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Religion and Spirituality: Unfuzzying the Fuzzy

BRIAN J. ZINNBAUER†
KENNETH I. PARGAMENT†
BRENDA COLE
MARK S. RYE
ERIC M. BUTTER
TIMOTHY G. BELAVICH
KATHLEEN M. HIPP
ALLIE B. SCOTT
JILL L. KADAR

The present study attempts to measure how individuals define the terms *religiousness* and *spirituality*, to measure how individuals define their own religiousness and spirituality, and to examine whether these definitions are associated with different demographic, religio/spiritual, and psychosocial variables. The complete sample of 346 individuals was composed of 11 groups of participants drawn from a wide range of religious backgrounds. Analyses were conducted to compare participants' self-rated religiousness and spirituality, to correlate self-rated religiousness and spirituality with the predictor variables, and to use the predictor variables to distinguish between participants who described themselves as "spiritual and religious" from those who identified themselves as "spiritual but not religious." A content analysis of participants' definitions of religiousness and spirituality was also performed. The results suggest several points of convergence and divergence between the constructs *religiousness* and *spirituality*. The theoretical, empirical, and practical implications of these results for the scientific study of religion are discussed.

In the past 20 years, interest in religiousness and spirituality has increased, and a large number of social scientists have attempted to define, study, and theorize about these two terms (e.g., Ingersoll 1994; Shafranske and Gorsuch 1984; Spilka 1993; Turner, et. al 1995). Still, the ways in which the words are conceptualized and used are often inconsistent in the research literature. Despite the great volume of work that has been done, little consensus has been reached about what the terms actually mean. In particular, the term *spirituality* has as times been used so loosely that one researcher has called it a "fuzzy" concept that "embraces obscurity with passion" (Spilka 1993: 1). Not surprisingly, spirituality has been described recently as an obscure construct in need of empirical grounding and operationalization (Hood et al. 1996; Spilka 1993; Spilka and McIntosh 1996).

Current conceptions of religiousness and spirituality in the social scientific study of religion are nothing if not diverse. Definitions of *religiousness* have ranged from subscription to institutionalized beliefs or doctrines (Vaughan 1991), to "a system of beliefs in a

† *Brian J. Zinnbauer is a doctoral student in clinical psychology at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403. Email: bzinnba@choice,net.*

† *Kenneth Pargament is a professor of psychology and director of clinical training in the Clinical Psychology Program at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403.*

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divine or superhuman power, and practices of worship or other rituals directed towards such a power" (Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi 1975: 1), to "the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine" (James 1902/1961: 42).

Current definitions of spirituality are equally diverse. Spirituality has been variously defined by theorists as "the human response to God's gracious call to a relationship with himself" (Benner 1989: 20), "a subjective experience of the sacred" (Vaughan 1991: 105), and "that vast realm of human potential dealing with ultimate purposes, with higher entities, with God, with love, with compassion, with purpose" (Tart 1983: 4). Furthermore, the terms *spirituality* and *religiousness* have been used interchangeably and inconsistently by some authors. For example, Miller and Martin (1988: 14) frequently interchange the terms even after they explicitly state that spirituality "may or may not include involvement in organized religion".

The finding that researchers define these terms differently is mirrored in the ways that religious and spiritual believers themselves define the terms. For example, Pargament, Sullivan, Balzer, Van Haitsma, and Raymark (1995) used a policy-capturing approach to assess the meanings college students and clergy attribute to the word *religiousness*. Their findings indicated that different individuals attributed different meanings to religiousness. To some, religiousness meant church attendance, to others it meant acts of altruism, and to others it meant performing religious rituals. Similarly, if popular publications such as *Newsweek* and *Time* reflect the views and attitudes of the American public, contemporary spirituality is also defined in diverse ways. Popular references to spirituality have included elements such as interest in angels, New Age interest in crystals and psychic readings, and evangelical or Pentecostal religious experiences.

While this diversity of opinion regarding religiousness and spirituality may enrich our understanding of the constructs, the inconsistency in the definitions can also have some negative implications for social scientific research. First, without a clearer conception of what the terms mean, it is difficult to know what researchers and participants attribute to these terms. Second, a lack of consistency in defining the terms impairs communication within the social scientific study of religion and across other disciplines interested in the two concepts. Third, without common definitions within social scientific research it becomes difficult to draw general conclusions from various studies.

Past and Present Trends in Defining Religiousness *and* Spirituality

Historically, spirituality was not distinguished from religiousness until the rise of secularism in this century, and a popular disillusionment with religious institutions as a hindrance to personal experiences of the sacred (Turner et al. 1995). In the past 25 years, interest in spirituality has greatly increased (Roof 1993), and American religious life has shifted to include more elements defined as "spiritual." At the same time, there has been a drop in public confidence in religion and religious leadership (Roof 1993; Turner et al. 1995). Consequently, spirituality has begun to acquire distinct meanings and connotations.

With regard to religiousness, social scientific research has traditionally adopted either a substantive or functional approach (Pargament 1997). The substantive approach focuses on the beliefs, emotions, practices, and relationships of individuals in relation to a higher power or divine being. At the center of the definition is the sacred, and it is the sacred which fundamentally characterizes religiousness. The functional approach on the other hand emphasizes the function that religiousness serves in the life of the individual. Beliefs, emotions, practices, and experiences are examined, but the focus is how they are used in dealing with the fundamental problems of existence such as life, death, suffering, and injustice (Pargament 1997). What is notable about these past approaches to religiousness is that they

are all fairly broad and include a wide range of elements. Consequently, definitions and conceptualizations within these traditions have been broad enough to subsume the "spiritual" as well as both individual and institutional beliefs and activities. As spirituality has become differentiated from religiousness, however, it has taken with it some of the elements formally included within religiousness. Therefore, recent definitions of religiousness have become more narrow and less inclusive.

Current writings by some scholars and researchers in the scientific study of religion reflect these popular definitional changes. Whereas religiousness historically included both individual and institutional elements, spirituality is now commonly regarded as an individual phenomenon and identified with such things as personal transcendence, supraconscious sensitivity, and meaningfulness (Spilka and McIntosh 1996). Religiousness, in contrast, is now often described narrowly as formally structured and identified with religious institutions and prescribed theology and rituals.

Additionally, both terms now differ according to how they are evaluated. Whereas historically both religiousness and spirituality were broadly considered to have both positive and negative elements (Pargament 1996), spirituality has recently acquired a specific positive connotation through its association with personal experiences of the transcendent (Spilka and McIntosh 1996). Religiousness, in contrast, has been negatively tagged by some as a hindrance to these experiences (Turner et al. 1995).

Also, as the label of spirituality has conceptually broken away from religiousness it has been adopted by identifiable groups of believers. One example comes from Roof's (1993) study of 1,599 members of the baby-boomer generation. According to Roof there was a large defection of baby boomers from organized religions in the 1960s and 1970s, and an increase in "new religions" which emphasized direct spiritual experience over institutional religion. One segment of this generation, termed by Roof as the "highly active seekers," were those baby boomers who adopted a highly individualized spirituality which rejected organized religion and traditional forms of worship. Accordingly, this group tended to identify themselves as "spiritual" and not "religious." In comparison to other baby boomers, Roof characterizes this group as more educated, more individualistic, more likely to engage in "mystical" religion which may contain various New Age beliefs and practices, less likely to hold a "theistic" belief about God, more likely to view their faith as a "spiritual journey" or a "quest," and more likely to come from homes in which their parents attended religious services infrequently.

Therefore, the religious and spiritual landscape has undergone changes in recent history, and it appears as if researchers' conceptualizations of religiousness and spirituality have not all caught up. As evident in the research literature, a great deal of energy has recently been expended by theorists and researchers in defining the terms religiousness and spirituality, and some common themes can be seen in the ways they are conceptualized. Very little attention, however, has been paid to the ways the general public defines the terms. Apart from a handful of studies which have explored the meanings that individual believers attribute to religiousness and spirituality (e.g. Clark 1958; Coe 1900; McReady and Greeley 1976; Pargament et al. 1995; Roof 1993, Zinnbauer 1997), precious little research has addressed how individual believers think about and distinguish the terms. Moreover, few investigations have considered whether self-evaluations of religiousness and spirituality are associated with distinctive demographic, religio/spiritual, and psychosocial factors.

The Present Study

The present study was designed in two parts. First, several questions regarding the ways in which individuals characterize themselves and their beliefs with regard to relig-

iousness and spirituality were investigated. These questions included the following: how do individuals define the terms religiousness and spirituality; to what degree do individuals rate themselves religious and/or spiritual; what beliefs do they hold about God; how do they view the conceptual relationship between religiousness and spirituality; and what positive or negative connotations do they attribute to the terms religiousness and spirituality?

Second, the association between the answers to the above questions and different demographic, religio/spiritual, and psychosocial variables was explored. Specific hypotheses were made only for the relationship between self-rated religiousness and spirituality and the various demographic, religio/spiritual, and psychosocial variables. Based upon the previously cited work by Roof (1993), it was hypothesized that self-rated spirituality would be related to mystical experiences, New Age beliefs and practices, a pantheistic or agnostic belief about God, religious quest, higher income and education, group experiences related to spiritual growth, and the experience of being hurt by clergy. Based on previous research relating religiousness to such variables as religious orthodoxy and right-wing authoritarianism (see Hood et al. 1996, for a summary), it was hypothesized that self-rated religiousness would be related to right-wing authoritarianism, religious orthodoxy, intrinsic religiousness, and parental religiousness. Self righteousness, frequency of church attendance, and age were also expected to be related to self-rated religiousness. It was expected that both self-rated religiousness and spirituality would be related to frequency of prayer.

METHOD

Participants

Eleven different samples from Pennsylvania and Ohio were collected for this study. Groups were specifically selected from different churches, institutions, and age groups that were likely to hold different definitions and self-reported levels of religiousness and spirituality. These groups included members of a rural Presbyterian church (54 questionnaires distributed, 37 returned complete), a conservative Catholic church located in a small town (50 distributed, 26 returned), a nontraditional Episcopal church (70 distributed, 15 returned), a rural Lutheran church (30 distributed, 11 returned), an urban Unitarian church (60 distributed, 40 returned), and several "New Age" groups (66 distributed, 17 returned). Additionally, the five other participant groups included community mental health workers (60 distributed, 27 returned), students at a small, conservative Christian liberal arts college (80 distributed, 79 returned), students at a State University (50 distributed, 38 returned), nursing home residents (23 distributed, 20 returned), and faculty at a college of nursing (65 distributed, 36 returned). The total number of surveys distributed was 608, and 346 were returned complete (57%).

The entire sample consisted of 112 males (32%) and 234 females (68%), whose ages ranged from 15 to 85 ($\bar{X}$ = 40). The sample was predominantly white (95%). The median household income level of this sample was \$50,000–\$64,000; 39% of the participants were married; and the median highest level of education completed was some college.

Procedure

The questionnaires were distributed to participants by several different methods. For the church and New Age groups, the investigators passed out the questionnaires after worship services or meetings to those willing to participate, or gave the questionnaires to clergy to distribute to other church members. These participants either returned the questionnaires directly to the investigators or returned them by mail. Questionnaires distributed to the community mental health workers were placed either on their desks or in their mail-

boxes at the mental health agency. These questionnaires were returned to the investigator's mailbox or placed on his desk. Nursing home residents were asked to participate by graduate student clinical assistants. Student respondents who were willing to participate were given the questionnaires at the end of an introductory psychology class and asked to return them at the next class. Students received extra credit points for their participation.

Measures

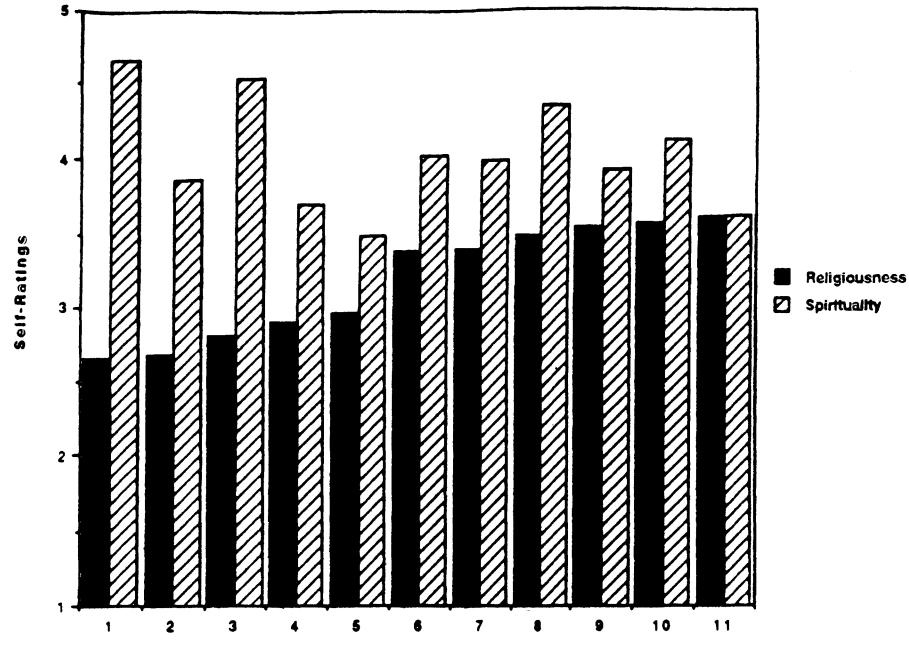
Measures of religiousness and spirituality. Participants' self-definitions and conceptions of religiousness and spirituality were assessed in several ways. First, respondents were asked to write their own definitions of religiousness and spirituality. Second, participants responded to two 5-point Likert-type items according to the degree they consider themselves religious and spiritual. Third, respondents were asked to choose one of four statements that best defined their own religiousness and spirituality: *I am spiritual and religious; I am spiritual but not religious; I am religious but not spiritual; I am neither spiritual nor religious.* Fourth, participants were asked to choose among five sets of statements that describe the ways in which they believe that the concepts of religiousness and spirituality relate to one another. The five descriptions involved the following relationships: *spirituality is a broader concept than religiousness and includes religiousness; religiousness is a broader concept than spirituality and includes spirituality; religiousness and spirituality are different and do not overlap; religiousness and spirituality are the same concept and overlap completely; religiousness and spirituality overlap but they are not the same concept.* Fifth, participants rated Religiousness and Spirituality on a 20-item abbreviated form of Osgoods's (1969) Semantic Differential scale. This scale yielded two scores: evaluation of religiousness and spirituality as *positive/negative,* and evaluation of religiousness and spirituality as *potent/impotent.* High potency for this scale indicates an evaluation of religiousness or spirituality as severe, strong, and constrained.

Religio/spiritual and psychosocial measures. Three widely known and used measures of religious attitudes and behaviors were used in the present research: the Intrinsic Religiousness scale (Hoge 1972), the Quest scale (Batson and Ventis 1982), and a shortened 9-item version of the Orthodoxy scale (Batson and Ventis 1982). Two additional measures were used to assess less conventional religious or spiritual beliefs and experiences: items were selected from two subscales (Ego Quality, Unifying Quality) of the Mysticism Scale, Research Form D (Hood 1975), and a new scale was created for this study to measure "New Age" beliefs in such things as reincarnation and psychic phenomena. The Cronbach alpha calculated for this new scale was .85. Three final measures were used to assess nonreligious or nonspiritual attitudes or behaviors: a measure of self-righteousness (Falbo and Belk 1985); shortened forms of the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale (Altemeyer 1981), and the Subjective Individualism-Collectivism scale (Triandis 1995), which was broken down into four subscales characterized as *independence from others, interdependence with others, individual competitiveness,* and *self-sacrifice for others.* Cronbach alphas for all of the shortened scales ranged from .61 to .93 and were judged to be adequate. The only scale with low internal consistency was the Quest scale (Cronbach alpha = .39).

An additional measure was designed to assess participants' beliefs about God. This item asked respondents to choose among five beliefs about God. These five descriptions included *theistic, pantheistic, deistic, agnostic,* and *atheistic* perspectives (see Appendix).

FIGURE 1

GRAPH OF GROUP MEANS FOR SELF-RATED RELIGIOUSNESS AND SPIRITUALITY



Groups

1 = New Age Groups (n = 17)
2 = Mental Health Workers (n = 27)
3 = Nontraditional Episcopalians (n = 15)
4 = Unitarians (n = 40)
5 = Mainstream College Students (n = 38)
6 = Rural Lutherans (n = 11)
7 = Rural Presbyterians (n = 37)
8 = Faculty at a College of Nursing (n = 36)
9 = Conservative Christian College Students (n = 79)
10 = Nursing Home Residents (n = 20)
11 = Roman Catholics (n= 26)

RESULTS

Self-Definitions and Conceptions of Religiousness *and* Spirituality

Self-rated religiousness and spirituality. Means were calculated for each of the 11 participant groups on the 5-point self-rated Religiousness and Spirituality scales. These results can be seen in Figure 1. Of note from this analysis is that there were intragroup differences in levels of religiousness and spirituality. For the overall sample, *self-rated spirituality* ($\overline{X}$ = 3.93) was significantly higher than *self-rated religiousness* ($\overline{X}$ = 3.23) ($t(343) = 10.79, p < .001$). Additionally, for all groups except the conservative Catholic group and the nursing home resident group, self-rated spirituality was significantly higher than self-rated religiousness. However, some groups reported considerably greater religious-spiritual discrepancy than others. For example, the New Age group was highest in self-rated spirituality ($\overline{X}$ = 4.65) and lowest in self-rated religiousness ($\overline{X}$ = 2.65) ($t(16) = 5.83, p < .001$). Additionally, mental health workers reported high self-rated spirituality ($\overline{X}$ = 3.85), and low self-rated religiousness ($\overline{X}$ = 2.67) ($t(26) = 6.68, p < .001$). In contrast, the conservative Christian college students displayed less discrepancy between self-rated spirituality ($\overline{X}$ = 3.90) and self-rated religiousness ($\overline{X}$ = 3.53) ($t(78) = 2.82, p < .01$).

Forced-choice items: relationship of religiousness to spirituality, belief about God, self-identification as religious and/or spiritual. Responses to the forced-choice items regarding

the relationship of religiousness to spirituality and beliefs about God were examined for the entire sample. For the forced-choice item regarding the relationship of religiousness to spirituality, the percentages of the sample endorsing the choices were as follows: *religiousness and spirituality overlap but they are not the same concept* (41.7%); *spirituality is a broader concept than religiousness and includes religiousness* (38.8%); *religiousness is a broader concept than spirituality and includes spirituality* (10.2%); *religiousness and spirituality are different and do not overlap* (6.7%); *religiousness and spirituality are the same concept and overlap completely* (2.6%). For the forced-choice item regarding beliefs about God, the results were as follows: *pantheistic* description (52.0%); *theistic* (33.9%); *agnostic* (10.5%); *atheistic* (2.4%); and *deistic* (1.2%).

Frequencies were also totaled for the forced-choice item asking participants to identify themselves as religious and/or spiritual. Results were as follows: *I am spiritual and religious* (S+R, 74%); *I am spiritual but not religious* (SnR, 19%); *I am religious but not spiritual* (RnS, 4%); *I am neither religious nor spiritual* (3%). Thus, 93% of participants identified themselves as *spiritual*. In contrast, 78% identified themselves as *religious*.

Content analysis. A content analysis was performed on the participants' personal definitions of religiousness and spirituality. Each definition was coded on two dimensions: overall content; and the nature of the sacred. Thirteen content categories and four categories describing the nature of the sacred in participant definitions were created for this study (see Table 1 for a description of the categories and results of the content analysis). Three coders initially coded the definitions separately. The statistic Kappa on the content category codings was .65 ($z = 61.08; p < .0001$) and on the nature of the sacred category was .67 ($z = 17.41; p < .0001$) indicating an acceptable level of agreement among the coders. The three coders then convened to arrive at mutually agreed upon codes for every definition. Three hundred and twenty-five pairs of religiousness and spirituality definitions were coded. Fifty-six *spirituality* definitions (17% of total) were labeled as uncodable due to poverty of codable content or extreme ambiguity. Forty definitions of *religiousness* (12% of total) were labeled as uncodable.

TABLE 1

RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS OF DEFINITIONS OF RELIGIOUSNESS AND SPIRITUALITY

Content Category	Overall Sample				S+R				SnR			
	Spirituality		Religiousness		Spirituality		Religiousness		Spirituality		Religiousness	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	10	3	1	<1	8	3	0	0	2	3	1	2
2	0	0	2	<1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	6	2	2	<1	4	2	1	<1	2	3	1	2
4	2	<1	2	<1	2	<1	2	<1	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	1	<1	2	<1	0	0	1	<1	0	0	1	2
7	2	<1	9	3	0	0	3	1	0	0	6	9
8	117	36	9	3	86	36	8	3	26	39	0	0
9	111	34	73	22	81	34	59	25	26	39	8	12
10	2	<1	25	8	2	<1	17	7	0	0	6	9
11	2	<1	69	21	1	<1	51	21	1	2	14	21
12	2	<1	53	16	2	<1	33	14	0	0	18	27
13	18	6	42	13	14	6	32	13	2	3	6	9
14	56	17	40	12	38	16	31	13	8	12	6	9
N =	329		329		238		238		67		67	

Table 1 continues

TABLE 1 *(Continued)*

Sacred Category	Overall Sample				S+R				SnR			
	Spirituality		Religiousness		Spirituality		Religiousness		Spirituality		Religiousness	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	35	13	39	13	24	12	23	11	10	17	12	20
2	28	10	2	<1	17	8	1	<1	8	14	0	0
3	191	70	219	76	147	74	162	78	36	61	43	70
4	19	7	29	10	12	6	21	10	5	8	6	10
N =	273*		289*		200*		207*		59*		61*	

Content Category Key

1. Feeling or aimed at attaining a desirable inner affective state such as comfort, anxiety reduction, security, etc.
2. Having or striving to gain meaning.
3. Aimed at obtaining personal growth, actualization, mastery, or self-control.
4. Concern for others; aimed at obtaining a better world.
5. Hope.
6. Having, or striving to gain, control over problems or ability to solve problems.
7. Negative means or ends such as gaining extrinsic rewards, feeling superior to others, an excuse to avoid personal responsibility, etc.
8. Feeling or experience of connectedness/relationship/oneness with God/Christ/Higher Power/ transcendent reality/Nature/etc.
9. Personal beliefs such as belief or faith in God/Higher power/the divine/personal values/etc.
10. Personal worship or practices such as prayer, Bible reading, meditation, etc.
11. Organizational practices or activities such as attendance at services, performance of rituals, church membership or allegiance, etc.
12. Commitment to organizational beliefs or adherence to institutionally based belief systems or dogma.
13. Integrating one's value or beliefs with one's behavior in daily life, following God's will in one's life, demonstrating God's love to others, etc.
14. Uncodable.

* If the content category was uncodable, the definition was not coded in the Sacred Category.

Nature of the Sacred Category Key

1. Definition does not explicitly refer to the sacred.
2. Definition refers to nontraditional concept of the sacred (e.g., transcendent reality, ground of being, Nature).
3. Definition refers to traditional concept of the sacred (e.g., God, Christ, Higher Power, Holy, Divine, the Church).
4. Definition refers to the sacred but does not specify traditional or nontraditional.

Frequencies were calculated for each content category over the entire sample. The most common definitions of *spirituality* were coded in the following content categories: feeling or experience of connectedness/relationship/oneness with God/Christ/Higher Power/transcendent reality/Nature/etc. (36%); personal beliefs such as belief or faith in God/Higher power/the divine/personal values/etc. (34%); uncodable (17%); integrating one's values or beliefs with one's behavior in daily life, following God's will in one's life, demonstrating God's love to others, etc. (5.5%); feeling or aimed at attaining a desirable inner affective state such as comfort, anxiety reduction, security, etc. (3%); and aimed at obtaining personal growth, actualization, mastery, or self-control (2%). In terms of the categories describing the nature of the sacred, the results were as follows: 70% of the definitions referred to traditional concepts of the sacred (God, Christ, higher power, the church); 13% made no reference to the sacred; 10% referred to nontraditional concepts of the sacred (transcendent reality, ground of being, nature); and 7% made reference to the sacred but did not provide enough information to code as traditional or nontraditional.

The most common definitions of religiousness were content coded as follows: personal beliefs such as belief or faith in God/Higher power/the divine/personal values/etc. (22%); organizational practices or activities such as attendance at services, performance of rituals, church membership or allegiance, etc. (21%); commitment to organizational beliefs or adherence to institutionally based belief systems or dogma (16%); integrating one's values

or beliefs with one's behavior in daily life, following God's will in one's life, demonstrating God's love to others, etc. (13%); uncodable (12%); personal worship or practices such as prayer, Bible reading, meditation, etc. (8%); negative means or ends such as gaining extrinsic rewards, feeling superior to others, an excuse to avoid personal responsibility, etc. (3%); feeling or experience of connectedness/relationship/oneness with God/Christ/Higher Power/transcendent reality/Nature/etc. (3%). In terms of the categories describing the nature of the sacred, the results were as follows: 76% of the definitions referred to traditional concepts of the sacred (God, Christ, higher power, the church); 13% made no reference to the sacred; 10% made reference to the sacred but did not provide enough information to code as traditional or nontraditional; and less than 1% referred to nontraditional concepts of the sacred (transcendent reality, ground of being, nature).

For the entire sample, definitions of religiousness and spirituality were significantly different in content (χ^2 (132) = 198.94; $p < .001$) but not in the nature of the sacred (χ^2 (9) = 12.94; $p = .17$). Descriptively, definitions of spirituality most often included references to connection or relationship with a Higher Power of some kind, belief or faith in a Higher Power of some kind, or integrating one's values and beliefs with one's behavior in daily life. As with definitions of spirituality, definitions of religiousness included belief or faith in a Higher Power of some kind and integrating one's values and beliefs with one's behavior in daily life, but they also commonly included references to organized activities such as church attendance and performance of rituals, as well as commitment to organizational or institutional beliefs or dogma. Therefore, both definitions share some features in common, but they diverge in the focus of religiousness definitions on organizational or institutional beliefs and practices, and the focus of spirituality definitions on the personal qualities of connection or relationship with a Higher Power.

Associations Between the Self-Definitions and the Predictor Variables

Correlational analyses. Correlations were calculated between self-rated religiousness and spirituality and the demographic, religio/spiritual, and psychosocial variables. Significant correlations are displayed in Table 2. In accordance with hypotheses, significant positive correlations emerged between self-rated religiousness and church attendance, frequency of prayer, parent's religious attendance, intrinsic religiousness, religious orthodoxy, right-wing authoritarianism, and self-righteousness. Although no specific hypotheses were made about them, significant positive correlations also emerged between self-rated religiousness and self-rated spirituality, positive evaluation of religiousness and spirituality, characterization of spirituality as potent, interdependence with others, and self-sacrifice for others. Significant negative correlations emerged between self-rated religiousness and two variables: independence from others; and New Age beliefs and practices.

In accordance with hypotheses, significant positive correlations emerged between self-rated spirituality and level of education and income, frequency of prayer, experiences of being hurt by clergy, New Age beliefs and practices, group experiences related to spiritual growth, and mystical experiences. Although no specific hypotheses were made about them, significant positive correlations also emerged between self-rated spirituality and church attendance, positive evaluation of spirituality, and intrinsic religiousness. Significant negative correlations emerged between self-rated spirituality and self-righteousness, individual competitiveness, and evaluation of spirituality as potent.

TABLE 2

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF PREDICTORS WITH SELF-RATED RELIGIOUSNESS AND SPIRITUALITY

Predictors	Self-Rated Religiousness	Self-Rated Spirituality
Demographic variables		
Education	-.07	.15**
Income	.08	.12*
Church attendance	.45**	.23**
Prayer outside of church	.38**	.35**
Group experiences related to spiritual growth	-.05	.27**
Mother's church attendance during childhood	.26**	.07
Father's church attendance during childhood	.23**	.06
Hurt by clergy	.04	.12*
Religio/Spiritual variables		
Self-rated religiousness	1.0	.21**
Self-rated spirituality	.21**	1.0
Positive evaluation of religiousness	.54**	-.02
Positive evaluation of spirituality	.18**	.38**
Evaluation of spirituality as potent (i.e., constricted, constrained, and severe)	.20**	-.14**
New Age beliefs and practices	-.18**	.24**
Intrinsic religiosity	.45**	.41**
Mystical experiences	-.04	.27**
Religious orthodoxy	.40**	.16**
Psychosocial variables		
Right-wing authoritarianism	.27**	-.07
Self-righteousness	.16**	-.18**
Independence from others	-.18**	-.002
Interdependence with others	.11*	-.09
Individual competitiveness	-.02	-.21**
Self-sacrifice for others	.15**	-.02

NOTE: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Supplemental analyses. Additional analyses were conducted to determine the differences between the spiritual and religious (S+R) and the spiritual but not religious (SnR) groups for the religious and/or spiritual forced-choice item. The other two groups from this item were dropped from analyses due to infrequent endorsement. The results of *t*-test analyses between the groups generally parallel the results of the correlations presented previously (see Table 3). Similar to correlations of self-rated religiousness with the predictor variables, the S+R group was significantly higher than the SnR group in terms of church attendance, frequency of prayer, parent's church attendance, self-rated religiousness, positive evaluation of religiousness and spirituality, intrinsic religiousness, religious orthodoxy, right-wing authoritarianism, self-righteousness, interdependence with others, and self-sacrifice for others. Similar to correlations of self-rated spirituality with the predictor variables, the SnR group was significantly higher than the S+R group in terms of group experiences related to spiritual growth, New Age beliefs and practices, mystical experiences, and independence from others.

Additionally, participant endorsement of the religious and/or spiritual item was examined by participant group, beliefs about God, and relationship of religiousness and spirituality (see Table 4 for results). Findings indicated that the membership in a particular participant group was related to endorsement of the religious and/or spiritual item ($\chi^2(10) = 44.35; p < .001$). Those groups with a higher than expected endorsement of the SnR category

were the New Age group (47%, $\chi^2(1) = 6.07$; $p < .05$); the mental health worker group (44%, $\chi^2(1) = 12.13$; $p < .001$); and the Unitarian group (38%, $\chi^2(1) = 11.42$; $p < .001$). In contrast, two groups had a lower than expected endorsement of the SnR category: the College of Nursing faculty group (5%, $\chi^2(1) = 4.46$; $p < .05$), and the Roman Catholic group (0%, $\chi^2(1) = 6.39$; $p < .05$).

TABLE 3

RESULTS OF *T*-TESTS COMPARING SELF-IDENTIFIED "SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS" PARTICIPANTS WITH "SPIRITUAL BUT NOT RELIGIOUS" PARTICIPANTS

	GROUP		
	Spiritual and Religious (n = 255)	Spiritual not Religious (n = 67)	*t* Value
Demographic variables			
Church attendance	5.50	4.18	6.17***
Prayer outside of church	5.34	4.55	5.78***
Group experiences related to spiritual growth	2.33	2.99	-2.28*
Mother's church attendance during childhood	5.50	4.39	4.78***
Father's church attendance during childhood	4.93	4.01	3.35**
Religio / Spiritual variables			
Self-rated religiousness	3.60	1.99	15.34***
Self-rated spirituality	4.08	4.03	0.47
Positive evaluation of religiousness	5.78	4.32	11.38***
Positive evaluation of spirituality	6.23	5.94	2.92**
New Age beliefs and practices	2.70	3.07	-4.29***
Intrinsic religiosity	3.79	3.31	5.90***
Mystical experiences	3.13	3.40	-2.03*
Religious orthodoxy	7.31	5.45	6.33***
Psychosocial variables			
Right-wing authoritarianism	3.19	2.65	5.98***
Self-righteousness	2.48	2.32	2.15*
Independence from others	5.72	6.13	-2.28*
Interdependence with others	6.76	6.24	2.95**
Self-sacrifice for others	5.97	5.38	3.40**

NOTE: Numbers presented are item means; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Endorsement of the religious and/or spiritual item was also significantly related to belief about God ($\chi^2(4) = 40.93$; $p < .001$) and to the description of the relationship between religiousness and spirituality ($\chi^2(4) = 14.76$; $p < .01$) (see Table 4 for results). In accordance with our predictions, a larger than expected proportion of the SnR group than the S+R group indicated an agnosticism ($\chi^2(1) = 10.30$; $p < .001$), but contrary to predictions no significant differences emerged for the pantheistic belief. No other differences between the S+R group and the SnR group were significant for the belief-about-God item. For the relationship between religiousness and spirituality item, a larger than expected proportion of the SnR group than the S+R group viewed religiousness and spirituality as different and not overlapping ($\chi^2(1) = 11.25$; $p < .001$). No other differences between the S+R group and the SnR group were significant for the relationship between religiousness and spirituality item.

Definitions from the content analysis were also examined for the S+R and SnR groups. No significant differences emerged between the two groups in their definitions of spirituality in terms of content ($\chi^2(9) = 4.92$; $p = .84$) or nature of the sacred ($\chi^2(3) = 3.49$; $p = .32$). Likewise, no significant differences emerged between the groups in their religiousness defi-

nitions in terms of nature of the sacred (χ^2 (3) = 3.31; p = .35). However, there were differences between the groups' definitions of religiousness in terms of content ($\chi^2(11)$ = 29.7; $p < .005$). As can be seen in Table 4, despite some similarities between the groups in their content coding, a larger than expected proportion of the S+R group than the SnR group identified religiousness with belief or faith in a Higher Power of some kind (Category 9; $\chi^2(1) = 10.29$; $p < .001$). Conversely, a higher than expected proportion of the SnR group than the S+R group identified religiousness with commitment to organizational beliefs or adherence to institutionally based belief systems (Category 12; $\chi^2(1) = 5.29$; $p < .05$), or with negative means and ends such as gaining extrinsic rewards, feeling superior to others, or avoiding personal responsibility (Category 7; $\chi^2(1) = 3.91$; $p < .05$).

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF ENDORSEMENT OF RELIGIOUS AND/OR SPIRITUAL ITEM BY PARTICIPANT GROUP, BELIEF ABOUT GOD, AND CONCEPTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF RELIGIOUSNESS AND SPIRITUALITY

*Percentage of Endorsement of Religious and/or Spiritual Item by Participant Group**

Group	I Am Spiritual and Religious (S+R)	I Am Spiritual but not Religious (SnR)
New Age Groups	53	47
Mental Health Workers	52	44
Unitarians	50	38
Rural Lutherans	82	18
Conservative Christian College Students	75	18
Nontraditional Episcopalians	73	14
Mainstream College Students	73	14
Rural Presbyterians	84	11
Nursing Home Residents	95	5
Faculty at a College of Nursing	92	5
Roman Catholics	88	0

* Only the S+R and SnR groups are displayed; therefore, percentages by group do not always sum to 100%.

Percentage of Endorsement for Belief-about-God Item by S+R and SnR Groups

Religious and/or Spiritual item	Belief about God: Pantheistic	Theistic	Deistic	Agnostic	Atheistic
"I am spiritual and religious" (S+R)	57	36	0	6	1
"I am spiritual but not religious" (SnR)	42	26	6	20	6

Percentage of Endorsement of Conceptual Relationship Between Religiousness and Spirituality Item for S+R and SnR Groups

Religious and/or Spiritual Item	Conceptual Relationship: 1	2	3	4	5
"I am spiritual and religious" (S+R)	42	10	4	3	41
"I am spiritual but not religious" (SnR)	36	5	15	0	44

Key to conceptual relationship between religiousness and spirituality:

1. Spirituality is a broader concept than religiousness and includes religiousness.
2. Religiousness is a broader concept than spirituality and includes spirituality.
3. Religiousness and spirituality are different and do not overlap.
4. Religiousness and spirituality are the same concept and overlap completely.
5. Religiousness and spirituality overlap but they are not the same concept.

DISCUSSION

This study is notable as one of the few empirical studies comparing religiousness and spirituality, and the results suggest three main conclusions. First, there is evidence to suggest that the terms *religiousness* and *spirituality* describe, in part, different concepts. In terms of the previously outlined hypotheses, religiousness and spirituality have some different correlates. As predicted, religiousness was found to be associated with higher levels of authoritarianism, religious orthodoxy, intrinsic religiousness, parental religious attendance, self-righteousness, and church attendance. In line with predictions, spirituality was associated with a different set of variables: mystical experiences, New Age beliefs and practices, higher income, and the experience of being hurt by clergy.

Further evidence for the distinction between the terms comes from participants' definitions of religiousness and spirituality. As with more recent definitions provided by scholars (see Spilka and McIntosh 1996), spirituality was most often described in personal or experiential terms, such as belief in God or a higher power, or having a relationship with God or a higher power. Definitions of religiousness included both personal beliefs, such as a belief in God or a higher power, and organizational or institutional beliefs and practices such as church membership, church attendance, and commitment to the beliefs system of a church or organized religion.

A second conclusion is that although religiousness and spirituality appear to describe different concepts, they are not fully independent. Self-rated religiousness and spirituality were modestly but significantly correlated (r = .21), and most respondents indicated that they consider themselves both spiritual and religious (S+R, 74%). Also, in line with our hypotheses, both religiousness and spirituality were associated with frequency of prayer. Additionally, both were related to church attendance, intrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy. Finally, definitions of religiousness and spirituality did not significantly differ in the nature of the sacred. Rather, both religiousness and spirituality definitions commonly incorporated traditional concepts of the sacred (e.g., references to God, Christ, the Church).

Although most individuals in our sample appeared to integrate spirituality with traditional organizational beliefs and practices (i.e., "religious and spiritual" group), there was a small proportion of our sample (19%) that identified themselves as solely spiritual (i.e., the "spiritual not religious" group), and this group differed from the majority in several ways. Compared with the S+R group, the SnR group was less likely to evaluate religiousness positively, less likely to engage in traditional forms of worship such as church attendance and prayer, less likely to hold orthodox or traditional Christian beliefs, more likely to be independent from others, more likely to engage in group experiences related to spiritual growth, more likely to be agnostic, more likely to characterize religiousness and spirituality as different and nonoverlapping concepts, more likely to hold nontraditional "new age" beliefs, and more likely to have had mystical experiences. Also, though the difference is modest, the SnR group was more likely than the S+R group to hold a pejorative definition of religiousness, labeling it as a means to extrinsic ends such as feeling superior to others and avoiding personal responsibility.

Interestingly, the "spiritual not religious" group identified in this study matches very closely the description provided by Roof (1993) of the "highly active seekers" in the baby-boomer generation. Both groups identify themselves as "spiritual" but not "religious", both appear to reject traditional organized religion in favor of an individualized spirituality that includes mysticism along with New Age beliefs and practices, and compared with their contemporaries both are more individualistic and more likely to come from homes in which their parents attended religious services less frequently.

A third conclusion is that, despite the finding that 93% of respondents identified themselves as spiritual (i.e., endorsed either the "I am religious and spiritual" or "I am

spiritual but not religious" item), and 78% identified themselves as religious, there were group differences in self-rated religiousness and spirituality, and variation in the definitions of these terms. For example, some groups such as the New Age group and the mental health worker group rated themselves as highly spiritual but not very religious. In contrast, other groups such as the nursing home residents and the Roman Catholics rated themselves as moderately spiritual and religious. Interpretation of these group differences is complicated by the differences found in the meanings of the terms from the content analyses. Definitions of the terms were coded into a variety of categories, and no single category accounted for more than 36% of the definitions. Thus, although nearly all participants called themselves spiritual, and many participants identified themselves as religious, different meanings may have been attributed to these terms. To say that members of one group rate themselves as more spiritual than another group is not very informative without knowledge of what spirituality means to each group. Likewise, it is difficult to interpret differences within groups or among individuals in these self-ratings without explicit understanding of the meanings attributed to the terms.

The findings of this study illustrate the necessity for researchers to recognize the many meanings attributed to religiousness and spirituality by different religious and cultural groups, and the different ways in which these groups consider themselves religious and/or spiritual. As indicated by Hood et al. (1996), no single perspective on religion dominates postmodern culture, but rather multiple perspectives exist simultaneously. Whether one considers oneself religious or spiritual depends upon the meaning and relevance of these terms to members of a given religious or ideological group. Thus, to accurately measure religiousness and spirituality it becomes necessary to consider the system of beliefs or worldviews of the individuals or groups studied. Studies employing methodologies such as policy capturing, that go beyond simple self-reports have documented that many different meanings are attributed to the terms religiousness and spirituality (Pargament et al. 1995; Zinnbauer 1997). Future studies of religiousness and spirituality must go beyond the use of single-item self-report measures and scales that are not sensitive to different group ideologies. Only by explicitly operationalizing religiousness and spirituality in terms that reflect the variety of perspectives of potential research participants can we make generalizations across groups and ideologies, and cumulate findings across studies.

Taken together, the results of this study are particularly salient for mental health workers. As a group they rated themselves as much more spiritual than religious, and they were second only to the New Age group in percentage of respondents who identified themselves as spiritual but not religious (44%). Therefore, mental health workers are less likely to integrate religiousness and spirituality than the majority of believers. This sounds a note of caution. A potential danger is a value conflict between those mental health professionals who resemble Roof's (1993) "highly active seekers" and potential clients who integrate religiousness with spirituality. The value-laden nature of psychotherapy is well documented (e.g., Bergin 1980; Kelly 1990, Schwen and Schau 1990), and the potential for therapists to transmit their values to clients is also empirically evident (e.g., Kelly 1990; Schwen and Schau 1990). Therefore, mental health workers who hold personal values strongly favoring spirituality or disparaging religiousness may need to be wary of two pitfalls. One pitfall is for mental health workers to project their "spiritual" worldview into clinical interventions and discourage "religious" solutions to psychological problems. When counseling other "highly active seekers" this may not be a concern, but when working with clients who integrate spirituality and religiousness or even with those few who favor religiousness, it becomes more salient. Mental health workers who fail to be sensitive to this potential value conflict may thus clash with or undermine the worldview of their clients.

A second pitfall is that mental health workers and researchers who adopt a position of advocacy for spirituality and against religiousness may interfere with the objective and

empirical study of both religiousness and spirituality. Theorizing about the terms as incompatible opposites and rejecting conventional or traditional expression of worship runs counter to the experiences of most believers who appear to integrate both into their lives. Likewise, as argued by Spilka and McIntosh (1996), contrasting the terms as good-bad or superior-inferior confounds the definition and measurement of these concepts with their outcomes. For the present, it may be necessary to suspend judgments about the outcomes of religiousness and spirituality until we are clearer about the meaning of these fuzzy terms for different individuals and groups. Sharper definitions are prerequisites to studies of the costs and benefits of religiousness and spirituality.

A final issue concerns the social scientific study of religion as a field. The field takes its name from the traditionally broad use of the term religion which includes spirituality and encompasses both individual and institutional expressions. As the terms religiousness and spirituality have evolved over time they have acquired much more specific connotations. Currently, *religiousness* is increasingly characterized as "narrow and institutional," and *spirituality* is increasingly characterized as "personal and subjective." This distinction raises the question of whether the social scientific study of religion should reflect this cultural change and redefine itself as a field. Perhaps the field should become the social scientific study of religion and spirituality, or perhaps a separate social scientific study of religion and social scientific study of spirituality would be more appropriate.

There are three reasons why we suggest that the field should retain the broadband use of religion as the term which defines the field. First, it provides continuity with a long tradition of study within the social sciences, and offers a more succinct label of self-definition than the social scientific study of religion and spirituality. Second, the broadband use of religion is needed to avoid the previously outlined dangers associated with polarizing spirituality and religion into "good" individual spirituality and "bad" organized religion. Religion in its broadband sense includes both the personal and the institutional, the traditional and the progressive, the helpful and the harmful. Third, it avoids the danger of tying the field too closely to potentially ephemeral cultural changes. If interest in spirituality wanes in the next 10 years, we may have to rename the field once again to reflect the latest focus of popular interest. And, yet, if interest remains high over time and a body of empirical research on spirituality is accumulated, we may need to revisit this issue again. For now, however, we suggest that the field remain the social scientific study of religion.

The use of the term religion to define the field is not without its dangers. First and foremost, the broadband use of religion runs counter to current trends toward narrower conceptions of this construct. Without active advocacy for this use of the term by informed researchers, the scientific study of religion may be marginalized as the study of "narrow" institutional faith. It is therefore incumbent for us as social scientists of religion to educate others about the meanings we attribute to broadband religion. In addition to our investigative responsibilities we have a responsibility as a discipline to shape the views others hold about our field, and to contribute our own voice to the ongoing cultural debate about the nature of *religion, religiousness,* and *spirituality.*

The various phenomena associated with spirituality are essential parts of religion; they lie at the core of religious life. Spirituality currently reflects new developments in individual and cultural religious expression, and could inject a great deal of excitement and interest into our discipline. It is our belief that spirituality, however it is defined and expressed in our pluralistic society, should have a home within a broadband conceptualization of religion. The definitional questions surrounding religiousness and spirituality outline the crossroads at which the field has arrived, and our answers to these questions will shape the nature of scientific inquiry for the future. Without careful consideration of these terms we run the risk of becoming the social scientific study of "narrow" religion and "fuzzy" spirituality.

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APPENDIX: *BELIEFS ABOUT GOD* ITEMS

Pantheistic: "I believe that God is all around us. I look to nature to see God. I see God in every person I meet. I believe God is involved in everything we do and touches every person."

Theistic: "I believe God is a personal being who reigns over all creation, who looks after us and listens to our prayers and praise. He responds to our needs and protects us from evil."

Deistic: "I believe God created the world and everything in it and then left us to fend for ourselves. God is no longer involved in the happenings of this world and looks down on us from above without ever intervening in out lives."

Agnostic: "I am not sure what or who God is but I do think that it is beyond our understanding to comprehend such ultimate things. I often wonder if there is a God but I do not think that I will ever know for sure."

Atheistic: "I do not believe there is a God. I do not believe that God created the world or controls our affairs. There is no higher power that can intervene in our lives."