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## **Attending the Service of Nine Lessons and Carols at a rural cathedral: an empirical study in religious orientation and motivational style**

### **Abstract**

*This study explores the religious orientation and motivation of people who attended the Service of Nine Lessons and Carols at Worcester Cathedral in December 2009 in order to assess the distinctive pastoral opportunities provided by such services within a rural diocese. Religious motivation was assessed by the New Indices of Religious orientation, which distinguish between intrinsic, extrinsic and quest orientations. Older people were seen to score more highly on the intrinsic scale and increased frequency of churchgoing was positively associated with scores on both the intrinsic and quest scales. The Carol Service congregation was seen to favour quest orientation above the other two. Compared with its Sunday counterparts, intrinsic religiosity was much lower here and was focussed on integrating faith and life rather than on personal prayer. Conclusions are drawn for cathedrals and others wishing to reach out to those with a quest orientation and further research is suggested to extend the study to the parish church setting.*

### **Introduction**

In an age when churches seek, often with limited success, to attract and retain new members it remains the case that many Church of England buildings still achieve large congregations for special one-off events through the year. Is it the case that those who attend on such occasions are the same as the usual Sunday congregation, but simply less committed, prepared to come once in a while for a major attraction but not to give up frequent Sunday mornings, or are they distinct in their pattern of believing, behaving and belonging? And if so, how? The answers to these questions may have a significant part to play in guiding churches as to how they engage with those who come occasionally and what they might expect from that engagement.

### **Cathedral Studies**

Cathedral Studies has grown as an area of enquiry out of two separate fields of work. For some it fits within the field of Congregational Studies; for example Williams and Francis (in press) explored the Sunday congregation at Llandaff Cathedral, demonstrating that, contrary to popular opinion, these people were not escapees from the levels of commitment required in parish life. Other work, following the demographic study of Winter and Gasson (1996), has focussed on those who come to cathedrals as visitors and tourists; for example Williams, Francis, Robbins and Annis (2007) explored the differences between the visitor experience of those who are regular churchgoers and those who never attend. There are, however, other significant dimensions of the ministry and mission of the English Cathedral. Cathedrals undertake significant amounts of educational work (primarily but not exclusively among schoolchildren). They play host to special events for particular institutions or individuals (university graduation ceremonies, services of remembrance for the local hospice, weddings and memorials). Not least they hold their own programme of one-off occasions through the year, marking the liturgical themes and seasons. To date very little has been published on those who attend this last category of events.

### **Indices of Religious Orientation**

Religious Orientation as studied in recent times owes much to the work of Allport (1966, p. 454) who distinguished between two groups of churchgoers. The first category, referred to by the term *Extrinsic Orientation*, is of individuals whose membership and communal activity serves other ends: for example it enables them to make friends, improve their social standing or provide their children with a positive environment. Allport & Ross (1967) characterise them as follows:

Persons with this orientation are disposed to use religion for their own ends. The term is borrowed from axiology, to designate an interest that is held because it serves other, more ultimate interests. Extrinsic values are always instrumental and utilitarian. Persons with this orientation may find religion useful in a variety of ways - to provide security and solace, sociability and distraction, status and self-justification. The embraced creed is lightly held or else selectively shaped to fit more primary needs. In theological terms the extrinsic type turns to God, but without turning away from self.

The second category, *Intrinsic Orientation* identified those for whom religion is “an end in itself” and provides the whole of life with a meaning, context and purpose. Again, Allport & Ross (1967) offer a brief pen picture:

Persons with this orientation find their master motive in religion. Other needs, strong as they may be, are regarded as of less ultimate significance, and they are, so far as possible, brought into harmony with the religious beliefs and prescriptions. Having embraced a creed the individual endeavours to internalize it and follow it fully. It is in this sense that he *lives* his religion.

The notion of orientation was extended significantly by Batson and Ventis (1982, p. 150) with the addition of a third index, *Quest Orientation*. This category seeks to capture the concepts of doubt, provisionality and tentativeness concerning religious questions. It recognises that an important part of religiosity can be the attraction of living with questions and continuing upon a journey or, to use a popular term, pilgrimage. Again they provide a simple characterisation:

An individual who approaches religion in this way recognises that he or she does not know, and probably never will know, the final truth about such matters. But still the questions are deemed important and however tentative and subject to change, answers are sought. There may not be a clear belief in a transcendent reality, but there is a transcendent, religious dimension to the individual's life.

Various scales have been produced over the period since Allport proposed his model and the measures have been used in a variety of ways. For the purposes of the present paper the *New Indices of Religious Orientation* proposed and tested by Francis (2007) have been adopted. The advantages of the NIRO scales include that they are designed to distinguish between individuals whose religiosity has been shaped by engagement with the institutional church, that they distinguish between different components of each index and that they are of equal length.

The concept of Religious Orientation differs from many other scales, for example the Personality Type scales of Myers and Briggs (Myers and McCaulley, 1985) in that, notwithstanding the wording in the characterisations quoted above, they do not primarily locate individuals in different and distinct categories. Indeed, as levels of religious activity and commitment increase (for example frequency of churchgoing and of private prayer) it may well be that this will be associated with an observed increase in the scores on all three indices.

### **Applying the NIRO to Cathedral Studies**

Francis and Williams (in press) applied the NIRO questions to three Anglican Cathedral Sunday congregations in England and Wales, obtaining a sample size of 601. They found the NIRO indices worked well with the sample and that overall *Intrinsic* orientation was observed the most with about two thirds of their sample agreeing sufficiently with the various statements used to form the index. *Quest* orientation was the next most frequently observed at about half of the sample. It should be

noted that there is no reason for an individual not to exhibit two or even all three orientations. However the pattern was not the same across all three cathedrals, one in particular showing significantly higher levels of *Extrinsic* orientation. The conclusions of the study invited the generation of further data samples in order to deepen the understanding of cathedral churchgoers.

### **The Carol Service case study**

A theoretical model for understanding the belonging of occasional churchgoers and comparing them with frequent churchgoers present on the same occasion was developed by Walker (2006) and then tested on a sample of around 1450 attendees at rural Harvest Festival services in 2007. This identified a distinctive pattern of belonging (Walker, 2009), of religious belief and practice (Walker in press, a) and allowed the exploration of how the *Five Marks of Mission* of the Anglican Communion (ACC 1996) might be applied to them (Walker, 2011). The task of replicating these studies for the very different context of a [rural](#) cathedral congregation was begun through a survey of some 422 adults who attended Carol Services at Worcester Cathedral in 2009. Walker (in press, b) demonstrated that both samples were younger and more liberal in beliefs and attitudes when compared with the Harvest study and with those surveyed in the *Church Times* study of 2001 (Francis, Robbins, & Astley, 2005). The cathedral carol service congregations were at the same time found to be strongly drawn to various specific traditional elements of the Christian story (not least those found in the traditional Christmas narrative) and to be deeply supportive of the place of the church, its activities and its representatives, in public society; for example in its church schools and in the engagement between politics and religion.

### **Research Questions**

It was considered plausible for the present study that very many of those attending the *Service of Nine Lessons and Carols* in an English cathedral would have had significant engagement with the church and hence be a suitable sample for the application of the NIRO indices. Accordingly, the 27 questions were included in the Worcester survey and were thoroughly completed by 393 individuals. Walker (in press, c) showed that the indices satisfied the normal requirements for statistical reliability so that the responses can be used to address three research questions.

Firstly, previous studies using the NIRO indices have been based on samples with a relatively poor age distribution; for example working with first year college students (Francis, 2007) or with the much older age profile of cathedral Sunday morning congregations (Francis and Williams, in press). The younger age profile of the present sample, identified by Walker (in press, b), provides an opportunity to ask whether religious orientation shows any evidence of varying with age. Is it the case that Quest orientation, with its provisionality, is stronger among younger people? Does Extrinsic religiosity increase at the older end of the age spectrum as church takes over from the working environment as the place where social support is given and received? At what point in life is Intrinsic orientation at its strongest?

Secondly, Francis (2007) found positive correlations at the  $p < .001$  level between each of the three indices and frequency of church attendance. Repeating the same analysis with a sample offering a much wider age range allows that finding to be tested across a wider age spectrum.

Finally, obtaining indices for religious orientation allows comparisons and contrasts to be investigated between the Carol Service congregation and three Cathedral Sunday morning congregations who have previously been studied using the same indices. To what extent is the Carol Service reaching out to those with different types of orientation?

### **Method**

**Procedure**

The two Services of Nine Lessons and Carols at Worcester Cathedral generate a combined average attendance of around 1500. Most arrive about 30 minutes before the service begins in order to obtain a good seat and to enjoy the music which precedes the service. Each was given a survey form containing about 150 questions in total and was provided with a pencil with which to complete it. Completed surveys were collected in after the service was over. A brief note on the front of the survey form encouraged responses but no other explanation or encouragement was given. The survey forms were anonymous and confidential.

**Measures**

Respondents were asked basic information about gender and age (measured largely in decades with a final category for “80 and over”). Frequency of church attendance was assessed by a choice of six responses: once a week or more, nearly every week, at least once a month, at least 6 times a year, at least once a year, never. Four choices were offered in answer to a question about religious affiliation: Church of England; other Christian; other world faith; none. Respondents were also asked to indicate if they had been baptised and, if so, whether they had been confirmed. The NIRO survey was by way of the 27 questions devised by Francis, using a 5-point Likert scale: agree strongly; agree; not certain; disagree; disagree strongly. In accordance with common practice, respondents who had failed to complete significant numbers of the questions were excluded from the study whilst occasional blank responses to the Likert scale questions were coded as “not certain”.

**Participants***Gender*

The sample included 219 women and 157 men (17 did not respond to this question). The figure of 58% women and 42% men is very close to that for the Francis and Williams study. There is no evidence therefore to suggest that Carol Services have a distinctive appeal to one gender by comparison with regular Cathedral worship.

*Age*

The age profile showed a much more distinct pattern: 27% of respondents were under 40 (with 5% aged 19 or below, 13% in their 20s, 9% in their 30s), this contrasts with only 16% in the three cathedrals study. While 13% of those at the Carol Service were in their 40s, 21% were in their 50s, 31% in their 60s and just 8% were aged 70 or above. The comparative figures for the three cathedrals survey were 14%, 18%, 23% and 27%. The Carol Service clearly attracts a much lower average age of attendee; the slight drop for those in their 30s may be a consequence of a much higher proportion of this age group having small children at home. One reason for low numbers of over 70s may be the reluctance of that group to come out on a winter’s evening.

*Churchgoing*

Some 30% of the sample agreed or agreed strongly with the statement “I feel that I belong to this cathedral congregation”. By comparison 87% of those polled by Francis and Williams indicated agreement with a statement that they were “regular members” of the cathedral congregation. On the question of church attendance, there was a very wide spread of answers with 20% attending weekly or more, 12% nearly weekly, 9% at least monthly, 14% at least 6 times per year, 37% at least annually. A further 9% claimed never to attend church. By contrast 95% of the Francis and Williams sample were in one of the three highest frequency categories, i.e. they attend church at least monthly. The Worcester survey has clearly identified a sample with a very different and much lower pattern of attendance.

### *Religious affiliation*

A large majority of respondents (61%) considered themselves to be Church of England. A further 17% were members of other Christian denominations, whilst 1% belonged to other world faiths and 20% had no religious affiliation. Some 61% had been both baptised and confirmed and a further 28% were baptised. The very high figures for confirmation suggest that very many of the sample have had the level of engagement with the institutional church that would make the NIRO scales likely to be reliable and effective. When they are taken together with the low figures for church attendance they suggest that the Carol Service is able to reach out to those have had somewhat higher levels of churchgoing at some previous stage of their lives.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **The variation of religious orientation with age**

Calculation of the correlation between age and Extrinsic orientation showed no significant association (-.01, ns); nor did age correlate with Quest orientation (.07, ns). Both of these are theoretically important results. They establish that individuals are as likely to use their faith as a tool to achieve other goods (social standing, comfort in need) at any point in adult life. Equally, it is not the case that younger people are more comfortable living with doubts than their elders; nor, by contrast is there any greater recognition among older people that life is a journey where religious questions are often asked without final answers ever being received. It may of course be that both Extrinsic and Quest orientation are being driven by different factors at different ages, but such questions lie beyond the scope of the present indices to answer.

A very different picture emerged when the correlation between age and Intrinsic orientation was calculated. Here a strong and significant positive association was found (.39,  $p < .001$ ). The strong association in the sample between age and frequency of churchgoing (.34,  $p < .001$ ) may mean that it is actually church attendance that drives Intrinsic religiosity, and that age is serving as a proxy for it. However, further analysis of the data shows that after controlling for frequency of churchgoing there remains a significant correlation between age and intrinsic religious orientation (.24,  $p < .001$ ). It is plausible therefore that what has been observed demonstrates that older people have had time to allow their faith to impact widely on their personal spirituality, religious practice and wider life.

### **The association of religious orientation with church attendance**

Francis (2007) found a strong positive association in his sample of first year students between Intrinsic orientation and frequency of churchgoing; he also found much smaller but still significant positive correlations with the two other indices. Consistent with those findings the present sample showed a strong positive correlation between Intrinsic orientation and frequency of church attendance (.66,  $p < .001$ ) and a lesser but still significant positive association between churchgoing and Quest orientation (.26,  $p < .001$ ). By contrast no association was found between church attendance and Extrinsic orientation (.04, ns).

The correlation between Intrinsic orientation and churchgoing was particularly strong. As noted above however, it is necessary to analyse the data further in order to determine whether this is simply a consequence of both increasing with age. After controlling for age the sample showed a significant positive association (.61,  $p < .001$ ) between churchgoing and intrinsic religiosity This can be seen to reflect that where religiosity is strong in its influence on the whole of an individual's life it is natural for that to be associated with regular participation in church worship

### **Comparison with cathedral Sunday congregations: properties of the full scales**

The means and standard deviations for the three scales bear comparison with those observed by Francis and Williams (in press). The results are set out in table 1.

- Insert table 1 about here -

The highest mean recorded (28.7) was for quest orientation. This contrasts with the Sunday morning results for which the highest (32.7) was for intrinsic orientation, however the mean score for quest orientation recorded by Francis and Williams was very close to the result for the present sample and there is no significant difference between the two.

The second highest mean at the Carol Service was for the intrinsic index. This was also the scale for which the largest difference between the two means was seen. Sunday morning congregation members averaged 32.7 but Carol Services attendees only 27.5. The t test in table 2 shows that there is a statistically significant difference here; the Carol Service congregation have on average less intrinsic orientation.

In both samples extrinsic orientation had the lowest mean. As table 2 shows, the difference between the two means is significant: the Carol Service congregation have lower extrinsic orientation than their Sunday counterparts.

In summary the Carol Service congregation showed similar levels of quest orientation to those attending on Sundays, they had significantly lower mean scores on both other indices with the differences being most marked for the intrinsic index.

One factor that contributes to the large difference between the responses to the intrinsic scale between the present sample and that of Francis and Williams is undoubtedly that the earlier study comprised largely of frequent churchgoers and older people, factors which have been seen to correlate strongly and positively with the intrinsic scale. This should not however disguise the fact that the *Service of Nine Lessons and Carols* appeals not only to younger people with lower church attendance but that these same people respond more positively to statements on the quest orientation scale than the other two scales. This is an act of Christian worship that is accessible to those who are willing to acknowledge and affirm their doubts and uncertainties and to see the spiritual life as a journey rather than a destination.

The scores on the extrinsic scale were lower than both for the other two indices and lower than those reported by Francis and Williams for cathedral Sunday morning services in all three locations studied. It might have been thought that the service would appeal to those who wish to improve their social status (or at least their self-perception of it) by associating with the civic dignitaries, members of parliament and senior clerics who attend and read the lessons, or through association with the “high culture” of the music offered on such occasions. In fact however this has been seen not to be the case.

For quest and extrinsic religious orientation the standard deviations were broadly similar for both the Carol Service and Sunday morning congregations. By contrast, the standard deviation for the Carol Service sample on the intrinsic scale was much higher (8.1) than that observed by Williams and Francis (5.3). The combination of the lower mean and higher standard deviation for the Carol Service sample means that this population contains a high proportion of individuals with a much lower score on the intrinsic orientation scale than almost any of those present on Sunday mornings. For example, the lower quartile for the Carol Service sample is approximately 22; normal distribution

tables suggest that only about 2.2% of those studied in the Sunday sample are likely to have recorded scores at or below that level. There is much less difference at the upper ends of the scales; the upper quartile figure for the Sunday congregations is 36.3, a figure that some 14% of the Carol Service attendees also exceed. The Cathedral Carol service has been found therefore to have a much wider appeal across the range of intrinsic religious orientation. This service remains attractive to those with relatively high scores yet its appeal to people who have comparatively low scores on the intrinsic scale is one that is absent from the cathedral Sunday morning worship observed by Williams and Francis.

### **Comparison with cathedral Sunday congregations: Elements of the three scales**

Francis and Williams (in press) analysed levels of agreement with each of the elements used to make up the indices. They found high levels of agreement with almost all the statements on the intrinsic scale. On the quest scale they found the subsection “openness to change” had more positive responses than “self-criticism” and “existentialism” respectively. On the extrinsic scale “personal support” ranked highest, followed by “social support” with “compartmentalisation” achieving the lowest positive scores overall. Their results, together with those for the present survey, are set out in table 2 to allow comparison between the two samples to be made.

Insert table 2 around here

In the present survey, the only one of the nine statements used to generate the extrinsic scale which achieved agreement from more than half the sample was: *what prayer offers to me most is comfort when sorrow or misfortune strike* (53%). The same question was the only one with a majority agreement in the Sunday morning survey and moreover in both samples the three statements with the strongest support came in the area of “personal support”. Three statements in the extrinsic scale had more than half respondents disagreeing: *Occasionally I compromise my religious beliefs to protect my social and economic well-being* (52%), *One reason for me going to church is that it helps to establish me in the Community* (58%), *I go to church because it helps me to feel at home in my neighbourhood* (55%); a further statement, *While I am a religious person, I do not let religion influence my daily life*, received 49% disagreement. The two highest levels of disagreement both related to statements that are predicated on churchgoing. There was no obvious similarity to the rankings of these statements when compared with the Sunday morning results.

Francis and Williams found agreement levels of 49% or above for all nine statements in the intrinsic scale. For the present sample three of the four highest levels of agreement (47% and above) were for statements that looked to how religious faith is integrated into daily life. The other statement to be agreed with by half or more was *I go to church because it helps me to feel close to God* which 50% supported. There was no similarity in the rankings of the levels of agreement between the two surveys, the top two rankings for the Sunday morning congregations were in the section looking at personal religion, and were about prayer; the same statements came 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> in the present study.

The quest scale also had three statements with half or more respondents agreeing. Openness to change was the most supported section of the scale as had also been true for the Sunday morning survey. In both surveys the three statements that received the lowest levels of affirmation were the same, and in the same order. *Religion only became very important for me when I began to ask questions about the meaning of my life* (18%), *I was driven to ask religious questions by a growing awareness of the tensions in my world* (29%), *Questions are more important to my religious faith than are answers* (29%). The first two of these both came in the “existentialism” part of the scale.



By looking at the individual elements of the scales, and comparing them with the results obtained from three cathedral Sunday morning congregations a number of similarities have been seen particularly with regard to the extrinsic and quest scales. The difference between the two sets of results on the intrinsic scale is however notable. Sunday congregation members are drawn firstly to prayer, only then to the integration of religion into life, for the Carol Service congregation the positions are clearly reversed. It is the outer, moral life that is embraced rather than the inner one of prayer.

### Conclusions

The Cathedral Carol Service not only attracts a large congregation but appeals to one that has a wide age range and includes a majority who are pretty infrequent in their church attendance. Very many of them have had church involvement at some point in their lives, as witnessed by the high numbers who have been confirmed, but for whatever reason are not at present frequent churchgoers. Quest orientation has been seen to be favoured above intrinsic, whereas studies of Cathedral Sunday congregations have intrinsic ahead. The Cathedral is reaching a distinctive congregation with its Carol Service, one open to living with doubts and mysteries rather than believing it has the answers. Moreover the Carol Service has appeal to significant numbers of individuals whose levels of intrinsic religiosity fall below those of almost anybody who attends Cathedral Sunday worship. This difference in intrinsic religious orientation is strengthened by examination of the subsections of the scale. Where Carol Service attendees respond positively to statements on the intrinsic scale they are more likely to do so when these are concerned with living according to one's faith in the wider world; this contrasts with the support of the Sunday cathedral congregations for an intrinsic religiosity focussed first on personal prayer.

The style of the ~~Carol Service~~ *of Nine Lessons and Carols*, where traditional texts are presented, many to elaborate and moving musical accompaniment, but not interpreted, and where no creedal response or significant active participation is required, allows participants to absorb the mystery without feeling forced to reach definitive conclusions, and to take strength for daily living rather than to sustain a private prayer life. Cathedral chapters and directors of music may wish to consider both how the style of service can be maintained and, where necessary strengthened, and whether there might be other occasions in the liturgical year that would lend themselves to events that both nurture the quest orientation and appeal to those with low levels of intrinsic religious orientation.

It is likely that parish Carol Services have the same appeal, though specific research using the NIRO scales should be undertaken to verify this. In many parishes, especially among the smaller church congregations usually present in less densely populated rural areas, where there is often can be pressure to move away from the traditional style of Carol Service, for ~~good~~ reasons such as the difficulty of sustaining the standard of the choral element, ~~particular care needs to be taken~~. New styles of services tend to be devised by those who are the most highly committed churchgoers, who have been seen to have strong intrinsic orientation. Without guidance they are likely to be drawn to what will most nurture themselves, or to stress doctrinal and other certainties that will reduce the ability of the service to reach the quest audience or those with much lower levels of intrinsic religious orientation than their own ~~themselves~~.

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**Table 1 Carol Services and Sunday Services: comparing the three indices**

	Carol Service		Sunday Services		t	p <
	mean	sd	mean	sd		
intrinsic orientation	27.5	8.1	32.7	5.3	12.2	.001
extrinsic orientation	25.0	5.4	26.8	5.3	5.20	.001
quest orientation	28.7	5.7	28.9	5.1	0.58	ns

Carol Service N = 393; Sunday Services N = 601

**Table 2: New Indices of Religious Orientation (NIRO) values: Sunday and Carol Services compared**

	Carols %			Sunday %		
	yes	n/c	no	yes	n/c	no
<b>Extrinsic orientation</b>						
<i>Compartmentalisation</i>						
While I believe in my religion, there are more important things in my life	33	37	31	26	38	36
While I am a religious person, I do not let religion influence my daily life	24	27	49	17	33	50
Occasionally I compromise my religious beliefs to protect my social and economic well-being	17	31	52	28	32	40
<i>Social support</i>						
One reason for me going to church is that it helps to establish me in the Community	15	27	58	25	29	46
A key reason for my interest in church is that it is a pleasant social activity	26	29	46	34	35	41
I go to church because it helps me to feel at home in my neighbourhood	19	27	55	29	28	43
<i>Personal support</i>						
One reason for me praying is that it helps me to gain relief and protection	38	32	29	36	38	27
What prayer offers me most is comfort when sorrow or misfortune strike	53	25	22	66	23	11
I pray chiefly because it makes me feel better	34	28	38	49	29	23
<b>Intrinsic orientation</b>						
<i>Integration</i>						
My religious beliefs really shape my whole approach to life	47	26	27	69	24	8
I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life	55	27	18	68	22	11
My religious beliefs really shape the way I treat other people	59	25	16	62	28	11
<i>Public religion</i>						
I allow almost nothing to prevent me from going to church on Sundays	17	15	68	52	24	25
I go to church because it helps me to feel close to God	50	23	27	62	19	19
The church is most important to me as a place to share fellowship with other Christians	40	29	31	69	22	9
<i>Personal religion</i>						
I pray at home because it helps me to be aware of God's presence	42	23	35	72	20	8
I often read books about prayer and the spiritual life	20	18	62	49	29	36
I pray chiefly because it deepens my relationship with God	38	31	31	69	24	6
<b>Quest orientation</b>						
<i>Existentialism</i>						
I was driven to ask religious questions by a growing awareness of the tensions in my world	29	28	43	22	33	45
My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious beliefs	49	26	25	54	27	19
Religion only became very important for me when I began to ask questions about the meaning of my life	18	29	53	17	28	55
<i>Self-criticism</i>						

I value my religious doubts and uncertainties	49	34	17	53	31	16
For me doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious	54	31	15	50	28	22
Questions are more important to my religious faith than are answers	29	45	26	31	43	26
<i>Openness to change</i>						
As I grow and change, I expect my religion to grow and change as well	58	26	16	63	27	9
I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs	47	24	29	52	22	27
There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing	59	24	17	51	25	25

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