

Diverse Supernatural Portfolios: Certitude, Exclusivity, and the Curvilinear Relationship Between Religiosity and Paranormal Beliefs

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Studies have attempted to understand the association between more conventional supernatural (religious) beliefs and practices and less conventional “paranormal” supernatural beliefs. Some have posited that the two comprise incompatible cultural spheres and belief systems, while others have argued that supernatural religious beliefs are “small steps” toward less conventional paranormal views (such as belief in astrology and telekinesis). We build upon recent scholarship outlining a more nuanced, nonlinear relationship between religiosity and paranormal beliefs by identifying a specific niche of believers who are particularly likely to dabble in unconventional supernatural beliefs. Strong believers in the paranormal tend to be characterized by a nonexclusive spiritualist worldview, as opposed to materialist or exclusive religious outlooks. Paranormal believers tend to be characterized by moderate levels of religious belief and practice, and low levels of ideological exclusivity. In general, the relationship between more conventional religiosity and paranormal beliefs is best conceptualized as curvilinear.

INTRODUCTION

A substantial amount of research in recent years has examined the relationship between religious practices and beliefs (e.g., heaven, hell, and Satan), and beliefs about the “paranormal,” including UFOs, ghosts, and psychic phenomena. Noting that more conventional religious beliefs and less conventional paranormal beliefs both deal with supernatural phenomena, researchers have posited a variety of possible relationships between the two. Some emphasize incompatibilities, arguing that each comprises a separate sphere of culture and should therefore be negatively related with minimal overlap (Emmons and Sobal 1981; Hess 1993; Sjodin 2002; Stark 2008; Stark and Bainbridge 1980; Wuthnow 1976). Other studies argue in favor of a “small step” hypothesis, positing that strong belief in one type of supernaturalism makes the believer more open to other types of supernatural belief (Bainbridge 2004; Goode 2000; Orenstein 2002). Seemingly contradictory findings concerning these connections have emerged in the ongoing discourse. In this study, we make efforts to reconcile these differing positions by directing attention to the manner in which religious beliefs are held and by testing the hypothesis that the general relationship between religiosity and paranormal belief is curvilinear. Specifically, we show that differing levels of religious certitude, practice, and ideological exclusivity are critical to understanding this relationship.

Previous Research on Belief in the Paranormal

As noted, two contrary perspectives have guided much of the past research on this topic. Separate spheres approaches often incorporate deprivation and marginalization theories, maintaining

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that unconventional belief systems are most likely to thrive among those who are less integrated in society. Status groups with relatively less social power (e.g., lower education and income, rural residents, women, and ethnic minorities) are posited as being more likely to reject conventional belief systems and embrace alternatives (Emmons and Sobal 1981; Rice 2003; Wuthnow 1976). This is assumed because predominant ideological norms largely serve to support the status of those who are already in a favorable social position. Accordingly, those with a greater stake in conventional reward systems are less apt to hold views labeled as deviant (see Hirschi 1969; Nye 1958; Toby 1957). The less powerful—those with fewer stakes in conformity—are more likely to reject “mainstream” religious values in favor of belief systems characterized as superstitious or unsophisticated. Paranormal beliefs, then, might serve as substitutionary belief systems for the marginalized (Emmons and Sobal 1981; Harrold and Eve 1986). From this perspective, belief in the paranormal would be expected to have an inverse relationship with more conventional religiosity.

Counter to the separate spheres argument, other scholars have asserted that both types of beliefs share a “spiritual” orientation to the world (Bainbridge 2004; Goode 2000; Orenstein 2002). In this view, spiritualists who believe the material world represents only one level of reality are contrasted with materialists who stress naturalistic, scientific explanations of phenomena. This perspective highlights a shared feature of religious and paranormal beliefs: both are based on nonhypothetical truths, or beliefs that cannot be definitively confirmed or falsified by research employing the scientific method (Goode 2000). Therefore, given that proponents of both religious and nonreligious supernatural beliefs share a common orientation toward the spiritual, it is only a small step for holders of more conventional supernatural religious beliefs (resurrection, heaven, hell, angels) to believe in the paranormal (psychic abilities, ghosts, UFOs, astrology). This assumes something of a “spiritual buffet” approach where, given that varying supernatural beliefs have similar levels of inherent plausibility, people will freely sample from the multiple bundles of beliefs available. Individuals adopting this orientation are characterized as spiritual seekers and religious dabblers who have moved away from traditional religious participation and toward a privatized amalgamation of supernatural beliefs (cf. Heelas 1996; Houtman and Aupers 2007; Roof 1993, 1999).

Contradictory empirical findings have failed to adjudicate between competing theoretical assertions. For example, Rice (2003) found little support for a distinctive connection between the two types of supernatural beliefs (cf. Donahue 1993; MacDonald 1995; Sparks 2001). Meanwhile, some researchers have reported a significant negative relationship (Emmons and Sobal 1981; Sjodin 2002), and others have reported a significant positive relationship (Glendinning 2006; Goode 2000; Orenstein 2002).

Goode (2000) suggested a potential explanation for these seemingly discrepant findings:

consider the fact that both perspectives toward the connection between religion and paranormalism may be correct. That is, the divergent findings exist for a reason, and that reason may be that, among substantial segments of religionists, there is a strong and emphatic rejection of most tenets of paranormalism, whereas among other segments the embrace of certain articles of paranormal belief is strong. Hence it is not so much that some sociologists are right and others are wrong on this issue, but that both are right *about specific sets of believers*. (2000:185, italics in original)

In other words, perhaps there are simply different types of religious believers accounting for the divergent findings of past research, as Rice (2003) also argued at the conclusion of his study.

Toward Resolving the Contradictions

Bainbridge (2004) and Orenstein (2002) suggested that some of the discrepant findings may be due to a curvilinear relationship between these cultural spheres, as this would explain the confounding nature of results based on linear assumptions. In examining the bivariate relationship

between self-described religiosity and belief in several paranormal topics, Bainbridge (2004) found the highest levels of belief in telepathy among those claiming to be “somewhat religious” or “neither religious nor nonreligious,” and lower levels of belief at the “extremely religious” and “extremely nonreligious” ends of the spectrum. Orenstein (2002) reported similar findings, showing that high and low levels of church attendance were associated with lower levels of paranormal belief.

Recently, Mencken, Bader, and Kim (2009) suggested a “compatibility” perspective that attempts to synthesize previous approaches. They highlight interaction effects between service attendance and conventional religious beliefs when predicting belief in the paranormal (also see Glendinning 2006; McKinnon 2003). For those not strongly tied to a specific, exclusive religious tradition through frequent practice, there is a significant positive relationship between Christian beliefs and belief in the paranormal. Meanwhile, for those attending religious services frequently, the relationship is severely attenuated.

Mencken et al. base their arguments on Iannaccone’s concept of religious capital (1994, 1995), which assumes individuals have a limited amount of time and energy to invest in religious and spiritual pursuits. People can choose not to be religious or spiritual, they can dabble in multiple pursuits, or they can fully commit to a specific supernatural perspective. Those rejecting spiritualism in all forms are unlikely to hold either religious or paranormal beliefs. By contrast, those who fully commit to a specific, exclusive religious tradition do not have the time or interest in “diversifying their religious portfolios.” Moreover, ideologically stricter religious traditions may enact sanctions for experimenting with beliefs beyond the scope of the tradition. The wealth of popular titles warning against the evils of the paranormal or “New Age” from a conservative Protestant perspective are emblematic of this position (e.g., Cumbey 1985; Graham 1992; Noonan 2005; Peretti 1986; Robertson 1991). However, people who are not strict materialists *and* not committed to an exclusive religious tradition are likely those for whom the “small step” approach is most applicable.

Hypotheses

We propose that individuals with moderate levels of religiosity will be more apt to incorporate paranormal beliefs. For those holding more normalized religious beliefs, but who are unconvinced by exclusive claims on religious truth, dabbling in other supernatural traditions would be a reasonable use of religious capital. In short, we aim to assess the *manner* in which religious beliefs are held and the *level* of religious practice in order to better understand receptivity to less conventional supernatural belief systems.

Our overarching strategy is to assess whether belief in the paranormal is strongest among individuals interested in the spiritual, but whose beliefs are moderately certain and nonexclusive, and to determine if paranormal beliefs are highest at moderate levels of religious practice. First, we test whether there is a general curvilinear relationship between religious beliefs and practice and paranormal supernatural beliefs. We then assess whether moderate expressions of confidence in God’s existence and the authority of the Bible, as well as nonexclusive views of salvation, are positively associated with belief in the paranormal.

METHOD

Data

The data used in this study are from Wave I of the Baylor Religion Survey (BRS), developed by the Department of Sociology at Baylor University. Although it contains questions on a variety of topics, the majority of the fixed content in the BRS is devoted to religion. Wave I also contains

an extensive battery on the paranormal that has been used in recent research assessing these topics (Mencken, Bader, and Kim 2009; Mencken, Bader, and Stark 2008).

The first wave of the BRS was administered and collected in the fall of 2005 by the Gallup Organization using a mixed-mode method. A national, random sample of noninstitutionalized American adults with telephones was solicited through random-digit dialing. Seven thousand forty-one potential respondents were called by Gallup and asked to participate in the survey. Three thousand two agreed to participate in some form. Two thousand of these potential respondents were simply mailed questionnaires, and the other 1,002 were given a brief phone interview. Six hundred three of those taking the phone interview were also mailed questionnaires. Overall, 1,721 completed surveys were returned to Gallup. Thus, the total response rate for the survey was 24.4 percent (1,721/7,041). For further details about the methodology behind the survey and how it compares to other national samples such as the General Social Survey, see Bader, Mencken, and Froese (2007). Our analyses employ a weight created by Gallup accounting for race, region of the country, education, gender, and age using a statistical algorithm and based on information from the Census Bureau.

Measures

Paranormal Beliefs

As noted, the 2005 administration of the BRS is well suited for studying religion and paranormal beliefs, as several questions were devoted to both subjects. We created a composite measure of paranormal beliefs based on a series of questions asking respondents their level of agreement with several statements about the paranormal, using a Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Higher values indicate more agreement with each statement. The general battery item was phrased: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"

We utilize nine items about the paranormal including: "Ancient advanced civilizations, such as Atlantis, once existed"; "It is possible to influence the physical world through the mind alone"; "Astrologers, palm-readers, tarot card readers, fortune tellers, and psychics can foresee the future"; "Astrology impacts one's life and personality"; "It is possible to communicate with the dead"; "Places can be haunted"; "Dreams sometimes foretell the future or reveal hidden truths"; "Some UFOs are probably spaceships from other worlds"; and "Creatures such as Bigfoot and the Loch Ness Monster will one day be discovered by science." This set of items captures many current and popular paranormal beliefs.

Religious Beliefs

In order to examine supernatural religious beliefs, we included items from a battery that asked: "In your opinion, does each of the following exist?" Items in the battery included Satan, heaven, and hell. Answer choices for these items were "absolutely not" (1), "probably not" (2), "probably" (3), and "absolutely" (4).¹ Consequently, higher scores indicate greater certainty of belief. These items along with the nine items on the paranormal were included in a principal components factor analysis with Varimax rotation in order to determine if: (1) these items represent distinct bundles of supernatural beliefs and (2) whether the items could be combined into indices. Table 1 shows the results of the factor analysis. These items do, in fact, represent distinct ideological bundles, and each of the items loads above .5 on one of the two factors extracted. The religious beliefs were combined into an index with a Cronbach's alpha of .94. The paranormal items were combined

¹ The highest levels of belief in the paranormal are found among respondents answering "probably" for each of the religious belief items. This points to the curvilinear hypothesis and suggests that the highest levels of paranormal belief are found among religious believers with an absence of certitude about the religious supernatural.

Table 1: Principle components factor analysis of religious and paranormal beliefs (Varimax rotation)

Variable	Factor 1 Loading	Factor 2 Loading
Satan	.034	.946
Heaven	.098	.918
Hell	.043	.962
Atlantis existed	.573	.063
Telekinesis is possible	.576	-.073
Psychics can see the future	.757	-.051
Astrology impacts one's life	.702	-.070
Can communicate with dead	.793	-.008
Places can be haunted	.776	-.013
Dreams tell future/reveal truth	.637	.032
UFOs from other worlds	.684	-.132
Cryptozoology	.664	.026

Source: 2005 Baylor Religion Survey.

into an index with an alpha of .863. Descriptive information about these indices and the other continuous and ordinal variables used in this study is available in the appendix.

Our final multivariate models include measures of belief about God's existence, view of the Bible, and the nature of salvation. To assess belief in God, we use a measure that asks: "Which one statement comes closest to your personal beliefs about God?" Answer choices included: "I don't believe in anything beyond the physical world"; "I believe in a higher power or cosmic force"; "I sometimes believe in God"; "I believe in God, but with doubts"; and "I have no doubts that God exists." When used in multivariate analysis, these choices are treated as a series of dummy variables, where those with "no doubts" about God's existence are the reference category. To measure confidence in the authority of the Bible, we use an item that asks respondents to select from the categories of: "The Bible is an ancient book of history and legends"; "The Bible contains some human error"; "The Bible is perfectly true, but it should not be taken literally, word-for-word. We must interpret its meaning"; and "The Bible means exactly what it says. It should be taken literally, word-for-word, on all subjects." These categories are used to create a series of dummy variables with literalists as the reference category in multivariate models. For religious salvation, a question is used that asks: "Which one statement comes closest to your personal view of religious salvation?" Answer choices include: "I do not believe in religious salvation"; "Many religions lead to salvation"; and "My religion is the one, true faith that leads to salvation." In multivariate models, the comparison category is belief in exclusive salvation.

Religious Practice and Affiliation

In order to assess religious practice, we created an index combining frequency of attendance at religious services, frequency of prayer/meditation, and frequency of reading sacred texts. Attendance and scripture reading are both measured in categories ranging from "never" (1) to "several times a week" (9). Frequency of prayer is measured on a scale from "never" (1) to "several times a day" (6). A factor analysis showed that these items all load on the same principal components above .85. Because the items had different units of measurement, they were standardized before being summed into a religious practice index with a Cronbach's alpha of .83.

To control for religious tradition, we include the RELTRAD typology developed by Steensland et al. (2000), which places individuals into the categories of black Protestant, evangelical Protestant, mainline Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, other religion, and no religion based upon the

respondent's stated religious preference. In multivariate models, we employ RELTRAD as a system of dummy variables, with evangelical Protestants as the suppressed category.

Sociodemographic Variables

Empirical findings in this line of work generally, although not uniformly, support the claim that paranormal beliefs tend to be strongest among those with less power and integration in society (Goode 2000; Mears and Ellison 2000; Orenstein 2002; Rice 2003; Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 1987; Wuthnow 1978). Accordingly, we control for sociodemographic factors in our analyses. Education was measured on a scale of highest grade completed: 8th or less (1), 9th–12th no diploma (2), high school graduate (3), some college (4), trade/technical/vocational training (5), college graduate (6), and postgraduate work/degree (7). Household income uses the categories of \$10,000 or less per year (1); \$10,001–\$20,000 (2); \$20,001–\$35,000 (3); \$35,001–\$50,000 (4); \$50,001–\$100,000 (5); \$100,001–\$150,000 (6); and over \$150,000 (7).

In addition to socioeconomic status, we include measures for age, gender, marital status, and race. Age is measured in years ranging from 18 to 96. Gender (female = 1), marital status (married = 1), and race (white = 1) are all coded as dummy variables. Finally, we control for whether or not the respondent lives in the South, as previous research found regional variation in interest in the paranormal (Bainbridge and Stark 1980; Goode 2000).

Quadratic Terms

In order to determine whether a curvilinear relationship exists between religious beliefs and practice and belief in the paranormal, quadratic terms were created: (religious beliefs index \times religious beliefs index) and (religious practice index \times religious practice index).

RESULTS

First, we examine the hypothesis that religious beliefs and practices both have general curvilinear relationships with paranormal beliefs in a multivariate context, as displayed in Table 2. Model 1 includes only sociodemographic predictors. Education, age, being married, being white, and southern residence are all negatively associated with paranormal beliefs, while women are more likely to believe than are men. Model 2 adds the index of religious beliefs and controls for religious tradition. The quadratic term for the conventional beliefs index is significant and negative ($b = -.143, p \leq .001$), while the lower-order term for religious beliefs is significant and positive ($b = 2.428, p \leq .001$). Model 3 adds the quadratic term for the religious practice index and indicates that it is significant and negative ($b = -.232, p \leq .001$), and that the lower-order term is also significant and negative ($b = -.616, p \leq .001$). The results of the coefficients from Model 2 are displayed graphically in Figure 1, and the results from Model 3 are displayed in Figure 2. The values on each end of the religious indices and at the vertex are given on the graphs. Both show that, in general, the highest levels of belief in the paranormal occur at mid levels of more conventional religious belief and practice.

Table 3 displays the results of a model including measures for religious tradition, practice, and beliefs, along with view of the Bible, opinion about God's existence, and views of salvation.²

² The number of religious variables in this model raises the potential of multicollinearity. The variance inflation scores (VIF) for all of the variables are under 3, with the exception of the conventional beliefs index, which has a VIF of 3.8. All the relationships found in the model are present in bivariate analyses in the same directions, suggesting that multicollinearity is not driving the results presented, although the standard errors of some of the religious variables are inflated. Bivariate findings are available from the authors upon request.

Table 2: OLS Regressions of paranormal beliefs on religious beliefs and practices (standardized coefficients in parentheses)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	31.146***	20.621***	31.372***
Education	-.372 (-.083)**	-.420 (-.094)***	-.370 (-.083)**
Income	-.244 (-.054)	-.318 (-.071)*	-.421 (-.093)***
Female	2.104 (.148)***	2.431 (.174)***	2.920 (.209)***
Age	-.055 (-.124)***	-.055 (-.125)***	-.049 (-.112)***
Married	-1.644 (-.115)***	-1.225 (-.087)**	-.775 (-.055)*
White	-2.293 (-.107)***	-2.712 (-.128)***	-3.078 (-.146)***
South	-1.226 (-.107)**	-.449 (-.029)	-.169 (-.011)
RELTRAD ^a			
Black Protestant	—	-.724 (-.020)	-.545 (-.016)
Catholic	—	3.042 (.176)***	1.852 (.107)***
Jewish	—	1.550 (.032)	.135 (.003)
Mainline	—	2.764 (.166)***	2.000 (.120)***
No religion	—	2.175 (.103)**	.328 (.016)
Other religion	—	5.292 (.165)***	4.766 (.149)***
Religious beliefs	—	2.428 (.982)***	—
Beliefs squared	—	-.143 (-.969)***	—
Religious practice	—	—	-.616 (-.227)***
Practice squared	—	—	-.232 (-.199)***
<i>N</i>	1461	1389	1401
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.097	.159	.216

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$ (2-tailed tests).

Source: Baylor Religion Survey 2005.

^aThe reference category is evangelical Protestant.

With regard to religious tradition, Catholics, mainline Protestants, and those in the “other religion” category all have significantly higher levels of belief in the paranormal than evangelicals. The conventional religious beliefs index is positive and significant and the religious practice index is significant in a negative direction, net of controls for other dimensions of

Figure 1
Relationship between religious and paranormal beliefs

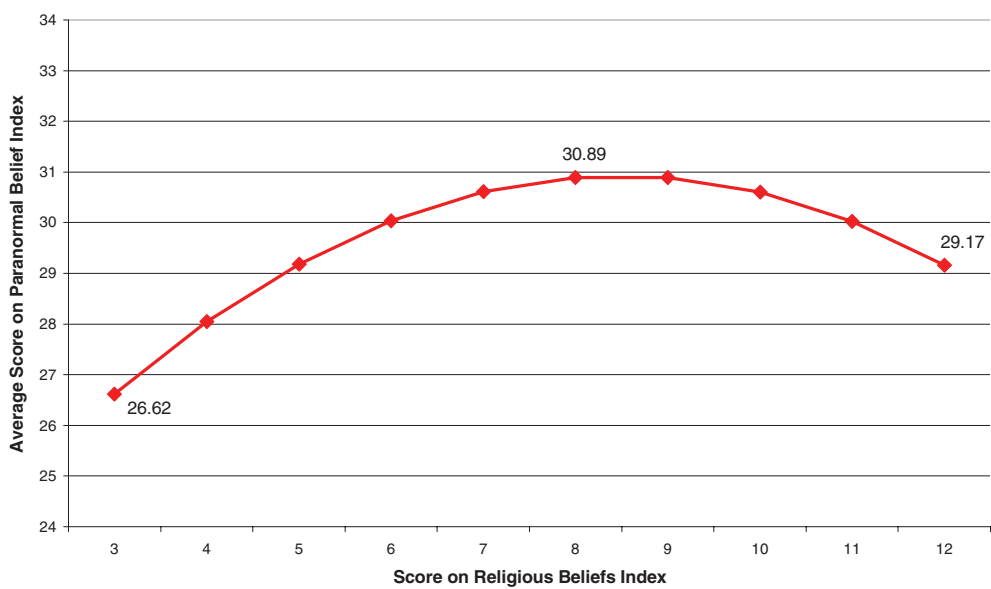
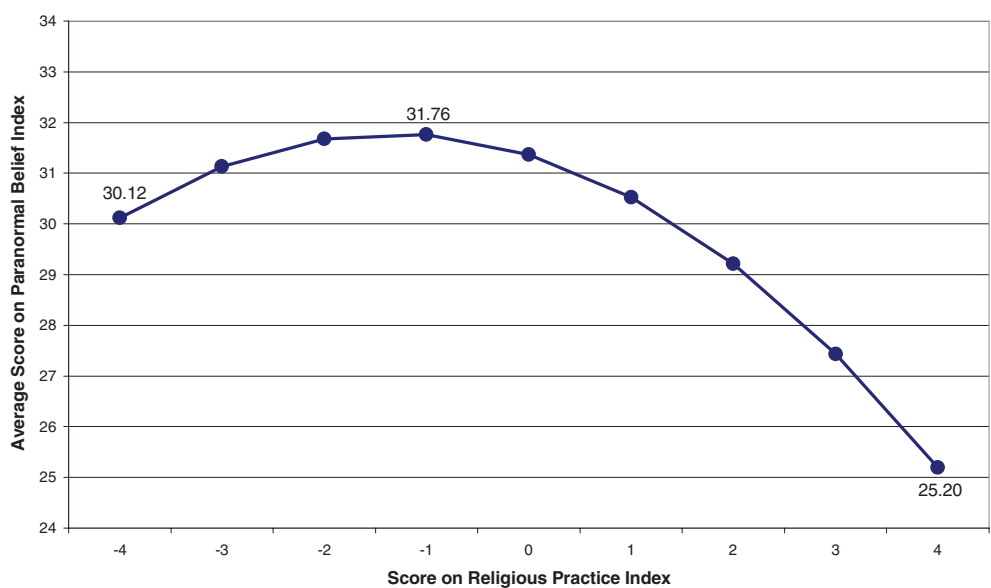


Figure 2
Relationship between religious practice and paranormal beliefs



religion.³ The variables for view of the Bible show that the highest average level of paranormal belief is found among those who think the Bible “contains human error.” For theistic belief, those who believe in a “higher power or cosmic force” have the highest levels of belief in the

³ It deserves reiteration that the religious beliefs index only has a positive effect *net of other religious controls*. In an OLS model with only sociodemographic variables and the religious beliefs index, religious beliefs are not significantly related to paranormal beliefs because the index is effectively picking up the countervailing effects of organized religion on paranormal belief.

Table 3: OLS regression of paranormal beliefs on varying dimensions of religiosity (standardized coefficients in parentheses)

Variable	
Constant	20.446***
Sociodemographics	
Education	-.207 (-.045)
Income	-.427 (-.093)**
Female	2.884 (.203)***
Age	-.044 (.099)***
Married	-.745 (-.052)
White	-2.760 (.129)***
South	-.200 (-.013)
Religiosity Indexes	
Religious beliefs	.458 (.179)***
Religious practice	-.616 (.222)***
RELTRAD ^a	
Black Protestant	-.057 (-.002)
Catholic	1.919 (.111)***
Jewish	.958 (.018)
Mainline	2.211 (.130)***
No religion	1.164 (.052)
Other religion	4.950 (.157)***
View of Bible ^b	
History and legends	1.868 (.108)*
Contains human error	2.548 (.122)***
Inspired, not literal	1.100 (.076)*
Theistic Belief ^c	
Cosmic force	1.548 (.075)*
Sometimes	-3.174 (-.051)
Have doubts	1.104 (.049)
Materialist	-2.984 (-.093)*
Salvation ^d	
Many paths	3.027 (.210)***
No salvation	1.918 (.104)*
N	1,216
Adjusted R ²	.274

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$ (2-tailed tests).

Source: Baylor Religion Survey 2005.

^aReference category is evangelical Protestants.

^bReference category is biblical literalists.

^cReference category is those with "no doubts" in God's existence.

^dReference category is those who believe in one path to salvation.

paranormal. Conversely, strict materialists have significantly lower levels of belief compared to those who believe in God with no doubts.⁴ Finally, those who believe in many paths to religious

⁴ Those claiming to "sometimes believe" in God also have lower levels of paranormal belief, but given that there are only 27 such respondents in the sample this variable has a relatively large standard error, accounting for its lack of statistical significance in the model.

salvation average the highest level of belief in the paranormal. The results from this model support the hypothesis that the highest levels of paranormal belief are found among those with an open, nonexclusive style of supernatural belief. This reinforces the position that greater levels of religious exclusivity reduce belief in the paranormal.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing analyses allow us to draw some conclusions regarding the mechanisms through which more normalized religiosity connects to paranormal supernatural beliefs. Our results indicate that, overall, there is a curvilinear relationship between religiosity and belief in the paranormal. More specifically, we find that belief in the paranormal is strongest among those: (1) whose outlook on life favors spiritualist rather than materialist explanations, but (2) whose conventional religious beliefs are nonexclusive, and (3) whose level of religious practice is moderate.

Previous theories about the connection between organized religion and belief in the paranormal have effectively highlighted counteracting subcurrents. Both the small step and separate spheres hypotheses are only partially correct. For individuals not tied to an exclusive religious tradition, or who do not hold exclusive and certain religious beliefs, it is indeed a small step from religious beliefs to paranormal versions of supernatural belief. Meanwhile, for those heavily invested in an exclusive religious tradition, or who hold exclusive and certain religious beliefs, paranormal views constitute a separate sphere of belief with which they are unlikely to experiment.

Our findings point to a distinctive style or manner of holding religious beliefs that leads people to be more open to paranormal beliefs. This style is apparent through certain typical responses: mid levels of belief in the religious supernatural, broad views of God as a “cosmic force,” moderate positions regarding the authority of the Bible, and the belief that there are many paths to religious salvation. This belief style is characterized by a combination of openness to supernatural belief and the absence of exclusivity, as the consistent finding of an interaction between religious practice and beliefs highlights (Glendinning 2006; McKinnon 2003; Mencken, Bader, and Kim 2009).⁵ These are individuals who dabble in a variety of religious formats, who “chronically seek” (Stark and Bainbridge 1987), “diversify their portfolios” (Iannaccone 1994, 1995), and sample from the “spiritual buffet” (see Roof 1993, 1999; Wuthnow 1998), as they are unconvinced by exclusive religious explanations. These individuals stand in stark contrast to those whose style of belief is more absolute or certain, whether in favor of, or opposition to, conventional religiosity.

Prominently in our findings, we see that different aspects of religiosity have varying effects on paranormal beliefs. This points to the potentially countervailing effects of organized religion upon paranormal belief, indicating the need for a high level of specificity regarding religiosity for properly understanding these connections. Research failing to separate out the various dimensions of religion, or testing for linear relationships between more conventional religiosity and the paranormal, will continue to produce confounding results.

Recent work by researchers such as Orenstein (2002), Rice (2003), Bainbridge (2004), and Mencken, Bader, and Kim (2009) has uncovered a number of consequential nuances in the relationship between organized religion and paranormal beliefs. We have expanded on this line of work by empirically demonstrating that religious beliefs and practice have a curvilinear effect on belief in the paranormal, and by showing that those most likely to believe in the paranormal are people who are religiously moderate and nonexclusive in their spiritual outlook.

⁵ Ideological exclusivity interacts with religious beliefs in a similar manner to practice in relation to paranormal beliefs. Mencken, Bader, and Kim (2009) demonstrate this by interacting beliefs with religious tradition, and additional analyses we conducted found this to be the case with biblical literalism as well.

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