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Does God Matter? Religion in Individualistic and Collectivistic Personalities

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DOES GOD MATTER?

RELIGION IN INDIVIDUALISTIC AND COLLECTIVISTIC PERSONALITIES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

OF

SCHOOL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

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HILLSBORO, OREGON

BY

R. TAYLOR STARK, JR.

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY

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APPROVED: _____
Lisa R. Christiansen, Psy.D.

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Abstract

This research project examined the extent to which an individual's religion, or lack thereof, impacted their scores on the Individualism Collectivism Scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). This study drew 205 mostly Caucasian participants, who were diverse in terms of gender, income, and education. Data were gathered via online survey, which gathered responses to a demographic form, Religious Practices Questionnaire, and Individualism Collectivism Scale (Singelis, et al., 1995). Researchers hypothesized that: (1) Religious samples would score as more collectivistic than a secular sample; (2) Catholic and Jewish samples would emerge as more collectivistic than a Protestant sample; (3) as the frequency of public and personal religious activity, and religious centrality increases, collectivism scores would increase, and individualism scores decrease. Results indicated that Protestant participants had significantly lower individualism scores than Jewish and Catholic participants. Non-religious participants also had significantly lower collectivism scores than Protestant and Catholic participants. Implications regarding the generalizability of the results, as well as ideas for future research are discussed within the manuscript.

Individualism, Collectivism, Religion, Judaism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Christianity

Religion in Individualistic and Collectivistic Personalities

Religion is a powerful force that has the ability to dramatically shape the foundation of a society or individual. While religion often encourages love, acceptance, and humility, it has also been used as justification for oppression, discrimination, and murder. This duality demonstrates the enormous versatility with which the power of religion can be wielded. Given this power and versatility, one can reasonably ask several questions: What accounts for the variation of intensity and type of religious belief? What personality traits separate the religious and secular populations? Given a belief in a higher power, what leads an individual to pursue his or her conviction to a greater or lesser extent, or in a different way, than others? The purpose of this study is to examine religion and personality traits individually and comparatively. Ultimately it will be the interaction between the two that is highlighted, along with the implications this has in terms of individualism and collectivism.

Religion is a very complex concept – one that is not uniformly defined in available literature. White, Joseph, and Neil (1995) identified three basic types of religiosity: intrinsic, extrinsic-personal, and extrinsic-social. In individuals with an intrinsic orientation, religion manifested itself in every aspect of their lives. Individuals who endorsed extrinsic-personal religious orientations used religion as a means to an end, such as an ego defense. Individuals who endorsed an extrinsic-social orientation used religion for things such as participation in an “in” group, protection, or social status. In contrast, a study conducted by Joseph, Smith, and Diduca (2002) did not distinguish between extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions of religiosity, but rather, identified different forms of religiosity, such as a “quest approach” (p. 74). Those with a quest approach turn to religion when confronted with existential questions that are raised by tragedies and contradictions in their lives.

Different countries also use, or regard, religion in various ways. For example, the United States has demonstrated a historically strong religious presence. Miller and Thoreson (2004) found that about 95% of Americans profess a belief in a higher power, a figure that has remained at 90% or higher for the past 50 years. Sixty-nine percent of Americans are members of a religious institution, 40% of which attend services regularly.

One possible influence on an individual's religiosity is the family structure. It is unsurprising to see a religious family in which all family members share similar zeal and passion for their beliefs; however, alternate situations emerge in which a member of a religious family chooses to follow an alternate spiritual path. Family members are similar in terms of genetics and environment - what accounts for an individual's potential for variation? In order to understand this variance, and the root of religion's versatility, one must look at particular features of the individual personalities of those who comprise the "religious" population.

There are several personality measures used in conjunction with religious measures. The California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1987) contains three vector scales that are used to classify basic interpersonal and intrapersonal life orientations. The first vector, an internality-externality measure, is used to identify individuals who are introverted as compared to those who are extroverted. In this case, introversion is described as being inwardly oriented and detached, while extroversion entails greater interpersonal involvement. The second vector measures an individual's tendency to internalize societal norms, and is represented by a self-indulgent (norm-doubting) attitude versus a self-disciplined (norm-accepting) attitude. The third vector is a measure of self-actualization, comparing those who are self-doubting to those experiencing fulfillment and self-actualization.

Another possible personality measure for use in religious studies is the revised version of the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Eysenck, Eysenck & Barrett, 1985). This measure utilizes a dichotomous style of answering, and is based on Hans Eysenck's three categories of temperament: extroversion/introversion, neuroticism/stability, and psychoticism/socialization. An extroverted individual is in constant need of external stimulation, which is displayed through being talkative and outgoing. Neuroticism (or emotionality) is characterized by high levels of depression and anxiety. Neurotic individuals are often easily upset and have difficulty controlling their emotions. Psychoticism is classified as likelihood to have a break with reality, often with accompanying aggression. Those likely to exhibit such a break typically endorse non-conformity, hostility, and impulsiveness.

The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (Cattell, Eber, & Tatsuoka, 1970) is another method for studying aspects of personality in regards to religion. It is a forced-choice questionnaire based on 16 personality factors. The most salient factors for use in a religious context are: dominant vs. submissive, high vs. low superego, tough vs. tender-minded, imaginative vs. practical, liberal vs. conservative, and self-reliant vs. group-reliant. This test is designed for individuals aged sixteen or older, yet is adaptable for younger high-school students (Francis & Bourke, 2003).

The Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity (Francis & Stubbs, 1989) is a common measure used in conjunction with personality tests (Francis & Bourke, 2003; Francis & Pearson, 1988; Lewis & Maltby, 1995). It is a 24-item Likert scale comprised of questions regarding emotional responses to God, the Bible, church, Jesus, and prayer. Responses are indicated on a five-point scale: agree strongly, agree, not certain, disagree, and

disagree strongly. Other researchers use a less empirical style of addressing religious beliefs and participation; that is, authors may ask participants questions such as “How frequently do you attend mass or otherwise participate in church-related functions or activities?” (Hjelle, 1975, p. 180). Barton and Vaughan (1976) divided participants into groups depending on whether a person had never belonged to a church, or had remained active in a church for the last five years. These inquiries are based on the premise that church involvement is indicative of “religiousness,” which may be overly generalized.

Several themes have emerged in recent literature regarding the relationship between personality characteristics and religion. One such theme is that individuals who score highly on personal and public religiosity have subsequently low psychoticism scores (Maltby, 1997). Researchers examining this relationship base their conceptualization and measure of psychoticism on Eysenck’s original theory. Eysenck defined religion as a tender-minded social attitude; that is, it is largely a result of conditioning. Noting that individuals who score low on psychoticism likely condition more readily, Eysenck hypothesized that they would more freely endorse a positive attitude regarding religion (Eysenck, 1975, 1976). These theories were supported by Maltby’s (1997) study, which, using a sample of 216 adults in the Republic of Ireland, found that there was a significant negative correlation between scores in psychoticism and religiosity. For men, psychoticism was negatively correlated with religious attitude ($r = -.36$), frequency of personal prayer ($r = -.40$), and frequency of church attendance ($r = -.30$). For women, psychoticism was also negatively correlated with religious attitude ($r = -.40$), frequency of personal prayer ($r = -.47$), and frequency of church attendance ($r = -.31$). As is seen by these data, frequent prayer most strongly correlated with a lack of psychoticism in both men and women.

Eysenck's theory has also been supported by studies taking place within the United States (Lewis & Maltby, 1995) and with a British Muslim sample (Wilde & Joseph, 1997). Using the Francis Scale of Attitudes Towards Christianity (Francis & Stubbs, 1987), Lewis and Maltby found that "greater religiosity is associated with lower scores on psychoticism in adults" (p. 293). This finding was duplicated when using the Moslem Attitude Toward Religion Scale. Researchers developed the Moslem Attitude Toward Religion Scale (MARS; Wilde & Joseph, 1997) by adapting 14 items from the Francis scale in conjunction with the University of Essex Moslem Society. These studies demonstrate that individuals who subscribe to various religious practices may share personality characteristics, implying that such findings are not restricted to any one religious belief.

Another possible direction for personality studies of religiosity is to measure self-actualization. Measures of self-actualization have been varied, however. As was previously mentioned, one measure of self-actualization was adapted by the California Personality Inventory (Gough, 1987), and is based on Abraham Maslow's (1954) theory of self-actualization. In short, self-actualization is an individual's realization of inherent potential, and ranges between self-doubt and fulfillment. In order to measure spirituality as it compares to self-actualization, researchers have used the Spiritual Well-Being Scale (Ellison, 1983). The scale is a 20-item self-report measure, intended to measure a perceived spiritual quality of life, which is divided into religious well-being (relationship with God) and existential well-being (sense of life purpose and satisfaction). Researchers found that individuals who were more self-realized showed a significantly higher degree of spiritual well-being than those with low self-realization (Park, Meyers, & Czar, 1998). Therefore, it can be deduced

that religiosity and spirituality can be an extremely fulfilling aspect in one's life, negating self-doubt and producing a more psychologically healthy individual.

Hjelle (1975) also examined religiosity and its connection to self-realization; however, he chose to focus specifically on church attendance. In a sample of 63 male freshmen from St. John Fisher College, Hjelle hypothesized that a lack of religious involvement would be positively correlated with self-actualization. He stated, "...young people who have disengaged themselves from active involvement in religious activities are autonomous and self-reliant, and are more prone to utilize their own internal norms as a basis for constructing a 'meaningful life style'" (p. 180). From this, Hjelle concluded that institutional religion promotes social control, which subsequently decreases self-realization. His findings strongly supported his hypothesis. Hjelle found that there was significant negative correlation between frequency of religious participation and self-actualization scores, most strongly in the areas of inner direction ($r = -.31$), feeling reactivity ($r = -.36$), self-acceptance ($r = -.31$) and capacity for intimate contact ($r = -.46$).

In comparing these two studies, it is important to note that Hjelle (1975) worked within a strictly Catholic perspective, while Park et al. (1998) measured general spiritual well-being. This lends credence to the idea that while certain trends may be applicable for a general population (religious), they may operate differently within subgroups of that general population (Catholicism). This idea will be explored later in the paper.

In exploring the effects that religion can have on people, it is beneficial to look at religion in its previously stated styles: intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity. In a study by Hettler and Cohen (1998), intrinsic religiousness was examined in terms of a stress-moderator for churchgoing Protestants. The authors began their study by offering distinctions between

intrinsic, extrinsic-personal, and extrinsic-social styles of religion, following the example of Allport (1959). Recent research has indicated that an intrinsic orientation is related to activities such as church attendance and orthodoxy, but is unrelated to psychological variables. However, extrinsic religiousness is positively correlated with select negative variables, such as prejudice and trait anxiety (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990).

Hettler and Cohen's (1998) main hypothesis was that "intrinsic religiousness would serve as a stress-buffer in the prediction of dysphoria" (p. 598). Due to intrinsic religiousness being a framework for one's life, those adopting this view would most likely turn to religion in times of crisis. This orientation might provide individuals with a sense of meaning, mastery, and self-esteem. Specifically, faith may "reduce the perceived threat or loss associated with negative events, enhance an individual's evaluation of coping options, and result in the use of effective religious coping strategies" (p. 598). Participants consisted of 124 white adult churchgoers between the ages of 22 and 82. Researchers categorized participants into various denominations, each being classified as either conservative (Presbyterian, Baptist, Evangelical) or liberal (Lutheran and Methodist) based on their theology and Biblical interpretation. Researchers found that those from liberal Protestant churches used intrinsic religiousness as a stress-buffer in times of dysphoria; however, those from more conservative orientations did not use religion in this way. Religion's importance, prayer frequency, and frequency of church attendance acted as stress-buffers for liberal Protestants (Hettler & Cohen, 1998). This finding reinforces the idea that religion may be used in different ways for expressly different purposes, even within specific religions.

Intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations can have greater implications on mental health and personality beyond stress-buffering. Batson, Schoenrade & Ventis (1993) recently

reported 197 findings from 61 different studies discriminating between intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations. Forty-eight findings showed a negative relationship between an extrinsic religious orientation and positive attributes of mental health, including open-mindedness and flexibility, freedom from worry and guilt, appropriate social behavior, and personal control. The lone positive mental health attribute associated with an extrinsic orientation was a lack of depression.

On the other hand, Batson et al. (1993) reported 49 studies that indicated a positive relationship between an intrinsic religious orientation and positive personality characteristics. Absence of mental illness and higher personal competence were the most prominent characteristics associated with an intrinsic orientation. Intrinsic orientation also had negative correlations with trait and death anxiety. The issue of prejudice was also addressed within Batson's study, with the interesting conclusion that both intrinsic and extrinsic orientations led to increased prejudice. However, an intrinsic orientation led to prejudice only when it was not prohibited by the particular religious community, while there was no such stipulation for those with extrinsic orientations.

Religious orientation has also been examined in comparison with specific personality disorders, notably schizotypy (Joseph et al., 2002; Maltby, Garner, Lewis, & Day, 2000; White et al., 1995). Maltby et al. (2000) conducted a study in which schizotypal traits and their link to specific types of religiosity were examined. The authors prefaced their study by noting that religion may guard against schizophrenia by "allowing schizophrenics to use religion to make sense of the world" (pp. 143-144). In this sense, religion may attract those with schizophrenic tendencies, especially schizotypal personality traits, to the point that there is a plausible positive relationship between schizophrenic traits and religiosity. The

researchers examined this relationship within the three previously discussed religious orientations: intrinsic, extrinsic-personal, and extrinsic-social. Maltby et al. divided schizotypal traits into three categories: magical ideation, paranoid and suspiciousness, and unusual perceptual experiences. In a sample of 195 British college students (81 men and 114 women), the researchers obtained mixed results regarding religion and schizotypal traits. Their findings indicated that an intrinsic religious orientation was negatively associated with schizotypal traits in men and women. However, for women, an extrinsic-social religious orientation was closely correlated with paranoid and suspiciousness aspects of a schizotypal personality, as was extrinsic-personal with the unusual perceptual experiences, and paranoid and suspiciousness subscales of schizotypy.

Joseph et al. (2002) also examined the association between schizotypal traits and religious orientation. The authors found no notable distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions of religiosity exhibited by participants, possibly due to their sample of 180 handpicked respondents from the Essex area of England. This sampling procedure threw the validity of the study into question, as the results were not necessarily applicable to a wider population. The researchers also identified another form of religious orientation, which they referred to as a “quest approach” (p. 74); that is, the use of religion to answer questions raised by life events. Though it may be assumed that this approach to religiosity predominantly takes place within intrinsic approaches, the authors did not choose to distinguish it as such. This study did find, however, that the participants who exhibited a quest approach to religion had highly correlating schizotypal traits.

Another study, this time conducted by White, et al. (1995), also examined religiosity’s association with schizotypal traits. They expected religiosity to be associated

with some forms of schizotypy more than with others. They described four components of schizotypy: “aberrant perceptions and beliefs, cognitive disorganization, introverted anhedonia, and asocial behavior” (p. 847). The authors expected religiosity to load negatively on asociality, but positively on aberrant perceptions and beliefs. Authors found that religiosity loaded positively on the aberrant perceptions and beliefs factor. In addition, religiosity was positively associated with unusual perceptual experiences and magical ideation for men, but not for women.

Overall, researchers examining the link between religiosity and schizotypal traits have produced interesting, yet inconsistent findings. As was noted in the Maltby et al. (2000) study, results have been gender-specific and applicable only to select aspects of religiosity. Researchers admitted as much, stating that the study offered only “partial support for the suggestion that religiosity is related to schizotypal personality traits” (p. 144). White et al. (1995) similarly produced gender-specific findings that are in contrast with Maltby et al.’s (2000) findings, though this is not optimally discernable due to the lack of consistency in how schizotypy was operationalized between studies.

Given the relationship of religion to broad themes (psychoticism, self-actualization, psychopathology), it may be useful to examine specific personality traits, and their application within both religious and non-religious samples. One test that has been used expressly for this purpose is Cattell’s (1970) Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire. As discussed previously, this measure divides personality traits into 16 factors, and examines an individual’s or sample’s score on each. A recent study examined the scores of Anglican clergy in comparison to the general population (Musson, 1998). Musson found that clergymen in England differed from the general male population on 8 of 16 factors.

Clergymen emerged as more outgoing, intelligent, stable, conscientious, tender-minded, imaginative, apprehensive, experimenting, and tense than men in general. They also scored lower on the self-sufficiency scale. Musson did not implicate his findings as applicable to the religious population in general; however, there is complimenting research to reinforce his findings. Musson's research has been supported by studies conducted with student samples. McClain (1978) and Meredith (1968) found consistent evidence, in separate samples of nearly 300 students, that religious populations tend to be more conservative, conscientious, submissive, practical, and group-dependent than non-religious populations.

Francis and Bourke (2003) conducted a similar study, yet with a much larger population. They obtained a sample of 1,070 students from secondary schools in the Southeast of England. Participants were administered the Francis Scale of Attitudes toward Christianity (1989) and Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire (Cattell, Cattell, & Johns, 1984). This form of Cattell's test is similar to the adult version, with the revision examining only 14 of the traits, instead of the usual 16. The researchers' results complimented previous findings. In comparison with the non-religious sample, the religious students were more submissive, restrained, conforming, tender-minded, self-disciplined, introverted, and prone to emotionality.

It is interesting to look at the results of these studies through the social lens of individualism and collectivism. There are certain personality factors, such as dominance, conformity, sensitivity, and introversion that hold certain value judgments depending on the societal structure to which one belongs. An individual who is more submissive than dominant, more conforming than expedient and more tender-minded than tough-minded is likely to be more valued in a collectivistic society than an individualistic society. This begs

the question: Are individuals in religious populations, on the whole, more collectivist than those in a secular population? Needless to say, religiosity and collectivism are not mutually inclusive; however, given the examination of broad concepts and specific personality characteristics, it is reasonable to postulate that a relationship between the two exists.

While little empirical research has been done in regards to measuring express collectivism in relation to religious intensity and orientation, there is an ample theoretical base for such an association. In his article “Reinterpreting Individualism and Collectivism,” Sampson (2000) examined the religious roots of individualism and collectivism, and the implication they have for today’s societal and religious trends. Sampson looks at this topic primarily in terms of the person-other relationship, or, the way in which one interacts with, and determines his or her identity in relation to, others. He notes that in Western individualism, sharply drawn person-other boundaries are created. In these situations, an individual is much less reliant on others or dependent on a community in forming his or her identity. An Eastern, collectivist orientation is much the opposite, constituting a much more interdependent relationship.

In regards to religion, Sampson (2000) chose not to focus on Western vs. Eastern religions (which may have been the easier option), but rather opted to examine individualism and collectivism within Western traditions. Sampson postulates that Protestantism professes a much more individualistic understanding of the person-other relationship than Rabbinic Judaism. Examining the roots of each particular religion, Sampson shows how this is a logical deduction. The basis of Christianity’s individualistic tendencies comes from its emphasis on “the individual’s personal relationship to God, responsibility for salvation, and autonomy” (1427). This notion plants and fosters a need for self-sufficiency within the

individual, which serves to separate the individual from a community to a large extent. The ramifications of this belief system make themselves evident in the social and political spectrums as well. If an individual is measured by his or her self-sufficiency, then those who are not successful in life may be cast in an especially unflattering light. The unsuccessful are necessarily deemed responsible for their shortcomings, which propagates the idea that societal problems have much more to do with the individual than the system they occupy.

Rabbinic Judaism, on the other hand, provides a more collectivist notion by having no such person-other distinction. Sampson states: “According to the rabbinic tradition, one cannot truly be apart from being in dialogue with others; others therefore are central to the very existence and possibility of being an individual in the first place” (1428). In this sense, the individual and their community are mutually formative; that is, they are essential to each other’s growth and survival. This is not necessarily a rejection of the idea of individualism vs. collectivism, Sampson states; rather “it recognizes them as aspects of a total process, not as elements vying for victory...” (1431).

In a response to Sampson’s article, Lynch (2001) chose to extend many of Sampson’s ideas. The most intriguing point he makes is that 15 centuries prior to the Protestant Reformation, Western Christianity was largely represented by Catholicism, which Lynch argues, is much more collectivist than Protestantism. Lynch notes:

Within Catholicism lies a deeply held belief in *communio*, or communion, which finds expression in such phrases as the communion of saints, a notion that reflects a belief in the transcultural collectivity and mutual responsibility of the members of the Christian church for one another. (1174)

This shows just how great an effect a religious belief can have, not only on a particular person, but on an entire society. Prior to the Protestant Reformation, the West was decidedly more collectivistic, yet after years of development of a Protestant work ethic, the most Protestant nations are now highly capitalistic and individualistic.

This study will expand on these ideas by examining the relationship between an individual's religiosity and his or her score on an individualism vs. collectivism measure. This experiment will test three hypotheses: (1) Religious samples will score as more collectivist than a secular sample; (2) within the religious samples, Catholicism and Judaism will emerge as more collectivistic than a Protestant sample; (3) as the frequency of public and personal religious activity, and centrality of religion to one's life increases, collectivism scores should increase, and individualism scores decrease. Should these hypotheses be proven correct, then this issue must be contemplated: Does an individual's personality shape the religion to which he or she ascribes, or does religion possess the power to shape one's personality, influenced and enforced by societal norms, to suit its own nature? In short, when it comes to personality: Does God matter?

Method

Participants

This study drew responses from 205 participants. From this point, participants' responses were systematically excluded for various reasons. The first exclusion was for statistical purposes; if a participant neglected to answer more than one question per domain (described in further detail in "measures" section), his or her data were excluded. Also, if participants used blanket responding – that is, on a Likert scale, responding with the same value for all questions – the data were excluded. This was done to protect the integrity of the

results. A further measure of exclusion was done for hypothesis testing. Due to the fact that the researchers' hypotheses only entail four religious samples of interest (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and non-religious), respondents that ascribed to an "other" religion were excluded from hypothesis testing.

Of the remaining 152 participants whose data was included in hypothesis testing, 71 identified as female and 81 as male. Most participants were between the age of 19 and 29 (78), with the remainder of the age groups represented fairly equally: 13 participants aged 30-39, 25 participants aged 40-49, 26 participants aged 50-59, and 10 aged 60 or older. The vast majority of the participants were Caucasian (136), with each of the remaining ethnicities having 6 or less representatives. Many participants' educational experience peaked at a bachelor's degree (68), with most other participants earning a high school diploma (32) or master's degree (28). Income level was a bit surprising, as the majority of participants reported making \$100,000 and more (56) or \$15,000 and less (37). All other income levels were represented equally. Many participants identified as non-religious (64). Protestant and Catholic participants were represented most similarly among the remaining participants (46 and 32, respectively), while the study only involved 10 Jewish participants. See Figures 1-3 for graphical representation of demographic information as represented by each sample of interest. For these graphs, various demographic variables were used: age range (Figure 1), academic achievement (Figure 2), and yearly income (Figure 3). An overwhelming amount of participants identified as Caucasian; as such, a graphical representation of ethnicity is not warranted.

Participants were sampled from local and national religious samples, utilizing availability and snowball sampling methods. Religious organizations and church

communities were amongst the religious samples selected, while the non-religious sample was primarily generated from academic list serves. All individuals were able to read and respond to the survey in English. Individuals who practice religions other than those listed were excluded.

Figure 1. Age range of participants within respective samples of interest.

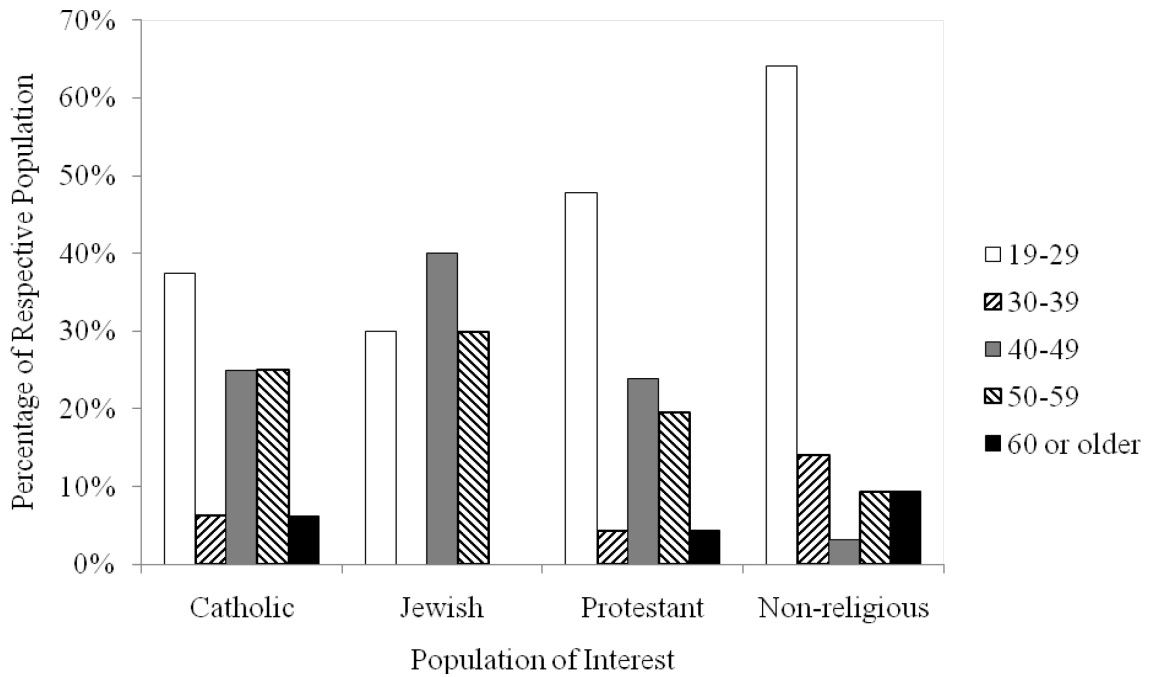


Figure 2. Academic achievement of participants within respective samples of interest.

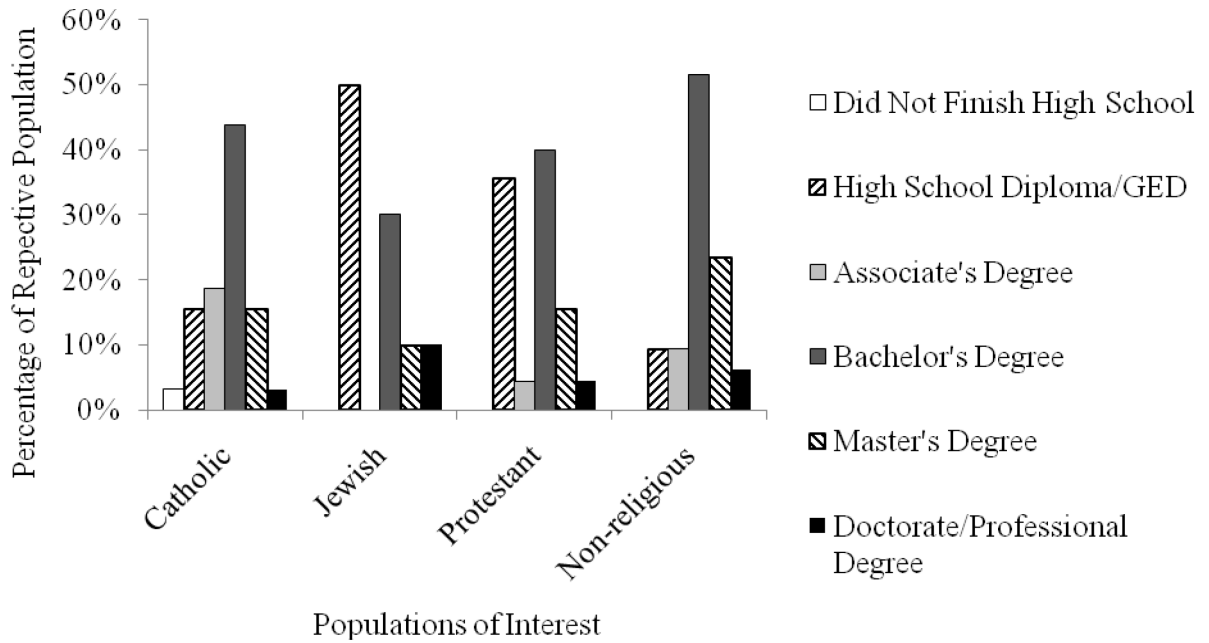
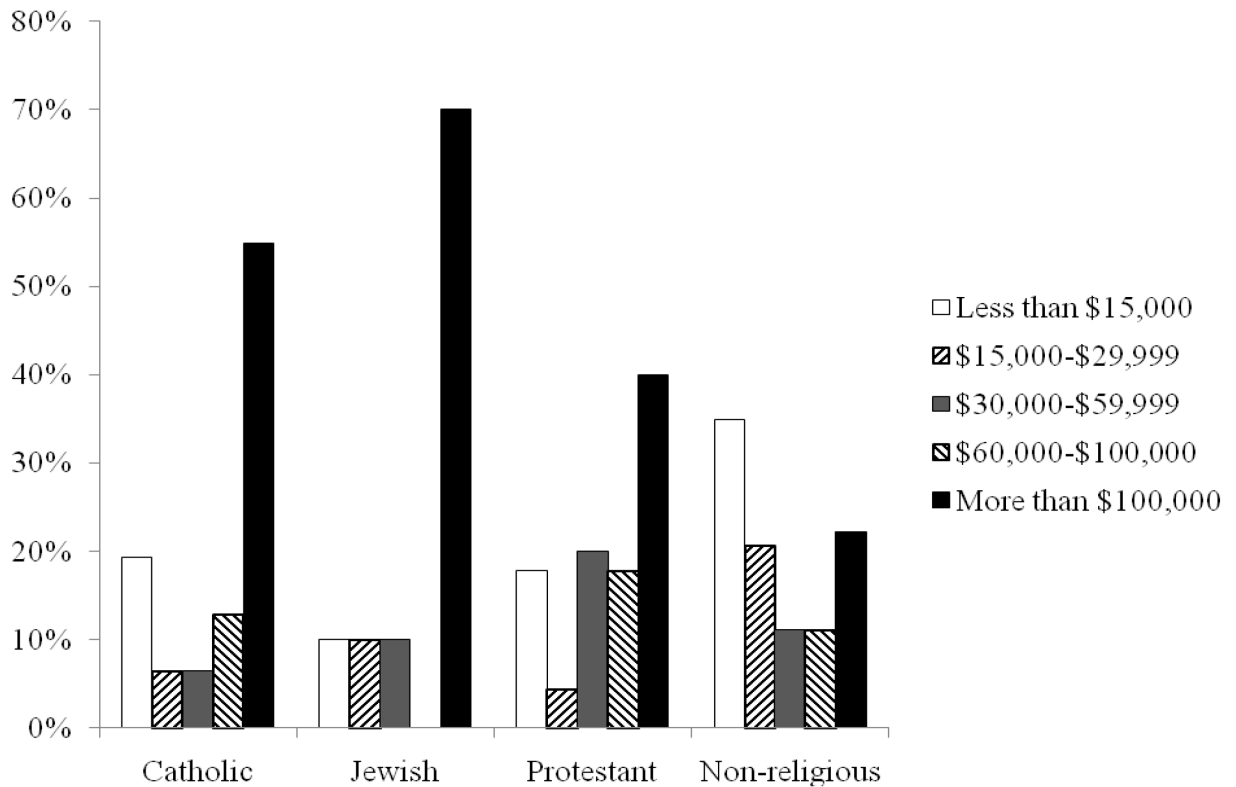


Figure 3. Yearly income of participants within respective samples of interest.



*Measures**Individualism Collectivism Scale*

Individualism and collectivism data were gathered using the Individualism Collectivism Scale (Singelis et al., 1995; Appendix A). This measure consists of 16 items on individualism and 16 items on collectivism. Although items are also divided in four domains (Horizontal Individualism, Horizontal Collectivism, Vertical Individualism, and Vertical Collectivism), these scales have not shown adequate psychometric robustness, and, therefore, researchers solely used the primary Individualism and Collectivism scales. These were measured on a seven-point Likert scale, with items values ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. Psychometrically, researchers have found reliability alphas hovering around .70 for each the individualism and collectivism scales, with more variability across the four domains (H-I .67, V-I .74, H-C .74, and V-C .68). Authors note that the broadness of the constructs has led to difficulty attaining high alphas. Researchers were unable to find published information regarding the validity of this scale; however, the sample that the scale was normed on included ethnically diverse populations. For example, European populations comprised 52.9% of the population, Asian populations comprised 46.8%, Pacific Islanders comprised 17.0%, and Native Americans comprised 6.4%. The only populations that were not well represented were Hispanic (2.6%) and African (2.2%). This norming procedure allows the test to be used with a wide array of populations, thus being more useful than tests primarily normed on European-American populations. This speaks well to an overall perception of validity, particularly in the generalizability of the test results when used with most populations.

Religious Practices Questionnaire

In order to measure religiosity, a questionnaire entitled the “Religious Practices Questionnaire” (Appendix B), was developed by the principal investigator and faculty advisor. The questions are measured on a five-item Likert scale, with higher scores being more indicative of greater religious activity. As the measure was solely developed for use in this study, no psychometric data is available. The aim of the test is to measure the frequency of public and personal religious activity, along with the centrality of religion to one’s life.

Procedure

Participants were first sent an e-mail in which they were informed of the purpose of the study, along with an invitation to participate. They were then provided a link to [surveymonkey.com](https://www.surveymonkey.com), where they indicated acceptance of informed consent, provided limited demographic data (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity), and completed the Individualism Collectivism Scale and Religious Practices Questionnaire. Total test time was not intended to take more than 20 minutes, and after the participant was finished with the exam, he or she had the option to provide an e-mail address, through which they were entered into a raffle for a gift card.

Results

Prior to reporting statistical analytic treatments used in this study, it is important to note select pre-analysis screening measures. This study included various missing data, though there was no discernable pattern. To correct for this, researchers took the mean of the scores within each individualism or collectivism subset (horizontal and vertical) from which the missing datum was located, and used this score for the missing datum. This was only done when there was one missing datum per subset, to ensure maximal likelihood of accurate

representation. This was done, primarily, to retain participants' responses, especially in the case of Jewish participants, of which there were only 10.

The data supplied by each sample of interest provided interesting trends. The Protestant sample, for example, appeared much more collectivistic ($M = 81.07$; $SD = 9.9$) than individualistic ($M = 66.98$; $SD = 11.93$). This was, by far, the greatest discrepancy between average individualism scores and average collectivism scores within a sample. The second greatest discrepancy was for "other" religions, as collectivism scores ($M = 76.68$; $SD = 11.46$) were, like the Protestant sample, greater than individualism scores ($M = 69.93$; $SD = 10.08$). Interestingly, all groups' collectivism scores were higher than individualism scores. Judaism had the least amount of discrepancy between collectivism ($M = 77.0$; $SD = 7.03$) and individualism scores ($M = 76.00$; $SD = 13.61$); however, the results for this specific group must be examined with caution, as there were only 10 participants. Individualism and collectivism scores for Catholicism and the non-religious groups had moderate discrepancy. Means and standard deviations for each sample are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Means and standard deviations of individualism and collectivism scores

Religious Affiliation	Individualism		Collectivism	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Protestantism	66.98	11.93	81.07	9.90
Judaism	76.00	13.61	77.00	7.03
Catholicism	72.79	12.61	78.78	14.08
Non-religious	70.31	9.42	73.08	10.23
Other	69.93	10.08	76.68	11.46

Results provided by the Religious Practices Questionnaire also provided interesting trends. As can be seen by the data presented in Table 2, the Protestant sample attended religious services more frequently ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.53$), engaged in more self-directed religious activity ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.20$), and declared religion as more central to their lives ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.13$) than all other samples. As expected, the non-religious sample scored lowest on all religious practice measures. Among the non-Protestant samples, Catholicism scored higher than both the Jewish and non-religious samples. In fact, the Jewish sample's scores were only minimally more religious than those of the non-religious sample. Of interest are differences between mean scores in frequency of attended religious services (0.75), frequency of self-directed religious behavior (0.37), and religious centrality (1.09).

Table 2

Means and standard deviations on the Religious Practices Questionnaire

Religious Affiliation	Attendance		Self-Directed		Centrality	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Protestantism	3.49	1.53	4.11	1.20	4.06	1.13
Judaism	1.90	1.20	1.60	1.27	2.40	0.52
Catholicism	2.34	1.04	2.97	1.62	3.16	1.25
Non-religious	1.15	0.36	1.23	0.59	1.31	0.53
Other	2.80	1.40	3.22	1.58	3.45	1.26

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to evaluate the effect of five types of religiosity (Protestantism, Judaism, Catholicism, Non-religious, or other) on a participant's score on the Individualism Collectivism Scale (Singelis et. al, 1995). The MANOVA results indicate that religious affiliation (Wilks' $\Lambda = .880$, $F(8, 370) = 3.06$, p

< .05, $\eta^2 = .062$) significantly affected the combined DV of individualism and collectivism scores. However, the effect size was very small, and indicated that approximately 6.2% of the variance in individualism and collectivism scores may be explained by religious affiliation.

Univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) and least significant difference (LSD) post hoc tests were conducted as follow up tests. ANOVA results indicate that collectivism scores significantly differed for religious affiliation, $F(4, 186) = 3.77, p < .05$. Individualism scores did not significantly differ for religious affiliation $F(4, 186) = 2.15, p = .077$. LSD post hoc results for individualism scores indicate that Protestant participants had significantly lower individualism scores than Jewish and Catholic participants. In regards to collectivism scores, the LSD test reflects that non-religious participants had significantly lower collectivism scores than Protestant and Catholic participants. All other interactions were insignificant.

Researchers planned to examine Pearson product-moment correlations to test the hypothesis that as the frequency of public and personal religious activity, and centrality of religion to one's life increases, collectivism scores should increase, and individualism scores decrease; however, problems arose in regards to the assumption of normality that the Pearson test is based on. Frequency of self-directed religious activity, frequency of religious service attendance, and centrality of religion to one's life were all bivariately non-normally distributed. Therefore, a non-linear relationship is inferred, and a Pearson product-moment correlation is invalid. However individualism and collectivism scores were bivariately normally distributed, which enables a Pearson product-moment correlation to accurately assess their relationship. Though this information does not pertain to a particular hypothesis, it is interesting to note that there was a .007 correlation between these items, which, with a p value of .293, is deemed insignificant.

Discussion

This experiment addressed three hypotheses: (1) Religious samples will score as more collectivist than a secular sample; (2) within the religious samples, Catholicism and Judaism will emerge as more collectivistic than a Protestant sample; (3) as the frequency of public and personal religious activity, and centrality of religion to one's life increases, collectivism scores should increase, and individualism scores decrease. As previously discussed, hypothesis three was unable to be examined for statistical reasons; however, support was garnered for one of the two remaining hypotheses.

The results offered partial support for the first hypothesis. The Protestant and Catholic samples had significantly higher collectivism scores than the non-religious sample, as was hypothesized. Also, though the difference in collectivism scores was not significant between the non-religious and Jewish sample, the Jewish sample had a higher average collectivism score than did the non-religious sample. There are a few things that could explain a lack of significant difference. First, and most glaringly, is the fact that there were only ten Jewish participants that participated in the study. This does not allow for much generalizability of the results, as such a restricted sample cannot possibly capture all of the intricacies of the Jewish religion and culture, which may include variations in belief, practice, and tradition. Secondly, Judaism is considered an ethnoreligious group; that is, identity in this group tends to be defined by a combination of ancestral heritage and religious affiliation. Due to this, Judaism allows room for variation in religiosity, as the shared ethnic identity may be a particular sect's unifying characteristic. Humanistic Judaism, for example, rejects the religious aspects of Judaism, instead choosing to emphasize the Jewish cultural tradition. Therefore, the Westernized term "religious" does not necessarily apply to Judaism. Based on

these facts, it is understandable that the Jewish participants in this study did not participate in traditionally religious activities, or define themselves as religious. If, in fact, the Jewish participants in this study did not consider themselves religious, then it is no surprise that their collectivism scores would not significantly differ from the self-described non-religious sample. This is represented in the results of the Religious Practices Questionnaire (Table 2), as Jewish participants reported the lowest frequency of attendance at religious services and self-directed religious behavior, as well as the lowest subjective assessment of the centrality of religion to their lives. Lastly, the lack of significant difference in collectivism scores may come from the prorating technique used to handle missing data in preanalysis screening. As discussed before, this technique was carried out with caution and reason, yet there is still the potential for error, as an individual's response may not have corresponded to the mean for that individual's particular subset.

The second hypothesis was not supported; in fact, significant evidence was found to the contrary. Not only did Jewish and Catholic participants fail to score as more collectivistic than Protestants, they were actually significantly more individualistic (Table 1). Careful analysis of the demographic information for each group offers possible explanations. The first noticeable difference between these samples is that the Jewish and Catholic samples had a higher proportion of high income individuals (70% and 56%, respectively) than the Protestant sample (22%) (Figure 3). This may produce a difference in collectivism scores if one examines it through the lens of the just world hypothesis. Gilovich, Keltner, and Nisbett (2006) define the just world hypothesis as the belief that "people get what they deserve in life and deserve what they get" (p. 360). People who have "gotten" a lot of money, in this instance, may be more likely to develop an individualistic outlook, as they believe that they,

individually, earned the money. In this case, money serves as reinforcement for an individual sense of accomplishment and prosperity, which may devalue the impact that the community had on their success. Therefore, an individualistic outlook would be more likely to occur.

Another potential reason for this difference in collectivism scores is the educational level of the participants. Based upon the availability sampling technique used in data collection, it is likely that a large amount of the Protestant participants were enrolled in college at the time of data collection. Demographic information also supports this hypothesis, as nearly half of the Protestant sample (49%) fell in the 19-29 age range, as compared to 37% of the Catholic sample and 30% of the Jewish sample (Figure 1). Also, 42% of Protestant participants had not yet received their Bachelor's degree, as compared to 35% of Catholic participants (Figure 2). Fifty percent of Jewish participants did not achieve their Bachelor's degree, yet this information must be processed in conjunction with the age demographic in considering whether or not this is a collegiate sample. These statistics, when coupled with the previously discussed income discrepancy, leads the researcher to believe that much of the Protestant response was drawn from a collegiate sample. If this proved to be true, then a higher sense of collectivism may not be unexpected, as college is by and large a community experience.

There are several trends outside of hypothesis testing that are interesting as well. As was stated, researchers examined the extent to which individualism scores and collectivism scores correlated with each other. The findings, while not significant, still showed an interesting trend. Researchers discovered that there was a .007 correlation between individualism scores and collectivism scores. One usually thinks of individualism and collectivism as opposing worldviews; that is, one cannot be simultaneously individualistic

and collectivistic. They are thought to be pervasive worldviews that are evident in our actions, thoughts, and belief structures. Therefore, going into this experiment, researchers expected a negative correlation between the two - as one increased, the other should decrease. Even if this were not a significant finding, at least a general trend in this direction was expected. In actuality, not only were the two concepts not negatively correlated, they were slightly positively correlated. The low correlation provides evidence that the individualism construct and the collectivism construct are unrelated, rather than being inversely related.

Limitations were a problem for this study, and must be taken into account when interpreting the results. The first limitation was missing data. This presented a problem because of the limited number of participants, particularly Jewish participants. If the researchers had eliminated the Jewish responses on the basis of missing data, then there would have been five remaining responses. This does not bode well for the validity of any conclusions reached for the Jewish sample. Jewish underrepresentation ties into the second limitation of the study, which is the imbalance in sample size for each of the samples of interest. This was most pronounced with the Jewish sample (10 participants), yet the remaining religious samples were also much less populated than the nonreligious sample. Lastly, it would be highly beneficial if the participant pool was more ethnically diverse. Religion may be a much different experience for groups who consistently feel disempowered, and this would be important to take into account in generalizing the results of any religious study. The Caucasian view of religion cannot necessarily represent minority groups accurately.

Directions for future research tie in directly with the previously mentioned limitations. If a similar quantitative study were to be conducted, then it would be beneficial for researchers to have enough participants so that missing data is not an issue. This would be accomplished by balancing religious representation in groups of interest. In order to obtain more representation from the Jewish population, community contacts, or a physical presence at Jewish gatherings, could be used rather than electronic communication. One interesting idea for future research is examining the role of religion within traditionally collectivistic cultures. This could be done with qualitative studies, taking into account personal experience, or with religious questionnaires. A qualitative spin could also be put on the current study, with future research targeting the subjective religious experience within each religious sample. This may do well to highlight differences, while also noting where similarities may exist.

This study attempted to shine light on the differences between followers of religions that are all based on a Judeo-Christian foundation. Given the power of religion on a personal and societal level, it is important to understand the nuances between them, which necessarily become evident in the beliefs and actions of their followers. If we can begin to understand the differences in how people express their religion, then we are closer to understanding how a particular religion can shape the minds of their followers in a particular way. This area of research provides fascinating insights into religion's intersection with psychology, and how people strive to obtain a system of order. Religions can invariably provide this, and powerfully infiltrate a person's thoughts, beliefs, and sense of self. This study examined the expression of religious beliefs in individualistic and collectivistic worldviews, yet a more

comprehensive, qualitative study may do well to highlight the slight nuances between these different religions.

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Appendix A

Individualism Collectivism Scale

Notes from the researcher:

[1] This questionnaire is designed to measure the extent to which you hold each of several general attitudes or values common in our society. Below you will find a number of general statements expressing opinions of the kind you may have heard from other persons around you.

[2] You are requested to read each of the statements and then to circle the number that best represents your immediate reaction to the opinion expressed. Respond to each opinion as a whole. If you have reservations about some part of a statement, circle the response that most clearly approximates your general feeling.

[3] **Key to variables:** 1= strongly disagree; 2= Disagree; 3= slightly disagree; 4= Neither agree nor disagree; 5= Slightly agree; 6= Agree; 7= Strongly agree

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | | | | | | |
| 1. I often do "my own thing" | | | | | | |
| 2. One should live one's life independently of others | | | | | | |
| 3. I like my privacy | | | | | | |
| 4. I prefer to be direct and forthright when discussing with people | | | | | | |
| 5. I am a unique individual | | | | | | |
| 6. What happens to me is my own doing | | | | | | |
| 7. When I succeed, it is usually because of my abilities | | | | | | |
| 8. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways | | | | | | |
| 9. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do | | | | | | |
| 10. Competition is the law of nature | | | | | | |
| 11. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused | | | | | | |
| 12. Without competition, it is not possible to have a good society | | | | | | |
| 13. Winning is everything | | | | | | |
| 14. It is important that I do my job better than others | | | | | | |
| 15. I enjoy working in situations involving competition with others | | | | | | |

16. Some people emphasize winning; I am not one of them
17. The well-being of my co-workers is important to me
18. If a co-worker gets a prize, I would feel proud.
19. If a relative were in financial difficulty, I would help within my means
20. It is important to maintain harmony within my group
21. I like sharing little things with my neighbors
22. I feel good when I co-operate with others
23. My happiness depends very much on the happiness of those around me
24. To me, pleasure is spending time with others
25. I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve it
26. I would do what would please my family, even if I detested that activity.
27. Before making a major trip, I consult with most members of my family and friends
28. I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group
29. Children should be taught to display duty before pleasure
30. I hate to disagree with others in my group
31. We should keep our ageing parents with us at home
32. Children should feel honored if their parents receive a distinguished award.

