the sustaining source providing the believer with guidance for every aspect of daily life. Consequently, it is to law not theology that Muslims are expected to turn in times of doubt (1999:4).

To understand marriage and divorce in Islam, then, one necessarily needs to go to Muslim jurisprudence and element in the cultural system of religion and the family.

I intend to summarize Spectrosky's outline of marriage and divorce through the writings of Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rahwayh, ninth century jurist scholars.

Esposito (2003) presents the following about Ibn Hanbal:

> He died in 855 and his name is an **e**ponym of Hanbali school of Islamic law. Native of Baghdad. Known for literal and legalistic interpretation of the *Quran* and hadith. Reputed to be the greatest hadith scholar of his time. Introduced the principle of istislah (the best solution in the public interest) as the purpose of legal rulings not clearly specified by the *Quran* and hadith. Taught that the written word of the *Quran* is authoritative over human interpretation and argued that Islamic religious obligations were derived from fundamental texts as interpreted by recognized leading scholars, not by caliphal decree. Believed the caliph's role was to serve as executor of the Islamic community, not as the source of its beliefs. Islamic scholars were to serve as advisers and admonishers to ruling elites to induce them to observe and implement Islamic law (Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad, 1993).

Less is known about his contemporary Ibn Rahwayh (died in 853). Spectorsky writes that he was a contemporary of Ibn Hanbul and was a prominent scholar in his own right. He was also known for his prodigious memory and is acknowledged in Islam as a expert jurist and traditionalist. She summarizes nascent Muslim scholarship on marriage and divorce from their writings.

Marriage

Marriage is a legal relationship that has the following characteristics (termed the "ideal marriage" by Spectorsky). "A woman's ***wali*** (guardian) accepts on her behalf an offer of marriage from a suitor who is her equal in status and not too closely related to her by consanguinity, foster-relationship, or marriage. Then, for an adequate **dower** the prospective bride's ***wali*** and her suitor conclude a marriage contract in the presence of two legally qualified witnesses" (1993:8).

Typically, a woman's guardian is her father and he gives her in marriage after she has given her consent. If she is young (15 years of age is the age of majority), her silence may been interpreted as acquiescence but if she has been married before, her active consent is necessary. If the woman is a child, the authority of the father is almost unlimited. He can give her in marriage without consent and stipulate in the contract that some of her dower be reserved for himself and exempt her husband from the qur'ranic requirement that she could receive one-half of her dower if her husband divorced her. External interference is rare and is only applicable when the father refuses to allow his daughter to marry someone not her equal. In this case, a judge intervenes and concludes the marriage contract. If the father is not present, the closest agnate becomes her guardian. What if there is no ***wali***? Ibn Hanbul notes, through Spectorsky, that such a marriage is not valid.

A kind of marriage in Islam that is controversial is a ***Mutah*** (temporary) marriage. Spectorsky reflects that it may have been a custom in early Islam as there appears to be a text in the Qur'an (Surah 4:24)[3] to legitimize it. The hadith literature

[3] All scripture quotes to *Qur'an* are from Ali (2003).

is contradictory on the matter and both Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rahwayh condemn it. Following these scholars, Sunni Islam forbids it while Sh'ite Islam accepts it.

The second criteria for a valid marriage is that a woman must marry only her equal. Equality in this sense is constituted by religion, lineage, means and freedom. Of these, only religion is consistently important. In regards to religion, a woman can marry a Jew or a Christian, but it is highly encouraged that the future husband is a Muslim. In reference to the other criteria, there exists much equivocation. Lineage refers to ethnicity in this case and couples are encouraged (but not required to wed within their ethnic group). Means refers to the husband being able to support his wife. Rules for equality are aimed at protecting a woman's status by preventing her from marrying beneath herself (hypogamy). Being free means not being a slave. A Muslim cannot marry a slave (a male can have a female slave concubine) and if he wants to, she must be manumitted.

Several verses in the Qur'an note that a dower must be given voluntarily and that she retains it in the case of divorce. If divorce occurs before intercourse, then she retains only one-half of her dower. The term dower is interpreted in an expansive way: it could be money, capital, goods, a resource a man has (like knowing the Qur'an) or a potential that he promises to give when he receives it. Both Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rahwayh present a wide of variety of situations that legislate the amount of dower to be given as well as its distribution after divorce.

A further criteria that invalidates a marriage is consanguinity. The Qur'ranic text reads:

> And marry not women whom your fathers married, except what is past: it was shameful and odious, and abominable custom indeed. Prohibited to you for marriage are: your mothers, daughters, sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, brother's daughters, sister's daughters, foster-mothers (who gave you suck), foster-sisters, your wives' mothers, your step-daughters under guardianship, born of your wives to whom you have in-no prohibition if you have not gone in, those who have been wives of yours sons proceeding from your loins, and two sisters in wedlock at one and the same time. Also prohibited to you are woman already married, except those (captives) whom your right hand possess: thus has Allah ordained prohibitions against you: except for these, all others are lawful, provided you seek them in marriage with gifts from your property, desiring chastity, not lust. Seeing that you derive benefit from them, give them their dowers as prescribed; but if, after a dower is prescribed, you agree mutually to vary it-there is no blame for you (Surah 4: 22–24).

The rules of consanguinity are common in most cultures. What is unique to Islam (based in pre-Islamic traditions) is that of marriage to foster relatives. These occur through the practise of wet-nursing (Muhammad himself was wet-nursed). Ibn Hanbal argues that nursing makes forbidden what biological birthing does in regard to marriage. It should be noted from this text that cousins are not in the forbidden catalogue. In fact, Zaynab bint Jahsh (d. ca. 641) married the Prophet Muhammad, her cousin, in 627. She was known as a proud woman from a noble tribe, and was divorced from Zayd ibn Haritha, the Prophet's former slave and adopted son. She regarded him as a social inferior, and married Muhammad soon thereafter.

The final criteria of the ideal marriage is the presence of witnesses. There is not such thing as a "private" or "secret" marriage in Islam. For validity, a marriage must

be witnessed to by others. A woman can be a witness but it must be known by others as well. In ordinary circumstances, a valid marriage requires two male witnesses or two women and one man.

Divorce

In traditional Islam, divorce is a male privilege not possible for women. From the writings of Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rahwayh, Spectorsky outlines ten ways a man can divorce his wife. She focuses on six: *zihar, Ila, Li'an, Takhyir, Khul*, and *Idda*. I shall summarize her precis of these scholars.

Zihar refers to when a man gives an oath of divorce against his wife and compares her to his mother's back. The Qur'an is equivocal on this kind–condemning it as well as accepting it but regulating it. If one has committed this kind of divorce, he must undergo some kind of expiation such as to free a slave, fast for two consecutive months, or to give food to a least 60 poor people.

The term *Ila* indicates is when a husband swears to abstain from sexual intercourse from his wife. He does this for 4 months and then is required to indicate to his wife his intentions. He now has the opportunity to continue intercourse which means the marriage continues or to prolong abstinence and thus divorce her.

Li'an is a complex, legalistic procedure wherein a man may choose to obtain a divorce by denying his paternity to a child born and thus accusing his wife of adultery. If the wife is guilty, she is punished according to the custom of **haddf** (death by stoning or one hundred lashes) and a divorce occurs. If the man is lying and falsely accuses her, he is punished with 80 lashes. If the husband does not follow through on his accusation, or the wife maintains her innocence, the marriage is not terminated. However, if a divorce happens, the couple are not allowed to remarry to each other again.

Takhyir provides an opportunity for a woman to divorce. However, it is only possible if the husband either says to her "Choose!" or he delegates to her the right. The law comes from the controversies that Muhammad had with his wives when after they rebelled, he gave them the opportunity to divorce. If not, they would commit themselves to obedience to him and enjoy paradise (as recorded in Surah 33:28–29). Thus if a man delegates to his wife this authority, she can do like the man: proclaim "I divorce you!" If she says this three times, the divorce is in place.

Another example of divorce is *Khul.* This occurs when a woman initiates divorce by offering to buy her freedom from her husband or to ransom herself. Does she receive her dower? The literature that Spectorsky relies upon is mixed. Some authorities say yes while others, because the woman initiates it, argue no.

The last category discussed is *Idda*. However, it is not so much a category of potential divorce but, rather, how long a woman must wait before she can marry again after she has been divorced. The background to this is the question of paternity. If she marries soon after the divorce and she is pregnant, then paternity is in question. She has to wait, then, until it is established that she has another menstrual period to show that she has not born the child of her previous husband.

Marriage and divorce in Islam is much more involved than what is presented here. These documents set the foundation for much juridical debate in the centuries since the ninth century. The importance of this sets a baseline from which the two important topics can be interpreted in the religion down to modern times.

Assimilation and Arabs in America

The scholars of ethnic relationships have documented the fact that new immigrants face many challenges when they come to another country. This is no less the case for recent Arab immigrants from Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan, Palestine and Jordan. Nassar-McMillan and Hakim-Larson (2003) address this challenge in clinical settings.

Using a case study that consisted of Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim and Protestant Arabs, the authors found that all families experienced problems in adapting to conjugal/nuclear family structures as they all came from cultures wherein the dominant family structure is the extended type. They also faced language barriers, intergenerational conflicts, and communication difficulties among sub-cultural groups. These barriers tended to have a cumulative negative effect between the therapist and the client.

Some groups had unique problems. Of all the kinds of Arabs, Muslims tended to have more difficulties in merging with American mainstream cultures than Christian Arabs. The authors counsel that it is very important that the therapist learns the unique values, beliefs, ethos and language of these new immigrants if they are to have success in assisting these new Americans in functioning well in their new land.

Bangladeshi Muslims in Canada

This case study of ten Bangladeshi Muslim families in Montreal, Canada, by Nazneen (2005) yielded results that affirm that these new Canadians had significant trouble in adapting to the Canadian culture. The issue was not being Bangladeshi but being Muslim. In fact, after 9/11, the Canadian born children of these immigrants became more Muslim, adopted a more strict part of their religion, and considered themselves to be Muslim rather than Bangladeshi Canadians or Canadians.

The key proposition that found empirical support was that these families thought that Canadian culture threatened their own family values in significant ways. Some of Nazneen's findings were:

- The parents worry about the western cultural practices, especially dating and alcohol consumption.
- These parents tried to regulate the interaction between their children and their non-Muslim friends.
- Most parents were worried that Canadian values are contradictory to Bangladeshi-Islamic values and they believed it to be beneficial that their children be isolated from these values.

- Families were primarily concerned about issues like dating, sex-education in class, alcohol consumption, nudity and violence in the media.

One way these families buffeted cultural intrusion was to frequent Muslim web sites and to learn the Muslim counter-culture to the Canadian, secular mainstream culture. This study illustrates that the continuity of a religious culture is important for these people and that they engage in many ways to keep alive and isolated their own sacred-Islamic-culture.

Religious Conservatism and Women's Public Employment

Glass and Nath (2006) were concerned with the effect of religious affiliation and conservative mythologies on the employment status of women who married and who gave birth.

They utilized two waves of the National Survey of Families and Households conducted in 1988 and in 1993. They selected only women younger than 50 years of age which resulted in a combined sample size of 3,817 that represented continental America.

Their sample consisted of Caucasian and African Americans but excluded conservative Mormons, Muslims and Jews because the sample size of these groups was so small (91/3, 817). Their analysis yielded the following general result: married women, those who gave birth, who belonged to conservative Christian affiliations and who had more conservative mythologies, were less likely to be involved in paid employment than those who were members of liberal denominations and whose beliefs were more secular. The specific results both confirm and nuance this general finding:

- Conservative denominational affiliation did have a large negative effect on movement into the labour force following both marriage and first birth.
- Marriage reduced paid labour participation among the religiously conservative women because of its close temporal association with a first birth.
- A new mother in a conservative denomination was 75% less likely to be employed for more than 25 hours of work per week than other new mothers.
- Caucasian women from liberal denominations were associated with a 59% decline in full-time employment while Caucasian women from conservative denominations experienced a 87% reduction.
- The more conservative was the husband the less likely did his wife engage in public labour following a first birth.
- Caucasian women with conservative mythologies were involved in paid labour less than women in general.
- Those women with the most conservative of beliefs were 80% less likely to work over 25 hours per week.

There was an interesting and different story for African American women. Their profiles appeared like:

- African American women in conservative denominations experiencing a marital birth had a much smaller decline in paid employment than their Caucasian conservative counterparts.
- African American women who belonged to conservative affiliations were 189% more likely to work over 25 hours per week after a marital birth than other new mothers.
- African American women's association with conservative denominations tended to promote employment rather than retard it.
- Conservative church membership and conservative religious beliefs had a far less negative effect on African American women's market attainment than their Caucasian counterparts.

In summation, the authors examined the relationship between affiliation and mythologies on married women's participation in the labour force. One of the objectives of the study was to draw comparison between respondents from conservative religious denominations and those from mainline denominations illustrates that Caucasian women from conservative religious denominations were more likely to be moved by a sense of domesticity that was encouraged by the conservative Christian mythology following their marriage and their first marital birth. In contrast, women from liberal denominations were less likely to experience this. Along with this commitment to domesticity, these women endured less disposable income and if they worked, they worked in female-dominated occupations. However, such a condition did not occur in the case of African American women. The conservative religious beliefs in gender roles, marriage and the family did not deter the African American women from engaging in public labour. The authors presented these contrasts but do not offer an explanation of why conservatism influences Caucasian women more than African American women.

Moral Cosmology and Adult Values for Children

Starks and Robinson (2007) construct a unique nexus between religion and the family by combining what they term *moral cosmology* and parenting styles. Relying on Wuthnow (1987) and Hunter (1991), they consider that the religious divide in America (and I would add Canada) is between those who adhere to two different conceptions of moral authority (which Starks and Robinson call "moral cosmology"). Moral cosmology is divided into the *modernist cosmology* (or liberal/secular) and the *religious orthodox*. The former views persons as having to make moral decisions in the context of their era, who relate to sacred texts in a relativistic way and believe they are but social constructions, and that they are independent from God in determining their fate. In contrast is the religious orthodox image that sees God as the ultimate judge of good and evil, who regard the sacred texts as timeless and divinely inspired, and see God as watching over, affecting, and judging people.

Further, the religiously orthodox cosmology is theologically communitarian and images persons as be part of a larger community of like-minded devotees. Moral

standards are "given from above" and are to be upheld by the community and all members are required to obey. In contrast, the modernist alternative combines support for individual choice, personal freedom, individualism, an accent on human rights, and a *laissez faire* interpretation of capitalism. In the link between moral cosmology and parenting styles, the authors hypothesize: "Within all faith traditions, modernists are more likely than the religiously orthodox to value autonomy and less likely to value obedience as an ideal trait to instill in children" (Starks and Robinson, 2007:20). Their second hypothesis reads: ". . .differences within faith traditions in moral cosmology are more important for the values adults seek to instill in children than are denominational differences or those between faith traditions" (2007:21).

The authors utilize a 1998 General Social Survey that is a probability sample of 2832 that was reduced for analysis to 668 cases. The measures of the critical variables were obedience to parents and religious orthodoxy/modernism. The latter was a scale that consisted of three items: belief in divine inspiration of the Bible, a belief in God "watching over me," and that a good Christian or Jew must follow faithfully the teachings of their church or synagogue. Other variables included religious affiliation and a number of controls (age, gender, and race).

Four variations of obedience were also used and Starks and Robinson found that, according to hypothesis one, moral cosmology had a significant effect on: "think for self rather than obey," "work hard rather than obey," "help others rather than obey," and "be popular versus obey." This confirms the theory that within denominational differences, parents who are modernist tend to socialize their children towards autonomy whereas the orthodox teach their children obedience.

But this does not mean that religious affiliation does not matter at all. The authors categorized the affiliation variable into: evangelicals, mainline, black Protestant, Catholic, other faith traditions and nones. They found that five of the six affiliations factored the dependent outcome "think for self versus obey" variable. There were much fewer significant relationships on the other three obedience outcomes.

In discussing these results, the researchers found that it is true that American religion is categorized into liberal and conservative moral cosmologies and that they predict parenting styles such that the modernists valorize autonomy whereas the orthodox make salient obedience in children's lives. Further, although religious affiliation does not matter as much as moral cosmology, it still matters and that the distinction between religious traditions should not be discarded in spite of evidence from Wuthnow (1987) and Hunter (1991) to the contrary.

The Effects of Consistent Parental Beliefs and Behaviours Upon Religious Transmission

Religious transmission is the topic of interest by Bader and Desmond (2006). The phrase refers to how parents pass on their religious behaviours and attitudes to their children. A comparable equivalent may be "sacred socialization."

Bader and Desmond theorize that when parents not only present a consistent sacred message but also are active in ritual, then religious transmission will be more likely to occur. They rely on a number of earlier studies to make this claim.

The date the authors utilized in this study comes from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. The second wave (1996) was the one used in the authors' analysis that consisted of 2800 children and youth, in grades 7 through 12. A special feature of the survey is that both parents and youth were interviewed and that there were many measures of religion.

Bader and Desmond used two measures of parents' religion (public ritual and the importance of religion) and four of youth's religiosity (public ritual or church attendance, the importance of religion, frequency of prayer and that the Bible is sacred). Background and control variables consisted of parental level of education, household income, marital status, marital conflict, attachment to children, and happiness. Additional background and controls for the youth included gender, age, race, attachment to parents and autonomy.

The substance of their theory was confirmed by their analysis. If the parents gave high importance to religion and also attended religious services (religious consistency), the youth attended services themselves, thought religion to be important, prayed frequently and considered the Bible to be sacred. If the parents were inconsistent (with low attendance and high importance), the youth still did attend services themselves, thought religion to be important, prayed frequently and considered the Bible to be sacred. However, the coefficients were less than the parents who were consistent.

There were also a number of other background factors that impacted the sacred outcomes of the youth. If the parents were attached to their children, the youth considered religion to be important and they prayed frequently. From the perspective of the child, if the youth were attached to their parents, they attended services regularly, sensed religion to be important, prayed frequently and believed the Bible to be a sacred text.

The authors conclude their study by indicating that the more parents participate on a consistent level and believe that religion is important in their lives, the greater will be the transmission of religiosity. Further, when parents are consistent, youth express a greater desire to adopt their parent's beliefs, primarily because they believe it is important to their parents that they do so. When parents are inconsistent in their behaviours and attitudes, children may believe religion to be less important to their parents and, consequently, less important to themselves.

What the authors do not explore or discuss is the correlation between attachment and the religious outcomes of the youth. These findings could be seen to be evidence for the importance of attachment–both from the parents to the children and from the children to their parents–in predicting sacred outcomes. Thus, there appears to be a window to link this kind of evidence to attachment theory and religion.

Conclusions

As indicated in the orientation to this chapter, the focal system was the cultural one which consisted of mythologies and ethos. In the synthesis of various studies under this rubric, we discovered the following. After outlining attachment theory and religion, a case was made that the images of God in Judaism and Christianity fit well with the research on attachment. Another study indicated that a combination of images impacted youths' concepts of the divine: parental and self. A study in Taiwan revealed that as people became Christians there familial configuration changed substantially. A cross affiliation study of marriage showed that a number of people believed in an intimate linkage between their beliefs in God and the success of their marriage.

Further research aided us in understanding that beliefs and ritual assisted in aiding in resolving marital conflict. There was an extended discussion on marriage and divorce in the early years of Islam that was followed by studies on Muslims as they struggle with living in America and Canada where there are so many distractions to the Islamic ideal of the family. Two researchers discovered that conservative Christians were more likely not to contribute to women's employment. Another study documented a story of moral cosmology: that those American who adhered to a religious orthodox ethos were more likely to call their children to obedience rather than to independence and free thinking. The last article that was summarized documented that youth are much more likely to be socialized into a sacred lifestyle if their parents are consistent in their own actions and beliefs.

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Chapter 7
Conclusions

This chapter brings this text to a conclusion. If we imagine reading this book as a journey, we began the journey by outlining a Neo-functionalist theoretical framework of the family. This framework was then connected to a multidimensional interpretation of religion that is an attempt to present a definition that can be applied to any kind of sacred tradition. The strength of the framework is to provide a theme that has synthesized a wide range of literature on the nexus between the family and religion. By seeing religion in a multidimensional way, one is not potentially blocked by the narrowness of any one sacred tradition to the expense of others. The salient aspect of the Neo-functionalist framework that has been used in this document is the systems perspective. Each of the chapters was devoted to these various systems.

The chapter on the chronosystem has been a walk through Western history from the structure and the social life of the families of the Romans, the early Christians, the Central Medieval, peoples of Europe in post Early medieval Late medieval, to the creation of the early features of the modern family in England. Much has remained the same: families have struggled over the millennium and one-half from the genesis of Imperial Rome to the dawn of the modern era. They have focussed on two primary functions: the reproduction and socialization of children and the maintenance of adult intimacy. These outcomes are seen within the framework of Neo-Functionalism (Swenson, 2004) and, especially Parsons and Bales (1955), are the primary functions of the family.

On these two fronts, there have been changes in compositions of households, of gender roles, of patterns of inheritance, of how to socialize children and how to combine all this with earning. We have seen how major factors of the social, cultural, organic and physical systems have affected families and persons. Families will continue in the future – what will differ is how we compose households, how we construct gender, the way we raise children, the way we create intimacy and the myriad patterns we engage in earning.

The organic system is the capturing theme of the third chapter of this work. The focus has been on a history of sexuality as it is linked to religion in the Occident from the early centuries of the Christian era to the twentieth century. A selection of several empirical studies confirmed a robust relationship between religion and

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sex. One qualitative study informed us of how traditional Islamic ideals and beliefs influence Muslim women's use of reproductive health care facilities, contraception, and abortion. An international study told us the story of how various measures of religion affected the fertility patterns of men and women in developed countries. The last study on premarital sex, single adults and religion indicated that several measures of religion reduced their propensity to be sexually active.

The focus of the fourth chapter has been to synthesize a wide range of literature on the nexus between the family and religion using the personality system from Neo-Functionalism as the core theoretical framework. It is within and through the person that phenomena such as conversion, gender, intimate violence, sexual orientation, stress, and spirituality impact not only the family itself but other persons, social groups, and, indeed, whole societies.

The fifth chapter was a synthesis of some of the literature linking the family and religion together using the social system. This system includes both sacred ritual and social organizations of religion. The studies reviewed yielded evidence that both ritual and belonging to a religious organization makes a difference in the lives of family members. In the Canadian study of children and youth, there is evidence that ritual in provincial context made a difference in their lives. We have found that ritual and belonging reduced young people's tendency to abuse drugs and reduce delinquency and assisted them in achieving academically. Divorce and active religious involvement are negatively correlated. Divorced Catholics felt alienated from their church while youth whose parents divorced were less likely to be active in ritual or sacred organizations than those whose parents remained married.

In contrast to divorce, ritual and belonging to a religious organization increased levels of fidelity across a range of affiliation (Protestant, Catholic, Mormon and Muslim). Various rituals that captured rites of passage enabled people to achieve a new status and religious organizations acted as social supports to many people outside of the religious body. Evidence was found also that Americans varied in their ritual participation according to their marital status. Lastly, being of one mind and heart in regard to sacred affiliation ameliorated marital quality. The one study that did not provide evidence for the effect of ritual was the longitudinal study of youth in Canada – the ritual participation of children and youth's parents did not effect child/youth outcomes.

The last system that was presented in this text was the cultural one. Like the social system, it also consisted of two sub-dimensions: mythologies and ethos. In the synthesis of various studies under this theme, we discovered the following. After outlining attachment theory and religion, a case was made that the images of God in Judaism and Christianity fit well with the research on attachment. Another study indicated that a combination of images impacted youths' concepts of the divine: parental and self. A study in Taiwan revealed that as people became Christians their familial configuration changed substantially. A cross affiliation study of marriage showed that a number of people believed in an intimate linkage between their beliefs in God and the success of their marriage.

Further research augmented our knowledge that beliefs and ritual ameliorated the potential to resolve marital conflict. There was an extended discussion on marriage and divorce in the early years of Islam that was followed by studies on Muslims as

they struggle with living in America and Canada where there are so many distractions to the Islamic ideal of the family. Two researchers discovered that conservative Christians were more likely not to contribute to women's employment. Another study documented a story of moral cosmology: that those Americans who adhered to a religious orthodox ethos were more likely to call their children to obedience rather than to independence and free thinking. The article that was summarized documented that youth are much more likely to be socialized into a sacred lifestyle if their parents are consistent in their own actions and beliefs.

This text has not been an essentialistic overview of how we, as humans, live, organize, enjoy and struggle with the short life we are given in this world. However, humans are remarkably the same across time and space. Archeologists have informed us that in the very genesis of our humanity, both religion and the family were endemic to our species. This may account for why sacred rituals and world views carry with them images of familial relationships. Families vary substantially across cultures and societies yet they all have two critical characteristics: they are the locus of both the physical and social reproduction of our species as well as being the most likely context for the exchange of intimacy and sexuality.

Also, religion may be even more varied than families. Deities, both male and female, abound throughout time and space. Yet, in some cases, deities do not matter much at all as in the case of **folk religion** and ***Theravada* Buddhism**. Yet, in spite of the variation, there are common elements in all religion: the presence of the sacred, religious experience, ritual, ethos and social organization. Thus, this multidimensional interpretation of religion has the potential for understanding all and every kind of sacred tradition.

Therefore, when it comes down to our humanity, we are very much alike. We love, we have sex, we reproduce, we care for each other and we construct institutions to facilitate life. Further, from the earliest recorded time we believe in the unseen, we celebrate sacred times, we construct sacred spaces, we follow rules of life that we believe are divinely legitimated, and we experience awe and wonder.

But this common species wide experience is not the only theme. As we love, we also hate, as we make sex we use it to use others, we not only reproduce children we abort them and abuse them, we not only care for each other we hurt, kill and commit violence to one another. And as social institutions do facilitate life they also have a strong tendency to coerce, manipulate and subjugate countless individuals. Further, religion also has a dark side. In the name of deity, some of the worst atrocities have been committed against our fellow humans.

As a final statement, both religion and the family have been and will continue to be connected. It is the task of the social scientist to identify and to understand these myriad links. Would it be that as we understand more we also could love more?

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Glossary

Abrahamic: An omnibus term to describe the faiths of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. These religions are so named because all trace their initial origins to Abraham (c. 2000–1650 BC). For Jews, he is seen as an ideal figure who kept the oral law even before it had been revealed. In Christianity, he is an examplar of the efficacy of faith without the law (Romans 4). In Islam, his name is honoured in the Qur'an who, with Ishmael, his son, is said to have restored the original monotheistic worship in the Ka'ba in Mecca. Further, he is considered to be the original Muslim who submitted to Allah.

Agape: "Love" (avoiding the sexual associations of *eros*), the word used in the New Testament for the love of God or Christ for humanity, or of Christian love for others, including enemies and of a new and different quality.

Agnate: The paternal or male side of the family.

Allods: Land not held by the conditional terms of feudal tenure but owned outright, to be disposed of as the owners chose.

Caesaropapism: The system whereby an absolute monarch has supreme control over the Church within his dominions and exercises it even in matters (e.g. doctrine) normally reserved to ecclesiastical authority. The term is most generally used of the authority exercised by the Byzantine emperors over the Eastern patriarchates.

Capetian Dynasty: The French ruling family for over 300 years (987–1328) founded by Hugh Capet (938–996). They enforced the right of the eldest son to inherit the family capital (primogeniture).

Castles: Military strongholds and aristocratic residences that embodied noble power.

Confucianism: The school and teaching of Confucius (551–479 BC), which formed the mainstream in Chinese philosophy during most of the past 2000 years. While Confucius' teachings are best found in the *Analects*, Confucianism regards as its special texts the Confucian Classics. Confucian philosophy became dominant in Han China (206 BCE–220 CE) only after much uncertainty, and by losing some of its doctrinal purity and integrity. Confucianism became eclectic, accepting many elements from Legalism. In Chinese terms, Confucianism is a religion (*chiao*, literally, 'doctrine') as well as a philosophy (*chia*, literally, 'a school of trans-

mission'). But it is different from those Occidental religions which emphasize revealed doctrines and belief in God. While Confucius appears to have believed in a supreme deity, he preferred to teach a doctrine of humanism open to the transcendent.

Core Concept: an abstract phrase or conceptual idea under which all other categories can be subsumed.

demesne: Lands of a lord.

Diachronic: Relating to phenomena as they occur or change over a period of time. See synchronic.

Distaff: The maternal or female side of the family.

Donation of Constantine: Composed around 750 AD in a place and an author unknown. It is said that Constantine (Emperor of the Romans who lived between 274 and 337 AD) gave donations of the Lateran Palace, the imperial insignia and symbols of power, and the whole of the Western Empire to Pope Sylvester (Pope from 314 to 335). It became a paradigm of power and authority given to the Pope and not the king or emperor.

Dower: the part of the interest of the capital of a deceased husband given by law to the widow; in a marriage contract, monies or capital given to the bride from the family of the groom.

Ego-Ideal: Freud's term to describe a person who either did not have a father when they were a child or a father who did not parent him/her adequately.

Empirical model: A set of phenomena in the observable world that can be analyzed and related to a theoretical model.

Encratictic: A term given to those religious groups who are named after several groups of early Christians who carried their ascetic practices and doctrines to extremes which were in most cases considered heretical. They commonly rejected the use of wine and meat, and also often of marriage.

Eremitic: A hermit, especially, a religious recluse.

Erotica: Refers to watching an X-rated movie or video, going to erotic dances at a club, reading a sexually explicit book or magazine, using sex toys, or calling a phone sex service; In psychoanalysis , sexual satisfaction through an external instinctual object , in contrast to auto-erotism. Also called allo-eroticism. [From Greek allos other plus eros love or sexual desire plus ismos indicating a state or condition]

Folk religion. Religion which occurs in small, local communities which does not adhere to the norms of large systems. In a wider sense, folk religion is the appropriation of religious beliefs and practices at a popular level. This may occur as much in urban as in rural environments, and may also be the way in which individuals or groups belonging to mainstream religions practice their religion: it may be at considerable variance from what is officially supposed to be the case, and is thus also referred to as non-official religion.

Great Chain of Being: Conception of the nature of the universe that had a pervasive influence on Western thought, particularly through the ancient Greek Neoplatonists and derivative philosophies during the European Renaissance and the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The term denotes three general features of the universe: plenitude, continuity, and gradation. The principle of plenitude states that the universe is "full," exhibiting the maximal diversity of kinds of existences; everything possible (i.e., not self-contradictory) is actual. The principle of continuity asserts that the universe is composed of an infinite series of forms, each of which shares with its neighbour at least one attribute. According to the principle of linear gradation, this series ranges in hierarchical order from the barest type of existence to the *ens perfectissimum,* or God. In social (and familial) life, it came to be understood that as there is a hierarchy in this great chain, there is also a hierarchy on earth: royalty and gentry on top and all others below. In family life, the order was father–mother–servants and children.

Grounded Theory: The term grounded theory refers to a set of methods for conducting the research process and the product of this process, the resulting theoretical analysis of an empirical problem. The name grounded theory mirrors its fundamental premise that researchers can and should develop theory from rigorous analyses of empirical data. As a specific methodological approach, grounded theory refers to a set of systematic guidelines for data gathering, coding, synthesizing, categorizing, and integrating concepts to generate middle-range theory. Grounded theory methods are distinctive in that data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously and each informs the other. From the beginning of the research process, the researcher analyzes the data and identifies analytic leads and tentative categories to develop through further data collection. A grounded theory of a studied topic starts with concrete data and ends with rendering them in an explanatory theory.

Hadd: Limit or prohibition. A punishment fixed in the *Quran* and hadith for crimes considered to be against the rights of God. The six crimes for which punishments are fixed are theft (amputation of the hand), illicit sexual relations (death by stoning or 100 lashes), making unproven accusations of illicit sex (80 lashes), drinking intoxicants (80 lashes), apostasy (death or banishment), and highway robbery (death). Strict requirements for evidence (including eyewitnesses) have severely limited the application of hudud penalties. Punishment for all other crimes is left to the discretion of the court; these punishments are called tazir. With the exception of Saudi Arabia, hudud punishments are rarely applied, although recently fundamentalist ideologies have demanded the reintroduction of hudud, especially in Sudan, Iran, and Afghanistan.

Hadith This Arabic word has a large number of meanings including "speech," "report," and "narrative." It has the very important specialist sense of tradition, a record of the sayings and doings of the prophet Muhammad and his companions, and as such is regarded by Muslims as a source of Islamic Law, dogma, and ritual second only to the Qur'an itself.

Hierocratic: (Or **hierocracy**) Occurs when a religious leader (priest, pope, bishop, patriarch or caliph) takes on state responsibilities or authority.

Inquisition: The defence of orthodoxy was among the tasks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the context of a strong hieocracy. It is a system to inquire, test, convict persons who are considered to be heretics. The secular authority then was called in to inflict punishment that was frequently death.

Hijab: Traditional Muslim women's head, face, or body covering, of numerous varieties across time and space, often referred to as the "veil." Hijab is a symbol of modesty, privacy, and morality. The practice was borrowed from elite women of the Byzantine, Greek, and Persian empires, where it was a sign of respectability and high status, during the Arab conquests of these empires. It gradually spread among urban populations, becoming more pervasive under Turkish rule as a mark of rank and exclusive lifestyle. Hijab became a central topic of feminist/nationalist discourse during the nineteenth-century British colonial occupation of Egypt. Western feminists view hijab as a symbol of the subordination and inferiority of women in Islam. Since the 1970s it has emerged as a symbol of Islamic consciousness and the voluntary and active participation of young women in the Islamist movement, a symbol of public modesty that reaffirms Islamic identity and morality and rejects Western materialism, commercialism, and values. In the 1980s hijab became an assertion of Islamic nationalism and resistance to Western culture.

Holy Roman Empire: In Latin *Sacrum Romanum Imperium*, the varying complex of lands in western and central Europe ruled over first by Frankish and then by German kings for 10 centuries, from Charlemagne's coronation in 800 until the renunciation of the imperial title in 1806.

Hundred Years War: A series of wars between England and France between 1337 and 1453. They form part of a wider struggle commencing with the Norman conquest of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror. When Henry II, the grandson of William, married Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1154, the western part of France was in English hands. In the thirteenth century, the powerful French Capetians fought to regain the land. The English retaliated but eventually lost nearly all the land in France by the middle of the fifteenth century.

Liturgy of the Hours: This expression signifies etymologically a duty for God. In ecclesiastical language, certain prayers are to be recited at fixed hours during the day or night by priests, monks, women in religious orders. The ritual is being more and more extended to include the laity. The texts are substantially based on the Christian Bible.

Magnate: A person of rank, power, influence or distinction often in a specified area.

Manichaeism: The term refers to a religious world view common in the first centuries of Christianity. The religion comes from Persia and posits a belief that creation is a dual product of an all powerful "Good Being" and an equally all powerful "Evil Being." Anything that is spiritual or of the soul is good but anything of a material nature is evil. This is a classic case of extreme dualism

Mutah: Private and verbal marriage contract between a man and an unmarried woman for a specified period of time; a temporary marriage. A pre-Islamic tradition that still has legal sanction among Twelver Shiis, predominantly in Iran. The length of the contract and the amount of consideration must be specified. The minimum duration of the contract was hotly debated. Some required a 3-day minimum; others required 3 months or 1 year. The object of mutah is sexual enjoyment and not procreation. After dissolution of the mutah, the wife must undergo a period of sexual abstinence (iddah); in case of pregnancy, iddah serves to identify a child's legitimate father. Sunni jurists reject the validity of this type of marriage.

Neo-pythagoreanism: The resurgence of the mystical and numerological interests of Pythagoras, fused with elements from Plato and other Greek philosophers, in Mediterranean centres in the first century. According to Cicero, the founder of the school was a Roman philosopher, Nigidius Figulus. The way of thought contributed to Middle Platonism, and the later rise of Neoplatonism.

Ontogenetic: The sequence of development of an individual organism as distinguished from the evolution of a species or taxonomic (classification of plants, animals and humans according to their presumed natural relationships) group.

Palimpsest: The etymological meaning of the term is of a piece of vellum or parchment which has been written on many times, and within which traces of the earlier layers can still be discerned. Applied to the human life course, it means that adult lives are moulded from many layers of life experience that, together, result in maturity or, in many case, dysfunctional lives.

Patronymic: A name derived from that of the father or a paternal ancestor.

Pseudo-Isidore Decretals: A collection of church law from the ninth century, containing some forged documents. They are also called the Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore because they were issued under the name of St. Isidore of Sevilla. The collection was intended to protect the rights of diocesan bishops against encroachment by their metropolitan superiors and to protect the clergy from lay interference. They consist of laws, papal letters, and decrees of councils–some genuine but many, including the famous Donation of Constantine, were forgeries. They were widely accepted by the end of the tenth century and were not proved to be forgeries until the seventeenth century.

Qur'an: The book of Islamic revelation; scripture. The term means "recitation." The *Quran* is believed to be the word of God transmitted through the Prophet Muhammad. The *Quran* proclaims God's existence and will and is the ultimate source of religious knowledge for Muslims. The *Quran* serves as both record and guide for the Muslim community, transcending time and space. Muslims have dedicated their best minds and talents to the exegesis and recitation of the *Quran*. Because the *Quran* is the criterion by which everything else is to be judged, all movements, whether of radical reform or of moderate change, whether originating at the center or at the periphery of the Islamic world, have grounded their programs in the *Quran* and used it as a support.

Ratana Church: The largest independent movement and the third largest religious group among the Maoris of New Zealand, with headquarters at Ratana Pa ("village") near Marton. It was founded by Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana (1873–1939). **A** Methodist farmer who in 1918 received a visionary call to destroy Maori religion and return to Jehovah. In the 1918 world epidemic of influenza, he discovered his healing powers, and by 1919 crowds sought healing at Ratana Pa which developed into a model village. Ratana members have held up to all four Maori seats in New Zealand's parliament and have exercised considerable political power. A secession, less political and with a strict ethic, formed in North Island in 1941 as the Absolute Established Maori Church of Aotearoa, and has remained very small.

***Reconquista*:** In medieval Spain and Portugal, a series of campaigns by Christian states to recapture territory from the Muslims (Moors), who had occupied most of the Iberian Peninsula in the early 8th century. The reconquest began in 718 after the initial Muslim conquest in 711 and continued to the fifteenth century when Granada was finally taken. It had important social consequences, since it cultivated a warrior ethic among the Spaniards and emphasized the notion of a religious crusade.

Religious transmission: The phrase refers to how parents pass on their religious behaviours and attitudes to their children. A comparable equivalent may be "sacred socialization."

Saracens: Name first used by Romans for nomadic groups in Syria, later applied to Arabs, and then extended by medieval Christian writers to all Muslims.

Sunnah: "Trodden path" or "customary practice." It indicates the specific actions, the good example and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad himself.

Synchronic: Relating to phenomena occurring during a limited time and ignoring historical antecedents.

Theravada Buddhism: An early school of Buddhism. As the major survivor of this line, the term became synonymous with Buddhism derived from, and defensive of, the Pli canon—in contrast to Mahayna. Theravada is the form of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and SE Asia. Mahayna ("Large Vehicle") calls Theravada "Small Vehicle", and this term, despite its contemptuous associations, still persists. Theravada, though strictly inaccurate, is preferable, even though Theravada was simply one among many early Buddhist schools (see Mahyana Buddhism).

theoretical model or framework: A complex of assumptions, concepts, and propositions having both a logical integration and an empirical reference.

Villeins: A free common villager or village peasant of any of the feudal classes lower in rank than the thane (a free retainer of an Anglo-Saxon lord; one who resembled a feudal baron by holding lands of and performing military service for the king).

Visigoths: A Germanic people, forming one of the two great Gothic tribes, who fled from the Huns in 376 into the Roman Empire, and eventually founded the Visigothic kingdom, embracing at its height in the seventh century Portugal, virtually all Spain, and part of southern Gaul. It was extinguished be the Muslim conquest of 711.

Wali: In Islam, a woman's appropriate guardian such as her father, brother, or husband.

World Religions: Typically known by orientalists and scholars of religion as Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Yeomen: Persons of the fourteenth to fifteenth century in England who held freehold land and property worth 40 shillings or more. They could serve as jurors and vote for knights of the shire.

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