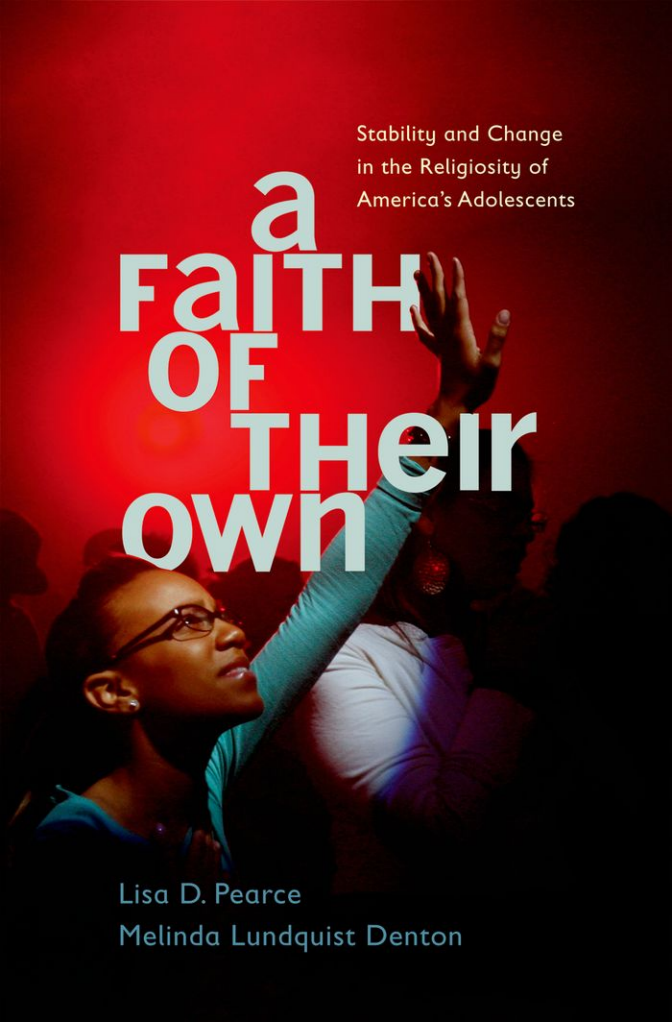


Stability and Change
in the Religiosity of
America's Adolescents



a Faith OF THEir own

Lisa D. Pearce

Melinda Lundquist Denton

A Faith of Their Own

This page intentionally left blank

A FAITH OF THEIR OWN

*Stability and Change in the Religiosity of
America's Adolescents*

LISA D. PEARCE
MELINDA LUNDQUIST DENTON

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

2011

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further
Oxford University's objective of excellence
in research, scholarship, and education.

Oxford New York
Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Copyright © 2011 by Oxford University Press, Inc.

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

www.oup.com

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of Oxford University Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Pearce, Lisa D. (Lisa Deanne), 1971–

A faith of their own : stability and change
in the religiosity of America's adolescents /

Lisa D. Pearce, Melinda Lundquist Denton.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-19-975389-5

1. Teenagers—Religious life—United States.

I. Denton, Melinda Lundquist. II. Title.

BL625.47.P42 2011

200.835'0973—dc22

2010013243

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

With endless gratitude for my parents,
Eldon and Mary Ann Pearce, and my sister, Megan
L. D. P.

With all my love to Jason, Lukas, and Everett
M. L. D.

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Acknowledgments, ix

Introduction, 1

- 1 A Holistic Model of Religiosity and Its Contexts in Adolescence, 11
 - 2 Profiles of Religiosity in Adolescence, 31
 - 3 Roots and Ramifications of the Five *As* of Religiosity, 57
 - 4 Slightly Moving Parts of the Whole, 87
 - 5 When Down Is Up: Complexities in Adolescent Religious Change, 117
 - 6 Scaffolding for Religious Refinement in Adolescence, 143
- Conclusion, 171

Appendix A, 185

Appendix B, 199

Notes, 209

Bibliography, 217

Index, 227

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

This book comes out of the National Study of Youth and Religion (NSYR). The larger project of the NSYR and the specific work of this book reflect the efforts of a great number of people to whom we owe our gratitude and thanks. We thank Chris Coble and the Lilly Endowment Inc. for their very generous support of NSYR. We are extraordinarily appreciative of Christian Smith for inviting us to be a part of this groundbreaking project, mentoring us professionally, and providing feedback during the process of writing this book. Terri Clark, the project manager for NSYR from Wave 2 on, has been absolutely invaluable, constantly going above and beyond in her management of the data collection, research team activities, funding proposals, reports, Institutional Review Board applications, and management of communication and media requests. We cannot imagine a more skilled, wise, or trustworthy assistant than Terri. Debby Pyatt served as the point person for keeping track of our youth respondents across time—not an easy task! Her diligent tracking efforts led to an admirably high retention rate for the second wave of data collection. Thank you to Emily McKendry-Smith, Beth Latshaw, and Kyle Longest for assisting with these efforts.

We also owe a great debt of gratitude to all of those involved in the collection of the NSYR Wave 2 survey and semistructured interviews. Thank you to those at the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science, especially Teresa Edwards, Michelle Temple, Jessica Hardie, and Gerald Lackey, as well as the interviewers, for their tireless efforts in support of our telephone survey. Kim Manturuk lent her excellent leadership to the fielding of our 122 in-person, semistructured interviews,

assisted by an outstanding team of interviewers: John Bartkowski, Tyson Brown, Dan DeHanas, Korie Edwards, Richard Flory, Youn Ok Lee, Alexis Pankey, Norman Peart, Mark Regnerus, David Sikkink, Christian Smith, Steve Vaisey, Ria Van Ryn, and Todd Wilkins. We are grateful to Laura Boutwell, Laura Hoseley, Diane Johnson, Sandi Osterkatz, Robyn Richie, and Pam Roberts for transcribing the interviews. And we thank Emily McKendry-Smith and Youn Ok Lee for formatting the transcripts for analysis in ATLAS.ti.

We would also like to thank all those who contributed time and effort in data analysis and research tasks, including Christopher Ball, Ian Conlon, Dan DeHanas, Tracie Gesel, Gretchen Gooding, Jessica Hardie, Taylor Hargrove, Leigh Howell, Hannah Jefferies, Stef Knauer, Beth Latshaw, Youn Ok Lee, Jamie Lewis, Emily McKendry-Smith, Jessica Pearlman, Niobra Peterson, Monica Pyles, Shradha Shrestha, Ria Van Ryn, and Heather Wendt.

Karolyn Tyson and Michele Berger provided invaluable feedback, advice and moral support during the writing of this book. Mark Chaves and Margarita Mooney, along with the students in their Sociology of Religion classes, similarly offered helpful reactions to and suggestions for drafts of the book. E. Michael Foster provided excellent guidance in the use of latent class methods. Thanks also to Heather Tirado Gilligan for providing exceptional editorial assistance in the final stages. We are grateful for the feedback of the anonymous reviewers whose comments helped shape the direction of the final manuscript. Thank you to Cynthia Read, our editor at Oxford University Press, for guiding us through the publication process.

Another key constituency in the development of this book is the William T. Grant Foundation, which generously supported Lisa through a Scholars Award as the book was being written. This award comes with a network of incredibly supportive and encouraging junior scholars, foundation staff, and selection committee members. The mentorship, advice, and camaraderie developed in the past five years have been invaluable to this project. Thanks especially to my senior program advisor, Tom Weisner as well as Bob Granger, Ed Seidman, Vivian Tseng, Irene Williams, Renee Spencer, Rachel Dunifon, Rob Crosnoe, Stefanie DeLuca, Dina Okamoto, and Brian Mustanski. Your support has meant the world.

Pearce's year as a Fellow at the Stanford Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (2007–8) was where the writing of this book launched. Thank you to all the CASBS personnel and fellows (especially my H Block friends) for the rich year.

We extend thanks to our home departments and colleagues, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Department of Sociology and the Carolina Population Center, as well as the Clemson University Department of Sociology and Anthropology, for their support as we undertook this process, from proposal writing, to data collection, through the completion of this manuscript. Thank you to prior mentors and colleagues as well, including our undergraduate advisors at Whitworth University, Robert Clark, Don Liebert, and Raja Tanas, and Seattle Pacific University, Cynthia Price, David Diekema, and David Caddell. Many of the ideas that formed this project and book are rooted in important conversations and social support from close friends and colleagues William G. Axinn, Jennifer Barber, Dirgha Ghimire, Kathie Harris, Arland Thornton, and Scott Yabiku.

The idea of using latent class models to characterize adolescent religiosity originated from discussions between Pearce and Michael Foster about how to better measure religiosity. The latent class analyses used in this writing of this book were informed by prior analyses conducted by Jessica Hardie in consultation with Foster. Both Foster and Hardie provided valuable assistance in interpreting the preliminary analyses.

We wish to extend an especially heartfelt thanks to our families for scaffolding us with their never-ending love and support as we worked on this book: Eldon and Mary Ann Pearce, Megan, Brian, Kathryn, and Emily Smith, Jason Denton, Melvin and Gracie Denton, Gregg and Virginia Lundquist, Marla Conser, Melody Barrera, and Kelley Tegen.

Finally, this book would not have been possible without the generous cooperation of the many parents and youth who continue to participate in the National Study of Youth and Religion. We are forever indebted to your willingness to share your lives with us. You have taught us much.

This page intentionally left blank

A Faith of Their Own

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

It is the summer of 2005 and we are each on our way to the first of many in-person interviews with adolescents all across the United States, in coffee shops and public library meeting rooms. Digital recorders in hand and thoughts of a book on religious change in adolescence looming, we begin to wonder: How will Rachel, now 17 years old, and Chelsea, now 16, have changed since we interviewed them two years earlier?¹ I (Lisa) had taken an immediate liking to Rachel's bubbly enthusiasm as she described her good friends, how they swap clothes and help each other choose boyfriends. I wonder, will her already waning attendance at the family's Methodist church have fallen off further? Maybe her mother's boyfriend will have moved in and succeeded in convincing her mother that church attendance is pointless. Will Rachel still be proud of how well she communicates with God through prayer, or will the increasing busyness of adolescence have crowded that out of her life? When I (Melinda) first met Chelsea, she was a young 13-year-old with an outgoing personality, a quick wit, and an innocent view of the world. At the time she was confident that she could embrace both her mother's Jewish heritage and her father's Presbyterian roots and be "Christian with a hint of Jewish." I wonder if she has been able to maintain the delicate balance through age 16, or if she has given up on religion altogether. Will her mother still be her best friend, the person in whom she confides about everything? Did the transition to high school dull her youthful optimism?

The journey through adolescence is typically equated with an assertion of independence and individuality. In the United States the teen

years and early twenties are a time to search for freedom. Youth push the boundaries of conventional style and language. They seek leisure time away from their parents and find jobs that give them a taste of financial independence. Rachel confessed in the second interview to spending a lot of time at parties with youth her age, drinking the occasional wine cooler and smoking pot. She works at an amusement park in hopes of saving enough money to buy her own car and pay for insurance. Chelsea's weekend activities include going with friends to movies and having sleepovers, where they have water fights and play truth-or-dare. At 16 she classifies herself as "a pretty boring child" but is beginning to assert her independence and desire for autonomy. Aware of her parents' financial struggles, Chelsea has taken it upon herself to maintain a superb academic record in order to win scholarships and pay her own way through college. She has recently had a falling-out with her mother, who insists on "babying" her though Chelsea is ready to be treated as an adult. Religious beliefs and practices can appear contradictory to this adolescent quest for autonomy: getting up early for church when their bodies are begging for more late-morning sleep, submitting to the watchful eye of coreligionists and clergy, spending precious time reading scriptures or praying instead of studying, working, or socializing. Adults and teenagers alike often say that an active religious life seems relatively incompatible with adolescence.

Yet when asked, teenagers offer a view of their own religiosity that reveals a significant inclination toward the spiritual. Indeed, as we show in this book, youth are overwhelmingly likely to say they have remained as or gotten *more* religious during adolescence. Only a small minority of adolescents say they became *less* religious in their teenage years.

Rachel is one of those youth who describes herself as overall having stayed the same religiously in adolescence. She says that she prays about the same amount these days, but when we talk about public religious practice, she says that she attends religious services less often than she did two years ago. Rachel explains that this is primarily because her mother's boyfriend, who has still not proposed marriage or moved in with them, sleeps over every Saturday night. As he has no interest in attending church, none of them goes when he is around. When we talked specifically about the cognitive aspect of her religiosity, here is how she describes why she feels stronger in her religious beliefs:

It's because I'm more knowledgeable of what it really means to me, like um, and a couple years ago I'd just be like okay, well I could just

do this, ask for forgiveness, and he'll forgive me. I've kind of grown up you know. That's really not the point—why he forgives you and everything—and so that doesn't give you an extent to where you can do it, and just say, "Oh, I'll ask for forgiveness later, so it's okay."

Many of the youth we interviewed feel that they have matured to the point that their faith is their own, and that makes it deeper and stronger. In some cases, much like Rachel, they feel this balances out decreases in their religious practice, so that their overall religiosity has stayed the same. In other cases they feel that this personal ownership outweighs and overpowers any decreases or stasis in religious practice, so that ultimately they perceive themselves to have become more religious.

What do we as a society really know about religious change during adolescence? When anyone asks us what our book is about and we say "How religiosity changes in adolescence," nine times out of ten the response is some variant of "Oh, how much does it decrease?" No one asks whether or not religiosity decreases in adolescence, they just ask how much it decreases. That we will tell a story of religious decline among adolescents seems to be a foregone conclusion. But we wonder if common wisdom has exaggerated the extent to which religious beliefs and practices decrease during adolescence. Worse yet, are we sending young people false messages about what a normative adolescent experience might be? Yes and no. Like most social processes, paths to adulthood and religious life trajectories are intertwined and complex.² Part of the complexity arises in the attempt to define and understand what it is that makes someone religious. The term *religious* is applied regularly to describe individual identity, but regularity does not imply uniformity of meaning. Sometimes being religious means that a person believes strongly in God or some sacred, supernatural being. Yet some youth who believe in God do not call themselves religious, whereas others do. This ambiguity in the definition of religion reflects the many dimensions of religion and religiosity. Understanding the trajectories of religious change among adolescents requires that we start by recognizing this multidimensional nature of religiosity. Religiosity has many aspects; three of the main dimensions are the *content* of religious belief, the *conduct* of religious practices, and the *centrality* of religion, or what we develop as the three Cs in chapter 1.

Although they do not use this language, youth are also aware of the multidimensional quality of religion. As Chelsea talks about her religion she is quick to distinguish her religious *conduct*, whether or not

she gets up for church in the morning, from her religious *content* and *centrality*, her belief in Jesus and the importance of her relationship with God:

I go to church once a week, but if I haven't been getting a lot of sleep, I might sleep in, um, and I guess the whole reason for that is I don't think I need to go to church to prove that I'm a Christian and I believe in Jesus Christ as my Lord. I think people that say that you have to go to church, it's a ridiculous statement. I mean I know that I love God, and God knows that I love God.

In this book we examine what happens to the multiple dimensions of religiosity and spirituality in adolescence by conceptualizing religiosity and spirituality as tile mosaics that individuals create and continually modify based on their own definitions of the important dimensions of religiosity, the intensity or importance of each of those dimensions, and the religious patterns that have been modeled for them to this point in their life. We identify and illustrate five common but unique profiles of religiosity, or types of religious mosaics, in the population of America's adolescents that we call the five *As*: the *Abiders*, the *Adapters*, the *Assenters*, the *Avoiders*, and the *Atheists*. We examine how the lives of youth with different religious mosaics vary in other ways. We also consider how religious mosaics change over time and how youths' parents, peers, and religious institutions factor in the refinement taking place in adolescents' religious lives.

This book is intended to speak to a variety of audiences about the nature of religiosity and spirituality in adolescence. Scholars of religion in everyday life will be interested in our alternative conceptualization of American religiosity as falling into five main profiles and the social characteristics that tend to define each group. Parents and others who work with adolescents (in religious settings or elsewhere) will be able to use this typology of five religious profiles to better understand, communicate with, support, and challenge adolescents.

Adolescence is a Latin word derived from the verb *adolescere*, meaning "to grow into adulthood."³ Adolescence is typically used to refer to that period in life when individuals are moving from the immaturity of childhood into the maturity of adulthood, and this involves many dramatic biological and social changes. Adolescence involves puberty, interest in sex, autonomy from parents, increasing abilities to make independent and wise decisions, growing self-awareness and a concern for the future.⁴ Adolescence is also marked by key life transitions, including driving, working, and voting. In the two years between our

in-person interviews Rachel moved from middle school to high school, got her driver's license, started working, and became sexually active. Chelsea also transitioned to high school, embraced a liberal political identity, and experienced an increasingly strained relationship with her mother. These changes all have implications for how Rachel and Chelsea are religious (or not) and the changes and refinement that occur to their faith during adolescence.

Over time the age range thought to encompass adolescence has widened. For some time the term was equivalent to the teenage years (13–19), but over the past century physical maturity has occurred earlier and earlier, and most youth have delayed entering the full-time workforce and getting married until at least their mid-20s. Research also suggests that brain development and maturation extend into the mid-20s.⁵ For these reasons it makes more sense to conceptualize adolescence as roughly the period of life stretching from about age 10 to 20, or the second decade of life.

Scholars have made finer distinctions within adolescence, referring to ages 10–13 as *early adolescence*, 14–17 as *middle adolescence*, and 18–22 as *late adolescence* or *emerging adulthood*.⁶ These distinctions in age help scholars focus on the key life transitions that occur in each segment of adolescence, such as the freedom that often comes with getting a driver's license in middle adolescence and the transition out of high school occurring in late adolescence. In this book we focus on how the religious and spiritual lives or identities of youth evolve during the transition from middle to late adolescence. The data we use as evidence were collected from a group of American youth who were between 13 and 17 when they were first surveyed in 2002 and between 16 and 21 when they were interviewed again three years later.

It is important to study religion and spirituality during adolescence for two reasons. First, the confluence of dramatic biological, psychological, social, and economic changes in adolescence suggests that this is a prime time for religious or spiritual change and development.⁷ Youth in this age range are becoming more autonomous in many realms of life, discovering themselves, and forging their own identity based on what they have learned from family, friends, and the institutions in which they have been socialized.⁸ How the myriad changes that adolescence brings shape the religious beliefs, practices, and salience of youth is one focus of this book.

A second motivating factor for the study of religious and spiritual trajectories in adolescence is that many studies have found religiosity and spirituality to be related to positive adolescent outcomes such as

higher self esteem, better physical health, and higher educational aspirations, as well as protecting against early initiation of sexual activity, delinquency, and alcohol and drug use.⁹ Examining how and why dimensions of religiosity and spirituality change in adolescence helps us better understand and support youth in their journeys of self-discovery and identity development.

This book is based on findings from the first and second waves of the National Study of Youth and Religion, a comprehensive multi-method research project examining the religious and spiritual lives of American youth. Findings from the first wave of this study, a baseline for the religious and spiritual lives of middle adolescents (ages 13–17) in the United States, were reported in the book *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers* by Smith and Denton. That book revealed that in the early twenty-first century religion is a significant presence in the lives of American teenagers.¹⁰ Most are involved in the religious congregations in which they were raised and profess that religion is an important part of their lives, and even though they are not particularly articulate about their specific beliefs, the vast majority embrace some religious identity. Further, the character of adolescent religiosity in the United States is highly conventional. Most follow the religious beliefs and practices of their parents, and although they are highly supportive of others choosing religious beliefs from among numerous faiths, even outside Jewish or Christian boundaries, they themselves rarely do.

Smith and Denton also find that at the level of subjective consciousness, adolescent religious and spiritual understanding and concern seem to be generally very weak. Most American adolescents have difficulty explaining what it is they believe, what it means, and what the implications of their beliefs are for their lives. So even though religion is very much a part of their lives, it seems to be unfocused, implicit, and just part of the background of life. In fact Smith and Denton label the particular religious outlook most represented among youth *Moralistic Therapeutic Deism*, which they define as a belief in a creator God who watches over human life on earth, wants people to be good, nice, and fair to each other, but does not need to be particularly involved in one's life except when needed to resolve a problem. Regardless of the fact that most adolescents cannot clearly articulate the meaning or influence of religion in their lives, however, religion is strongly related to other life outcomes and seems to have a largely positive influence in youths' lives. Smith and Denton provide a much needed description and analysis of the place of religion and spirituality in the lives of middle adolescents.

Armed with this baseline understanding of the general shape and form of religion and spirituality among American adolescents, the National Study of Youth and Religion then began to address a new set of questions: What happens to the religious and spiritual lives of these same adolescents over time? How do their beliefs and practices and the meaning of religion in their lives evolve? What does repeated measurement of religious beliefs, practice, and salience among these same youth show, and how do they themselves describe the changes in their lives during adolescence? What social contexts or life experiences facilitate or pose barriers to religious and spiritual development? These are all questions we tackle in this book.

The National Study of Youth and Religion (NSYR) started as a nationally representative telephone survey of U.S. households containing at least one teenager age 13 to 17. One parent and one teenager from each of these households were interviewed over the phone for about 30 and 50 minutes, respectively, between July 2002 and March 2003. In the spring and summer of 2003, seventeen trained project researchers conducted 267 in-person interviews in forty-five states. The second wave of the NSYR took place in 2005 and involved a telephone survey to reinterview our adolescent respondents and then follow-up in-person interviews with 122 of the youth who were interviewed in person in 2003.¹¹ At both waves of the study our interview participants were sampled to capture a range of American youth representing different religions and religious denominations, races and ethnicities, genders, socioeconomic statuses, residences (rural, suburban, urban), and regions of the country.¹²

To our knowledge the NSYR remains the most comprehensive study of the religious and spiritual lives of American youth to date. The survey and semistructured interview data coming from two points in time allow us to provide a reliable and representative description and analysis of the shape and content of religion and spirituality on the journey through adolescence at the start of the twenty-first century in America. Our data come from a nationally representative sample that is not limited to particular religious groups. Included in our study are nonreligious youth as well as a wide variety of religious youth from all types of backgrounds. However, because our sample represents the population of youth at this age in the United States, religious groups that make up a small percentage of the U.S. population—Latter Day Saints, Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, Muslims, and others—also make up a small proportion of our survey respondents. Thus larger generalizations that we make are often most reliable for the majority religious

groups in the United States: Protestants and Catholics. Other members of the NSYR research team are writing books and articles more focused on youth involved in some of the minority religious traditions within the United States.¹³

Here is what to expect in the coming chapters. Chapter 1 lays out our conceptualization of religiosity and spirituality and how it is experienced and refined throughout adolescence. We critique the fit between prior theoretical definitions or conceptualizations of individual religiosity and spirituality and how scholars tend to use surveys to measure religiosity across time. In other words, although scholars long ago identified the multidimensional nature of religiosity and the seeming inconsistencies across the dimensions within individuals (e.g., strong beliefs but low involvement or high involvement but a lack of salience), research involving survey data has been slow to incorporate methods that allow for a more holistic measurement of religiosity in its unique forms and their changes over time. We recommend an analytic approach that allows for seeming incongruities across components of religiosity (i.e., belief, practice, salience) that reflect the complexity with which humans experience their religiosity in daily life. We then situate our conceptualization of religious profiles in key contexts of adolescence—cognitive development, family socialization, peer interaction, and norms and roles—to better understand what we might expect in terms of the character, dynamics, and correlates of religiosity in adolescence. Although chapter 1 is primarily aimed at social scientists who study religiosity among youth and other age groups, our conclusions also encourage youth practitioners, religious institutions, parents, and the general public to more carefully consider what we mean when we say someone is *really religious*, *not religious*, or *becoming more or less religious*. Oversimplification of these concepts may lead to misunderstanding adolescents and the guidance they need and desire in working out their religious and spiritual identities.

In chapter 2 we describe in depth the five profiles of religiosity, called the five *As*, apparent in the youth population of the United States. We introduce a prototypical youth from each of the five categories to help illustrate the profiles. Their lives demonstrate the range of religious and spiritual beliefs, practices, and salience in adolescents and how these dimensions of religiosity shift over time in protean packages of religious identity that we term *religious profiles*. They also illuminate the relatively constant feedback between religiosity, cognitive development, family socialization, peer involvement, and the norms and roles characteristic of adolescent life. We refer back to

these youth, as well as others, throughout the book to demonstrate key points and findings with real-life examples.

We further develop the five general profiles of religiosity by showing other characteristics of youth that relate to membership in a given profile in chapter 3. These findings give a sense of individual, family, peer, and community factors that may be related to living out a particular profile of religiosity.

In chapter 4 we look at change over time in the dimensions of religiosity comprising a person's religious profile as well as change over time in the profiles to which adolescents belong. Although there are some interesting differences in magnitude, over time most dimensions of religiosity show slight downturns in the aggregate for adolescents. We present the probabilities of shifting between the main profiles of religiosity over the three years of our study. This chapter helps us understand the various types of religiosity that exist in the adolescent population and how often adolescents switch types.

We continue with our examination of forms of religious change in chapter 5 by presenting the discourses youth themselves use to summarize their religious or spiritual development over time. This analysis enriches our understanding of how youth themselves view the unfolding of religiosity in adolescence, clarifies our interpretation of the survey results, and suggests courses of action for engaging adolescents in religious or other identity-developing enterprises.

In chapter 6 we examine features of youth's lives that seem to promote either stability or change in their religious profiles. We find that parents, peers, and religious institutions have the potential to serve as social scaffolding that supports and encourages youth to make occasional refinements to the content, conduct, and centrality of their religious faith. The lack of these sources of social scaffolding or overscaffolding, both of which result from others not understanding an adolescent's needs and desires well, hampers youth's efforts to refine their faith, making it their own.

This page intentionally left blank