(Not) the fate of our fathers: a social and cognitive approximation to the changing religious landscape in Peru among young adults

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Abstract

A major change in the contemporary global religious landscape is currently in progress, and Peru is not a stranger to it: the rise of the religious nones and unafilliated, the incidence of religious institutions or groups in local politics as part of transnational efforts, and the emergence of ever-evolving nuanced religiosities have been also part of Peruvian daily life for the past 25 plus years. Such general process, defined by a departure from exclusively institutional religious worldviews towards more diverse ones, is in tune with what occurs at the latin american/regional and local levels; and yet at the same time it's also far from being homogeneous to all social realities in which it takes place, as the Peruvian case provides also with examples.

Given this contrasting relationship between the local and the global, it is worth questioning as to what is the cause (or causes) attributable for these shared differences in form, but not in content. In the present thesis, I will address this question in arguing that religious socialization experiences, in the form of Credibility Enhancing Displays (CREDs onwards), are one of the main conditioners for shaping contemporary Peruvian religious and secular worldviews. CREDs are related to instances of observable behavior from an individual's peers that generate an impact on them, based on how they act accordingly to what is stipulated in their respective religious belief systems or expressed religious convictions. In turn and over time, different CREDs will allow for the acquisition, maintenance or relegation of religious belief and their negotiations, which give rise to diversified worldviews.

For this purpose, I have placed as unit of analysis the age group of Peruvian young adults, (18-29 y.o.) all of them being university students located in Lima-Peru, since, as it will be argued, Peruvian youth within this age group experiences religious socialization in differentiated ways to previous generations, namely, in their general socialization experiences;

in the accessing of novel media elements; in the engagement of social movements; and, in the adoption of a consumer *ethos*.

An interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approach will be the basis for the elaboration of the argument, in which concepts from the fields of Cognitive Science of Religion and Sociology (in the form of theories of religious socialization) will serve as analytical tools; while grounded techniques based on Q-methodology have been used for the data gathering process of 320 surveys, 43 q-sorts, and 43 structured interviews. As a result of this exploration, a preliminary proposal of ideal-type models of religious and secular worldviews will be outlined. With this exercise, my thesis expects to contribute, not only to the study of contemporary religious worldviews but as an effort for interdisciplinary dialogue between disciplines and fields of research.

Keywords: changing religious landscape, worldviews, religious socialization, credibility enhancing displays, Q-methodology, young adults, Peru

Acknowledgments

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"…we can never arrive to men of the past without passing by for the ones that are

today…"

Michel de Certeau

1.1 A bird's eye view to worldwide trends

Worldwide trends on religious adherence have been in constant change for the last 25 years. In the western world, we have observed the massive "de-privatization" of religion and dispute in the public space by religious organizations, mainly in the form of Pentecostal and charismatic churches (Casanova 1994); while on the other hand, a sudden increase of "religiously unaffiliated"[1] has put into question previous assumptions on what it means to believe and belong in a religious manner (Funk & Smith 2012). Not to forget that, despite still being a minority, reports of exploring the increased tendencies of atheism in highly affluent countries have been registered recently on a global scale (Gallup 2012).

While these registered trends seem to be fairly novel to provide a comprehensive understanding on how religious change is taken place, a recent report from the Pew Research Center has given a prospective view on the matter. Based on projections of birth-rate for the 2015-2060 period, it is estimated that Christians and Muslims will have an expected increased adscription of 34% and 70% out of a projected population of 9.6 billion (a 32% larger than the current 7.5 billion) respectively, while the non-affiliated will face a decrease of 3% mainly, due to birth dearth (Pew 2017: 9-10)

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[1] Religiously unaffiliated or "nones", as the Pew report defines are people that don't explicitly identify with any mainstream religious institution. This comprehends not only atheist, agnostics, or others who don't have any particular religion, but believers that don't engage in institutionalized religious practices, although in a lesser degree. Oftently, this last group is treated as a separate category when listing religious identification by religious beliefs.

A key agent in the shifting of these trends is pointed out to be the age group of young adults (18-29 y.o.) since their fertility rates are the ones that set the trends for the projected future. Curiously enough, their perception on whether which religious group will be the largest by 2050 is adjudicated to people with no religion (ibíd., 21), with an estimated of 46% respondents out of 3212 leaning towards the religiously unaffiliated side. It is worth questioning why such a gap exists between what is expected to happen in demographical terms and what would happen in a subjective stance. Additionally, while these projected increases on religious adscription are high enough to think that world religions will be hegemonic in the global religious landscape, it is still without examination the shape these will take, as for adscription alone has proven not to be a good enough predictor for religious behavior (Fuenzalida 1995).

My argument will aim to provide an answer to both issues articulating them into the question of how the changing global religious landscape takes place today in Peru among young adults, in the form of diversified religious and secular worldviews, for it will be an account on how people perceive religion and what are the conditionings for such perception in their respective contexts.

1.2 Latin America in Post-secular times?

The aforementioned general data and projections prove that the secularization thesis a la Berger and Luckmann didn't find a conclusive resolution for religion as once was thought. However, some of their insights have gained increased empirical support, for instance, that the abandonment of a religious manifestation does not exclusively means the total relinquishing of religion, and that religion will have to find it's placed in society through a market's dynamic. Firstly, Luckmann listed the "ultimate meaning system" as a defining quality in human beings, and tried to steer sociological inquiry into such symbolic formations of meaning, which could be deemed as religious or not depending on the form they take

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(Luckmann 1967). Berger, on the other hand, explained that since no religious institution possessed the individual monopoly of transcendental meaning making any more, religious institutions and denominations will have to find novel ways of inserting themselves as the best offer possible, often recurring to competition and self-positioning in the meaning making market[2] (Berger 1970).

Currently, in the field of religious studies, these insights have found affinity by an increasing body of literature articulated under the concept of post-secularity. As it is defined by Habermas, post-secularity strives to situate a scope on religion into how to understand it's newfound presence in the modern world, largely, due to its presence in global conflicts, participation in civil society, and as an important part of the cultural baggage of people in context of migration (Moberg & Granholm 2012: 96). The key issue with this particular understanding of post-secularity is that, in its core, relies on the assumption that an effective secularization process has passed uniformly in different societies.

A quick look into the l survey reports of the region will serve as evidence against this claim. In 2014 the Pew Research Center published a report on the changing religious landscape of the Latin American region. Of a total of 29000 people that took the survey in 20 countries of the region (including U.S. Hispanics), 69 % identified themselves as Catholic, 19% as Protestant, and an 8% as non-affiliated (more explicitly non-theist in this study). Historical data build from 1900 until the 1960's drawn from the World Religion Database registered an overwhelming Catholic majority, peaking at 92%, while Protestants were barely represented with 4%, and the non-affiliated didn't have any relevant numbers to be constituted as a clearly distinct group (Pew 2014: 26).

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[2] It is worth noting that both authors have different conceptualizations of religion, as to Berger observes something religious as specifically linked with supernatural agents (substantive definition), while Luckmann encompasses it as part of broader systems of meaning (functional definition). This clarification serves a purpose since my argument will be more in tune with this second approximation.

These results find consonance with the ones published by Latinobarómetro (2017) since registered trends from 1996 onwards in 18 countries of the region have witnessed a drop from 80% to 59% for Catholicism as a whole; while observing an increase of the religious nones from 4% to 18%. Again, the age group of young adults[3] make a clear cut difference among the rest, where only 19% identify as Catholic, 25% as Evangelical, and 32% as atheist/agnostic[4].

Effectively, as drawn upon both surveys, while the traditionally hegemonic Catholic identity has diminished in self-reported adscription on the region, this has meant an increase in both the Protestant and religiously unaffiliated contingents. It is hard then to affirm, as the post-secular approach suggests, that religion has gained a newly find presence at all. Rather, it has shifted from less traditionally, exclusive religious worldviews to ones that recently have gained attention in the religious landscape, or have become the default form of being religious or secular. Nevertheless, it may still be of usefulness to adopt post-secularity if we understand it as the current context in which diversified religious worldviews unfold, and in which religious socialization experiences are shaped by world shared tendencies, while at the same time conditioned by context-specific events.

1.3 Peruvian young adults in context

So far, I have outlined the changing religious landscape tendencies on the international and regional levels. In both, an important agent was suggested as the driving force behind the most salient results, namely, young adults. In order to understand how

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[3] For this study, the age group was constituted by the interval of 16-25 y.o. Also, the total, population for the study was 1200.

[4] An observation regarding the age group division. In the same report, another age group interval containing a portion of young adults (from 25-40 y.o.) also report high tendencies in the Evangelical and atheist/agnostic measurements, with 34% and 37% respectively. But it is hard to be conclusive as to attribute higher rate to the left over portion of young adults of the first interval.

nuanced religious and secular worldviews emerge in Peru today, is important to address what are the general sociological conditionings and features of Peruvian young adults.

A key element in understanding how the attitudes and outlooks of Peruvian young adults is the figure of the "polifacético" (multifaceted in English). As Golte (2011) suggests, they are multifaceted in the sense they interact in different social contexts and take part in collective activities that are linked to different aspects of the globalized world. The greater marker for this aspect are the exchange and negotiation of traditional authoritative kinship ties with fictive kin or peer engagement based on common interests[5]. The latter is often mediated by consumption through different media outlets[6]. This, in turn, produces fragmentary facets that may appear as contradictory in themselves, but make sense for the young adult during their social interactions.

A clear example of this "multifacetedness" can be found in the ethnographic work of Ucelli & García Llorens (2016) among young adults in the city of Lima. Drawing from social mobility surveys and eight life story narratives, the authors look for indicators as to what are the current subjectivities of young adults in regards to consumption habits. In the examination of social mobility variables, in the form of study and work, they divide young people into 4 categories: the ones that only work, the ones that only study, the ones that do

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[5] One of the authors that worked with more depth in this regard is Rodrigo Montoya. In his study on the future of "Quechua culture" (Montoya 2010), he did fieldwork in one of the districts that were founded during the migratory waves from the countryside to the cities of the early 70's. Surveying third generation migrant descendants he found out that the generational breach in terms of what constituted part of Quechua identity (such as language, clothing, music, among others) were being relegated in favor of what they found in their current urban landscapes, with peer contact and access to media outlets being the most significant factors in this process. He lists that positive perceptions of the modern, foreign and new outweighed cultural and racial traits of previous generations, which were in some cases, something to be ashamed of.

[6] It is convenient to know that, in Peru, up until the massification of mobile phone with bandwidth access from the 2010's onwards, internet service in households was not common. Hence, users accessed it through the use of cybercafes, which had cheap rates. Although it was registered that, for period 1993-2007 "the computer has the highest average annual growth rate (20.7%), which means that annually 66 thousand 432 households access to this equipment", only "about one million households account with computer and/or washing machine" in the year 2007 (INEI 2008: 217). Still, trends are likely to show a turnaround in the accessibility of the internet service with the forthcoming publication of the 2017's national census.

both, and the ones that don't any of them. A permutation of these indicators give rise to the classification of young adults into independents, dependents, and with children, taking into account gender aspects alongside. According to their results, a major trait in Peruvian young adults is they sustain middle-class aspirations (p. 182), which leads them to aspire to consume items that are sold in retail stores. As these items and ideas of consumption are linked to one another, it shouldn't surprise that young adults with little acquisitive capacity acquire financial debt for affording the latest mobile phone, electronic device, or branded clothing. The middle-class ideal of consumption is also tied to racial considerations (Arellano, 2010). This means that even if young adults could have a greater acquisitive capacity, they will be identified as "arribistas" (upstarts), limiting their capacities to access different socialization environments.

Keeping this last aspect in mind and to tie in with Golte's idea of shifting from authoritative traditional kin relations for fictive ones, Vargas (2015) gives additional insight into how this change is aritculated with wider structural processes in Peruvian society, while having a focus on higher education policies. He identifies two instances of "democratization of higher education", both related to structural conditions. Firstly, as Peruvian society moved from the 60´s onwards, until that point the country had been organized under a latifund system in which differences in class, race and status were highlighted permanently. With the execution of the Agrarian Reform program in 1969, the expropiation of land from the great landowners took place. The recipients of land were the ones that belonged to the subordinate class, composed mainly by quechua-speaking[7] peasants and indigenous peoples. During the 80's, the first generation of young adults coming from this social strata was able to access higher education studies, sharing classrooms with middle-class students that had been

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[7] Quechua is the second official language of Peru. It is a language widely spoken throughout South America, mostly in the Andean regions, and was held as the *lingua franca* of the Inca civilization.

accessing it continuously since the 1910's (íbid.: 27). Still, class and race appeared as determinants for the likeliness into how one could engage with their peers.

On second instance, an abrupt shift into the political economy of the country was brought upon in the early 90's with the adoption of a radical neoliberalism, as the new constitutional order of 1993 established the selling of state enterprises to transnational capitals for cheap prices with the argument of making amends for the economic hyperinflation and devaluation of the Peruvian currency. The neoliberalization of the market also allowed the formation of different entrepenurial ventures, in which one of the many were done in the field of higher education[8].

Still, while wider access to higher education is now commonplace in Peruvian society, it serves as a conditioner for the reproduction of already existing differences in class and status. In other words, one will be likely related with peers that one have been always related to. Social mobility is perceived as achievable through higher education, but the institutional framework in how it works leave reduced options into how is possible to work with this purpose. Even when this is possible, socialization experiences inside universities find a thread to whom the individual has more affinity, often being these affinities of class, race, and gender.

This last observation does not mean that young adults of different socioeconomical, cultural or ethnic background discriminate or segregate themselves against one another, but rather, that given specific socialization experiences, some engagements will be more likely than others given the availability in which they present themselves in their inmediate social

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[8] The city of Lima concentrates almost a third of the total population of the country, approximately 10 million out of 30 million nationwide. The conditions of economic and academic development as well as public and health services are concentrated in the city of Lima. (INEI, 2008). By virtue of these benefits, there is an intense human mobility to Lima from other regions. In order to better locate the group of young adults, we must know that in the university environment of Peru, there are 143 universities. Of these, 92 are private and 51 are public. Of the 143 universities, 57 are in the department of Lima (46 are private and 11 are public) (SUNEDU, 2018).

environments. Interests, values, and worldviews will be shaped accordingly to whom, what, where and how young adults take part in their respective *social milieu*, as well as to accessing different types of information outlets. As we will see in later chapters, such availability and participation will prove of great importance in the shaping of religious and secular worldviews.

1.4 Research questions

As a result of the above tripartite discussion on international and regional religious changing tendencies, accompanied by a contextualization on general socialization characteristics of Peruvian youth, the following research questions are formulated:

Main question: How religious socialization molds religious and secular worldviews in Peruvian young adults?

The proposal of this question may seem obvious at first, however, the approach I will suggest, a cognitive and social approach to the study of this relationship, which serves of much fruition when to identify both sociological conditionings for religious socialization, as well as actions that could have an impact in the acquisition, maintenance or relegation of religious belief.

Subquestion 1: How specific events and actions shape trajectories of religious socialization?

During a lifetime, young adults are socialized into concepts and practices linked to religion. What remains to be explored in current sociological literature is the impact these have on how young adults form their religious and secular worldviews. By turning the attention to the most relevant religious and secular ideals young adults have, I will be able to trace key events or processes that shaped their worldviews.

Subquestion 2: What are the current major tendencies in the Peruvian religious landscape?

As we will see in later chapters, even these newly adopted worldviews are far from being monolithic. Rather, their key characteristic is to have particular nuances that allow negotiations with other worldviews, giving the possibility to change over time given the appropriate stimuli. Preliminary ideal-type models will be proposed according to these tendencies.

Finally, while I'm well aware of the implications of having such a restrictive sample in regards to the whole age group of Peruvian young adults, it is a preliminary approximation to study different tendencies of religious socialization within age groups. A pragmatic consideration of accessibility to the empirical samples weighed weighted in, since carrying out the data gathering process in a more controlled environment such as the university setting, made possible the exploration with different research techniques.

Chapter 2: Literature review

"Do not merely listen to the word, and so deceive yourselves. Do what it says."

James 1: 22

Through a lifetime, individuals participate of different social environments within society, and learn roles, values, and beliefs according to what is transmitted in each of them; this has been often referred in classical sociological theory as socialization process. For the longest time, this has been understood as a unidirectional passive process, i.e. the previous generation imprints values, beliefs, and practices to the following one, molding their worldviews accordingly to what normative frames of society dictate for its own reproduction. While this classical assumption has been now refuted by recent sociological scholarship in socialization studies (Zerilli 2007) a pairing with cognitive-related literature could prove of great fruition, especially for the area of study of religion, since it would allow the exploration of how religious and secular worldviews come into being and are understood by the agents themselves.

In the present chapter, I will elaborate a discussion of authors that study religion from a cognitive approach, with authors that have studied the process of religious socialization from within Sociology. With the first, I will take into examination their arguments for the transmission of religious ideas, while with the second; I will aim to provide a general background on how religious ideas are learned in different social settings. A brief summary of local academic production will follow, to state the research gap in the study of religious socialization within age groups. Lastly, a consolidate of the analytical framework will close the chapter, drawing from the conceptual tools outlined so far.

2.1 From religious belief to worldviews: a cognitive exploration

For the past 25 years, an increasing body of interdisciplinary literature has developed from the joint work of Cognitive Science, Anthropology, and Evolutionary Psychology,

namely the Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR). Authors that work in this field of research have focused on to study, often experimentally, how religious ideas are readily available to the mind, identifying what properties of its contents to make them enduring as cultural representations and successfully transmittable across generations (Xygalatas 2014).

The early work of Dan Sperber in *Rethinking Symbolism* (1975) is where a comprehensive cognitive framework was outlined for the study of symbolic representations. In it, he identified a tripartite division on how knowledge and representations are processed by the mind; these are divided into semantic knowledge, encyclopedic knowledge, and symbolic knowledge. The first accounts for categories and its properties (what a category hold as its own); the second refers to what it can be found in the world, therefore, as what can be held as true or false; and the third one acts upon what is beyond rational interpretation, deeming as symbolic any belief or act that appears excessively disproportionate to implicit or explicit ends (pp. 91-93).

On another work (1996), Sperber developed what he deemed as an epidemiological approach for the study of cultural representations. In this text, he argues on the characteristic as for individual and collective representations are more likely to be remembered and transmitted than others (pp. 66-67). It is the relevance to local context and the open-endedness of propositions, such as the ones found in myths, which permit specific collective representations become cultural[9]. I will return later to this text later when linking the cognitive approach with religious socialization.

It is worth nothing that, while religious belief or ideas on the supernatural are optimal in generating salience, therefore susceptible of being transmitted with more success than

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[9] Additional authors such as Boyer (2001) and Atran(2004) have worked under both of Sperber's premises. Boyer has developed a criteriology of how the content of religious should be based on the hyperactive agency detection device and the notion of minimal counterintuitiveness; while Atran, drawing upon signaling theory, has elaborated explanation as to why people belonging to radicalized religious groups often partake in counterproductive evolutive behavior, in the form of suicide bombing.

others are, these do not rule out the inclusion of additional symbolic representations that are embedded in more secular grounds[10]. To build a framework that includes these later symbolic manifestations into its fold, I will draw upon Ann Taves notion of worldviews.

In "Religious Experience Reconsidered" (2009), Taves proposes a building block approximation to the study of religion, based on criterias of ascription and attribution towards special things. Ascription in the sense as to how people ascribe singular value to things or events; and attribution, in the sense of attribution of causality to elements that take part or have efficacy in their lives (p. 35). The quality of specialness is defined by a three-fold intersection, in which the anomalous experiences of agency; the anomalous places, objects, experiences or events; and ideal things (such as secular experiences of awe, or ideals of perfection) share the trait of being things set apart (p. 45). Ultimately, these things set apart are what constitute religious, spiritual or secular outlooks.

In more recent discussions, Taves has linked her previous elaboration on conceptualizing special things, with broader accounts of meaning-making, that is, with worldviews (Taves 2016; Robertson 2018). Drawing from philosophical elaborations on worldviews, she departs from the six ontological questions or "big" questions[11], for arguing on how to bring non-religious perspectives into a general theory of meaning systems. For her, worldviews work as general frameworks of orientation for daily life, which hold values, preferences, and convictions that work as part of the understanding of the world. With this exploration, she aims to provide more accurate definitions of secular outlooks, since at the present stage of scholarly production, are mostly defined in a negative relationship to religion.

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[10] Though the problem with cognitive approaches for the study of religion is that they rely on a substantive definition of religion, often deeming as religious only what constitute belief in supernatural agents. This may still be a bias maintained from early disciplinary conceptualizations of religion, such as E.B. Tylor's "belief in spiritual beings" succinctly puts.

[11] The six questions listed are "what is?", "where does it all come from?", "where are we going?", "what is good and what is evil?", "how should we act?", and "what is true and what is false?"

Such approach would prove of much importance when examining the current worldviews of Peruvian young adults, since not all of them are strictly religious in principle, and often tend to distance themselves from religion, for more secular instances of peer engagement.

2.2 Religious socialization

With the previous section, I have outlined as to how symbolic representations, in the form of religious or secular worldviews, come to the mind and their properties for transmission. However, as we will see, these are necessarily mediated by the socio-cultural contexts in which they unfold. Religious socialization is then influenced by how the engagement of young adults happen in the midst of social movements, with media elements, and from a consumer *ethos*. In tune with this idea, I will present literature that have worked on how we learn religion in specific social settings.

Berliner and Sarró volume on learning religion, give major ideas for thinking religious socialization (2013). Drawing from both cognitive studies and socialization studies, they call into question how the transmission models from the CSR *a la* Boyer, McCauley and Whitehouse could provide valid when examining culturally significant processes of religious transmission in specific contexts. Rather placing the weight on the propositional content of religious ideas, they focus their attention on how agents are actively engaged in belief acquisition in the situatedness of social interaction (p.11). From their survey on the articles published on the volume, the description of Severi's[12], Luhrmann, Stafford, and Rowlands serve as general entry points for understanding how agents learn religion.

In examining Tanya Luhrmann's text on the same volume, we can understand more about the role of some religious institutions, as part of wider social movements, have in the

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[12] Particularly on Severi's Wittgensteinian exploration, the theme of the volume could be summarized as follows: "What stands out does so not because it is intrinsically obvious or convincing, but because it is held by what lies around it" (2013: 30).

plausibility of specific religious beliefs, such as "hearing the voice of god". She places Levy-Bruhl's notion of *participation* in the centerfold of her analysis, for it stands on how the mind participates in the external world, and at the same time, the external world participates in them (2013: 92). Such event, according to Levy-Bruhl, was a defining feature of the primitive mind, but Luhrmann exploration on the highly educated, literate members of the Vineyard charismatic church; this still proves right for human beings in general. After providing with ethnographic evidence for extensive the groups' criteriology on how to identify that God's speaks to one, Luhrmann concludes that perception itself is shaped by its immersion on the social world. At the same time, the cohabitation of different modes of thought is endemic to how humans learn religion, for contradictory ideas related to religious belief are possible to be held, strengthening or weakening specific attitudes towards them[13].

This experimental aspect of how religious beliefs and behavior are transmitted finds consonance with Birgit Meyer's argument for media and mediation (2006). She argues that religion is related to a transcendental dimension mainly, through the vehicle of sensations. These act as giving a special feeling or an increment of a particular kind of excitement, and are felt through sensational forms "that make the transcendental sense-able" (p. 9). Traditional mediators in the form of authority figures claim on how to access the transcendental, and what are the specific qualities of that accessing; but through modern media, new outlets of how to accessing sensations are brought upon[14]. In the same vein, Lövheim (2012) writes about "religious media literacy" identifying how traditional religious socialization agents have been relegated in favor of peers and media. Taking the case of Swedish young adults, her argument is articulated on how they come to know different

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[13] Luhrmann's (2012) other exploration on an anthropological theory of mind is of particular relevance in this point, as for it gives an account on how people can shift between epistemological registers to add plausibility to belief and have doubt at the same time, in a dynamic movement that shapes religious belief continuously.

[14] She cites her fieldwork on Pentecostal churches in Ghana as how the legitimacy of miraculous acts could be constructed through televised miracle sessions (2006: 12).

religious manifestations, values, and ideas, what they take from them, and how they communicate these inputs into different media outlets. These dimensions of access, analysis, evaluation, and communication (p. 162), she argues, have become part of the baseline for young people to learn about different religious beliefs, and their weighting on how to interact with different religious agents in their daily lives.

With the question of access and evaluation comes how religious manifestations are readily available for engagement in modern society. Gauthier, Martikainen, and Woodhead (2016) have indicated that religion nowadays participates in the interchange of symbolic goods within a market society context. Rather than being guided by rational choice, individuals partake in the selection and negotiation of diverse religious beliefs they encounter during their religious socialization processes, mainly, due to criteria of personal preferences. This does not lead to isolation or atomized accounts of religiosity, but to shared forms of religious engagement that are observable in different instances[15]. What distinguishes different religious persons more is the difference in the content of their belief, rather than the way each of them ascribe themselves to different religiosities. Because of the consumer culture ethos, differences lie more in terms of lifestyles and life ethics than cultural ones (p. 16).

2.3 Religious socialization and cognition on par

In so far, two fields of research have been outlined with a selection of main concepts to be taken for the analytical framework of the present thesis. But how to combine them? Taking into account that religious and secular worldviews are mediated by social contexts, it should be useful to elaborate on how inputs of experiences and values come to the mind

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[15] As cleverly noted by sociologist Hervieu-Léger, even the most individual of people what to share their individuality with others that not necessarily share the same belief system as they do, but with ones that build their own beliefs systems in a similar manner as they do. Indeed, they are so individualistic that they want to share that very individuality with others that think alike (Hervieu-Léger 2000).

through the envelope of religious socialization processes, and what is their posterior impact in the shaping of this same worldviews.

First, let us go back to Sperber. In the previously mentioned text related to the epidemiology of beliefs, he points out a distinction between intuitive beliefs and reflective ones. The first is related to beliefs that "are typically the product of spontaneous and unconscious perceptual inferential processes…" while the second is beliefs that "are interpretations of representations embedded in the validating context of an intuitive belief" (1996: 89). Intuitive beliefs are then related specifically to inputs that occur under basic premises of general categories of the mind, in the form of basic mental concepts that constitute the way of how we make sense of empirical reality. Reflective beliefs, on the other hand, are based upon these categories but become increasingly problematized since they do not have a definitive form, and call upon context for making themselves explicit in terms of reasoning or plausibility.

In early stages of development, most representations or beliefs are followed by criteria of deference and insufficiency of the cognitive device to make intelligible all of the input given by the immediate environment (p. 88). As more elaborated cognitive processes are developed, some of these beliefs might be called put under examination, as children's explorations of these special things (as Taves labelled them), become less or more clear. Additionally, recent evidence in developmental studies has shown that children tend to deem certain beliefs more plausible than others depending on reiterative and salient observable behavior of their parents or caregivers. This is how, for instance, that the degree of the realness of germs is higher than the degree for the existence of angels, though both are held as true because of this criterion of deferentiality (Harris et. al. 2006).

This last link between observable behavior and formation of belief leads up to what Jonathan Lanman has defined as Credibility Enhancing Displays (CREDs). They encompass

the practices, habits, and attitudes that are displayed as observable behavior among peers. Drawing from from costly signaling theory, the main assumption is that different beings act according to a specific intentionality with commitment to what it is intended to be conveyed towards other beings. In other words, if one displays certain behavior, it is because it has to be in accordance with what they intend to communicate to others. Wide known examples of this in the empirical world range from the peacock's feather, the stotting of gazelle's while in front of predators, and the participation of extreme rituals in humans (firewalking, self-pain infliction, certain ways of pilgrimage, etc.). Among sociological and anthropological studies of costly commitment, the display of costly signals gain the layer of belief and convictions; therefore, if one display of behavior is to enhance credibility on one's intentionality, there should be an alignment with both beliefs and acts[16]. Popular wisdom understands this as the adage "practice what you preach". As it will be argued in the empirical chapters, CREDs play a key role in the formation, maintenance or relegation of religious or secular worldviews.

2.4 Local studies

So far, academic production in the field of religious studies in Peru has been more directed to the study of Christian religiosities and popular Catholic religiosity. Studies focused on religious diversity had presented ethnographic data as to how traditional syncretic religious manifestations are recreated in urban environments (Marzal 1988, 2002). Other ethnographic and sociological studies dealt with how the conversion to evangelical churches takes place under a framework of social recognition (Lecaros 2016).

Balances of the last 50 years as to how the Catholic church and evangelical denominations have been taking part in public Peruvian life were also done (Romero 2013; Fonseca 2013). Romero studies the Catholic reformation process in the late 60's under the

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[16] Otherwise it would become a CRUDs, or credibility undermining display. Both of these forms will be used in the present thesis.

premises of the Second Vatican Council and Liberation Theology, to survey the social work of the Catholic Church with vulnerable population and indigenous people. Fonseca, on the other hand, builds a typology of Protestant churches to later outline a historical track of increasing role the Pentecostal and Evangelicals in the political sphere since the early 90's onwards.

Almost non-existance production for the study of non-belief has been found with the exception of Francisco Interdonato's study on atheism among university students in the 70's (1968). By taking an approximation akin to studies of religious socialization, his study surveyed the relationship between young adults in higher education institutions and how their socialization processes, along with the intellectual production they accessed in those settings, influenced them in becoming less religious or atheist. It is understandable up to some point, since in the 60's and 70's the influx of Marxist literature in state universities was considerably high[17]. Recent related explorations have retaken the study of atheism and non-belief as part of counter-conversion narratives in urban settings; though its focus was located on more or less institutional forms of atheist leadership rather than layman outlooks (Fernández Hart & Castillo 2017).

In sum, to no attention has been given to religious socialization processes of young adults, let alone sociological examinations of religious belief for age groups in general. Most of the aforementioned authors observe religious manifestations and conversion as something exclusively embedded in the Catholic roots of the country. Hence, the present thesis will contribute by providing a comprehensive view of current worldviews that are not exclusively engrained in traditional religiosities, through the examination of religious socialization

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[17] It should not surprise that only a decade later, the Peruvian terrorist movement "Shining Path" started taking action in the southern andes part of the country. The first cells of the movement emerged from Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanaga, in the southern Andes, and the leader was a philosophy professor from that university.

processes within an age group. Such exercise will provide a deeper understanding on how nuanced religiosities emerge in the changing religious landscape of Peru.

2.5 Analytical framework consolidate

From the above discussion of concepts, the analytical framework follows:

Symbolic representations, in the shape of religious and secular worldviews, come to the mind as part of different experiences of special things. They are transmitted through learning processes that are social at heart, in which participation in specific social contexts (being these religious groups or social movements) shape beliefs and perceptions over time.

Initial assumptions on the correspondence between religious beliefs and behavior that reflect commitment towards them are contrasted through time, it is here that the role Credibility enhancing displays for and against religious behavior enters, since experiencing them will eventually lead to the acquisition, maintenance or relegation of religious belief.

Additionally, the conditions of modern society bring about two important aspects of this learning process: mediated communication and a consumer ethos. The first allow their exploration by distancing from traditional models of religiosity while making possible the accessibility to wider information outlets, and the second creates a specific sensibility in the way young adults relate to them. Because religiosities are perceived as part of lifestyles, a negotiation between different ones can be achieved according to their personal preferences.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Background project

The data that will be used was gathered as part of the Young Adults and Religion in a Global Perspective (YARG) research project steered by Åbo Akademi University of Finland, directed by Professor Peter Nynäs, and executed in Peru with Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya as a research partner. The project has been implemented in 13 countries worldwide, namely, Finland, Sweden, Poland, United States, Russia, Ghana, China, India, Peru, Japan, Canada, Israel, and Turkey.

The general objective of the project is to gather relevant data on the religious subjectivities of young adults that are university students, between the age range of 18 to 29, and compare the tendencies that emerge per country between them, as a way of generating grounded data and concepts in a globalized manner.

My involvement with the project has taken place since 2016 as a research assistant for the process of data gathering, processing and writing of work documents for the Peru sample. I have authorization by the steering committee of the project to use relevant data for the present thesis.

In total, 312 surveys were gathered from the three universities, while 43 follow up q-sort exercises and structured interviews were done to volunteer students that participated in the survey. The data was gathered from January 2016 until September of the same year. The research instruments were designed by the steering team of Åbo Akademi University. All students were presented with confidentiality agreements to safeguard their identities, as well as creating rapport during the q-sort and interview stages.

3.2 Precisions on universities samples

The random samples that have been taken are from three universities, one state university, and 2 private universities, namely, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM), Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP) and Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (UARM), respectively, all located in the city of Lima.

Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos is a state University. Founded in 1551, it is the oldest university in the country and the continent. The main focus of research is in medicine and humanities, although many other faculties like social sciences, biological sciences, and industrial engineering have also produced relevant research. Among state universities, it has the highest student population in the country (21819 as of 2016). It is composed of students mainly coming from working and lower to middle classes. Most of the student body are children of third generation migrants. Also, many students are enrolled through the "Beca 18" program[18] (15%).

Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú is a private University. It was founded in 1917 and since its inception, it has been related to the Catholic Church, although most of its student body comes from different confessions and have a liberal mindset. Its main focus of research are social sciences, humanities, and engineering, although it has a very solid academic production in most of its Faculties. It has been ranked several times as one of the

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[18] Since 2012, The Peruvian government implemented "Beca 18" program for higher education studies. It was designed with the objective of giving accessibility to higher education and technical education opportunities to students in precarious economic situation and rural or indigenous backgrounds.

most important universities in the country. The students come from middle to upper class and come from urban settings, with a total population of 21523 as of 2016.

Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya is a private University. Its main focus of studies are humanities and education since this institution used to be a pedagogical institute and it's teaching philosophy is heavily inspired by the main tenets of the Jesuit congregation. Founded in 2003, it has managed to position itself as one of the main research institutions on humanities in Peru. It has a diverse student composition, with a total student body of 2000 as of 2016. Many of the students -about a 25% percent of the total student population- come from rural settings because of the previously mentioned Peruvian educational scholarship program "Beca 18". In addition, some of the students that come from impoverished settings across the country have an opportunity of obtaining a scholarship if they studied in any "Fe y Alegría" schools, which are property of the Jesuit Company. This portion of students benefitted by these scholarship programs composes 25% of the total student population.

Despite being located in the same city, they hold students from different socioeconomic status and regions. For instance, a quarter of UARM undergraduate student body come from rural settings through the previously mentioned scholarship programs. Three-quarters of the student body of UNMSM belong to the lower middle class of the country, most of them coming from second or third generation family of migrants. Lastly, nearly all of the students from PUCP come from the accommodated classes of the city of Lima and belong to the upper middle class of the country. The diversity of socioeconomic status, regions, and careers is assured through this random sampling.

3.3 Used instruments

Survey: The survey items covered variables related to the following: general demographic data, socioeconomic status, discrimination, social capital (in the form of social

connectivity and social engagement), religious belonging and affinities, frequency of participation on religious related events, sources of news and information, frequency of use of diverse media outlets, views on current political themes, and other additional themes that are not strictly related to my research questions.

Q-sort: The aim of Q-methodology is to study human subjectivity in a grounded fashion, by building overlapping groupings of shared traits within a population (Watts & Stenner 2012). In order to explore this, a card sorting exercise was used to address which aspects and values of religiosity were highly descriptive or not descriptive at all for the interviewees. For this purpose, 101 enumerated statements distributed in the same amount of cards were designed to survey as many aspects of religious belief as possible (Wulff n/d). For example, when the interviewee is faced with a statement that reads as "I believe that religion is an important part for guiding the nation", or "I feel contempt for all forms of religious organization"[19] and so on, the interviewee proceeds to sort out these cards, according to what they feel identified or what they reject. A FQ-sort layout with columns identifying highly descriptive statements as +4, +3 are in one extreme while not descriptive at all statements are under -4,-3 columns. The idea behind the sorting of the cards is that, once one of the sortings is done, because of the semi-quantifiable nature of the technique, it will be possible to compare different sortings from the same age group of the same sample to one another to see general trends within the population sample. After that comparison, one or several main ideal-types of worldview will emerge, these being recurring features that are overlapping themes within several sortings.

Structured interviews: As a final step in the data gathering process, structured thematic interviews were carried out to all voluntary participants. These aimed to inquiry more in depth about the +4,+3 and -4,-3 items, for they are understood as key entry points

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[19] See Appendix section for the whole 101 statements.

into highly relevant themes and topics for the interviewees. Questions related to 3 main theme areas were asked, namely, religion/spirituality, personal history and self-understanding, and broader socio-economic and socio-cultural context and sense of belonging to a community or other collective. The interviews allowed for a more in depth exploration on how the current highly descriptive or not descriptive at all statements came into being, identifying specific events, religious socialization agents, and further engagements with collectives that the interviewee had during their lives.

As a final observation to the approach of my thesis, it is worth to point out that while I have applied surveys for the YARG project purposes, I will focus more the on the q-sorts and the structured interviews. A qualitative approach is what will occupy the analysis of the data gathered. Since it's coupling with cognitive science of religions theories is often neglected in favor of experimental studies, the present thesis will serve as an exercise in research interdisciplinarity. With this, I expect to bring insights into how religious socialization has an influence on the formation of religious or secular worldviews.

Chapter 4: Religious socialization among Peruvian young adults

In this chapter, I will present descriptive data related to the surveys in regards to general aspects of Peruvian youth and religious socialization. It will be followed up by a qualitative examination of the religious socialization processes in the form of CREDs. This will be done for some of the most salient cases in the aggrupation of overlapping tendencies.

4.1 Survey data

Section A - demographic data

Of the 312 surveys collected, 40% identified themselves as male, 58% as female, and 1% as other. Nearly 80% of the total population was born between the years 1993 and 1998. 98% declare their civil state as single, while only 9 % have children. An 84% have lived in urban settings by the age of 15. A total of 38% of the sample feel discriminated against, being the most salient reason for color or race with 17% of the cases. Report of family income is fairly distributed, with 29% of the cases declaring they are about the average, while 15%, 17%, and 23% adjudicate themselves as reporting much lower than the average, somewhat lower than the average and somewhat higher than the average, respectively. 75% are studying full time, while 29% are receiving a scholarship of some sort for their studies. Lastly, 59% live with their parents or other relatives, 19% in a shared accommodation, 9 percent in a privately rented department and 12% in an apartment owned by parents or other relatives.

Section B – religious engagement

Most of them don't consider themselves as belonging to religious groups, with 71% of them leaning towards this option. Not finding consonance with other religiosities or spiritualties is also the highest trend with 60%. Regardless of their identification with religious or spiritual groups, 14% declared they are not religious at all, while 15% were mildly religious

and 8% quite religious (M[20] 3.9; SD[21] 2.8, min=0; max=10). Almost 68% declared that the families where they grew up where between mildly religious and quite religious (M: 5.9; SD: 2.4, min=0; max=0). Participation in religious events is also largely limited to special days or celebrations with 28% of respondents affirming this, while 22% reported they participated less often, and 23% never. Lastly, 14% of the sample engages in private practices on special days or celebrations, while 20% do so less often, and 28% never do.

Section C – mediation and media usage

The most frequent media outlet is internet, with 72% of respondents reporting using it daily. In contrast with newspapers/magazines, radio, and television, which are used on a more occasional basis (39%, 31%, and 28% respectively). Activities when using the internet are usually directed to communication purposes (64%), developing social networks (39%), finding information (55%), and entertainment (36%), every day. For finding out about news and current affairs, 89% reported through the use of social media, followed by 66% with newspapers/magazines, television with 64% and friends or other people with 60%[22]. Lastly, as for whom they turn for guidance to make decisions, respondents listed family (77%), trusted friends (73%), own reason and judgment (64%), own intuition or feelings (52%) and god or higher power (36%) as their likely choices[23].

Section D – Views on political themes

This last section covered themes related to same-sex marriage, abortion, and euthanasia. When asked about the their degree of agreement with the treatment of same-sex marriage, adoption rights for same-sex couples, abortion in the case of rape, and abortion when facing risk of the mother, almost half of the sample responded strongly positively, with

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[20] Mean.
[21] Standard Deviation.
[22] Participants were allowed to select more than one for this question.
[23] Participants were allowed to select more than one for this question.

48%, 34%, 42% and 47% agreeing in this matter. The only question they were strongly

against to support was related to abortion because if the woman chooses to do so for any

reason at all (34%).

4.2 Q-sort and interview data

Table 1. Factor analysis of q-sorts[24]. The x indicates a defining trait for each grouping.

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                      Loadings

Case              1         2         3

 1 José[25]      0.6278X  -0.0057    0.3120
 2 Carlos        0.7787X   0.0304    0.2468
 3 Julián        0.4618    0.0409   -0.0458
 4 Maria         0.3984   -0.0235    0.6009X
 5 Magdalena     0.1534    0.3987    0.5624X
 6 Karina        0.4735    0.1822    0.5104
 7 Marcos        0.0879    0.4469    0.2332
 8 Sofia         0.2915   -0.0294   -0.0443
 9 Eduardo       0.5581X   0.0447    0.3152
10 Carolina      0.7388X  -0.0123    0.0862
11 Rosa         -0.0242    0.4624    0.1680
12 Rodrigo      -0.0295    0.6054X   0.2015
13 Elsa         -0.0311    0.5457    0.4303
14 Ariana        0.0465   -0.0027    0.1328
15 Jazmin        0.4974   -0.2136    0.1797
16 Javier        0.1077    0.4033    0.5784X
17 Mario        -0.0481    0.1987    0.5648X
18 Mariana       0.1968    0.3063    0.6324X
19 Ana           0.4177    0.3321    0.0125
20 Cristina      0.2301    0.1650    0.1471
21 Laura        -0.0111    0.7304X   0.1731
22 Romina       -0.0671    0.1407    0.1261
23 César         0.3869    0.3435    0.3379
24 Alexander     0.7374X   0.0215    0.1602
25 Pedro         0.0215    0.7449X   0.1983
26 Johana        0.2864   -0.0928    0.4875
27 Julio         0.6422X  -0.1386   -0.0144
28 Paloma        0.6430X   0.3658    0.0674
29 Martín        0.4990    0.4614    0.2432
30 Wilder        0.3758    0.5373X   0.1309
31 Walter        0.7642X   0.1899   -0.0937
32 Juliana       0.6270X  -0.0346    0.2169
33 Damaris       0.6815X   0.0499    0.0801
34 Elizabeth     0.0191    0.5816X   0.0767
35 Sergio        0.1683    0.3611    0.2280
36 Rubén         0.2044    0.6439X  -0.2155
37 Samuel        0.5453X   0.1556    0.1275
38 William       0.6452X   0.0496   -0.0453
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[24] Factor analysis was done through the use of PQMethod software. Table provided by the YARG project leading team. Also, it can be noted that some of the cases didn't have significant enough loadings to be associated with one of the groupings. This does not rule out the possibility that those cases can share the same traits of each, but this may happen to a lesser degree.

[25] All names have been changed to pseudonyms.

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39 Alberto      0.0059    0.6933X    0.2145
40 David        0.2396    0.1586     0.6148X
41 Anibal       0.6780X   0.0691     0.0239
42 Fernando     0.6897X   0.2150     0.1659
43 Bárbara      0.5021X  -0.1814     0.0302
```

With the above table, we can observe which cases are the most salient in respect to a defining trait. Further exploration of the identifying items for each groping will be done in the following chapter, where I will look to define each into religious and secular worldviews. Up next, I will randomly select 3 cases of each grouping to look into what CREDs and CRUDs influenced in their religious socialization processes.

Grouping 1

Julio, a 21[26]-year-old student of linguistics says that, despite his early contacts with religion on a parochial school, because of influence from his family, it did not have major repercussions in his way of thinking on later years

> The teachers were not priests; the only one who was a priest was the promoter. While it is true, they were all religious. But not that they came with a very dense talk of religion. There were religion courses like any other private or state school. So I was not very conservative, my school, so It could not have left much mark… "Actually, my brother was very skeptical and since I was little…my older brother. Yes, then, my dad did not believe in God. We have never been, as I say, very religious. Yes, I do know that I believed, it may be because everyone believed, because everyone prayed, but nothing more. As soon as I left school and, what is this for me. It has never had a significance in my life.

Walter, a 24-year-old student of Anthropology, mentions something similar in this regard. Particularly, during his adolescence, he took more notice of some negative practices from the part of religious organizations. These, summed to the already present doubt he had from past experiences, terminated for reject religious belief as he had learned it in past years.

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[26] Ages are related to the year in which the interviews were done.

There was nothing of crisis or something that told me "God does not exist". It was simply because I needed to read, I started to see other things, I saw the actions of the Catholic Church as an organization for all these cases of pederasty, discrimination. And also the brutal rejection of the Evangelical church to the scientific part of things. So I also asked myself if this kind of organization represents what I think at the moment, then I decided then that I don't want anything to do with that kind of religion.

Alexander, a 26-year-old Political Science student, in an early part of the interview after made several arguments against Christianism and religion in general. But when asked what are his current involvements, he enthusiastically shared his activist experiences, and he dubbed them as a way of believing in something larger than himself:

Since I usually do these activities outside the political groups. I mean, I did it on my part. I have been working on issues of neighborhood organizations. Essentially, on basic demand of household, as well as issues related to security and environmentalism…When I take part in these kind of activities, I think as much as possible if my current convictions are indeed valid to bring about a change. And also check precisely what I am believing, what I am assuming as true...Then I start trying to understand to keep looking for what position to take…Certain convictions that I have are precisely what moves me to activism, to support certain interests, and do work in pro of those interests.

Grouping 2

Alberto, a 20-year-old student of Psychology, used to be a catechist, in his local neighborhood parish, but he had to leave his position because he was being harassed by the priest in charge because of his views on abortion and gay relationships:

I see the children, I see them as angels, they are angels that are supposedly sent by him (God), something like that, that is, but, it can also happen that by an evil – like a rape or unwanted pregnancy in poor economic conditions, they come to earth. I say. if you do not agree to have that baby, and you do not want to give it up for adoption, return it (with abortion) so that they will not live tormented here on earth, return it to be an angel…After that I shared this with someone in the community whom I trusted, the priest found out, I was pretty much out of the church…. Still, he will not keep me away

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from God at all. Right now, I'm just looking forward to becoming part of another parish since I like to work with young people.

Pedro, a 25-year-old student of Political Science, recalls his experiences on his religious high school as something positive that help him guide through his life. Now in university, he finds himself in an environment which is constantly critical to the Catholic religion, when they examine the role it had during history and the current role it has on the public sphere

> I have had been confronted by friends and classmates when having some of the classes of National Reality and Current Political Topics. They say that the role of the church had been a negative one for the most part, from the Conquest time when the Spaniards arrived to Peru, there is this famous episode where they kill the Inca and all because he throws the Bible on the ground since the word of god "didn't speak to him". Or when we are debating over the conservative leadership the Catholic church has today, and how much money the state gives to them. Even if I see related things on tv or the internet, I feel that the whole good the Church has given to Peru is greater than the perceived evils they have done…. …in any case, when class finishes or we are not talking about religion, we "drop down the guard" and start enjoying ourselves with some beers.

Elizabeth, a 20 yeard old student of Intercultural Education, had an upbringing in Ayacucho, a region of the Southern Andes. She had come to Lima to look for better study opportunities and it is the first time she is living independently. As many people she was socialized in Catholicism, but it is now when she turns to it to look for guidance and tranquility. Additionally, she is very much in tune with other forms of religiosity in the form of Christian music, and shamanism. For her, these do not exclude one another, but rather are to be taken into consideration in different contexts.

> I think that in those moments of reflection, when I listen to music or remain in silence or look at the wall or at my painting of The Virgin of Guadalupe, I feel a special way, I feel peaceful , relaxed and I got the necessity to express how my day went , what I did , what went well I feel like communicating my feelings… I am very busy now. I believe it is not necessary to go to mass. Because

I think that praying and reflecting, listening to Catholic music or Christian music, and having the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in my room is enough, and that I feel the same, I mean I feel close to the person that I consider my higher power, God and it is not necessary to go to church. I have it there, and like it is inside myself, it is part of me.

…the ones that I mention, you make it as part of yourself, when you pick up those three small coca leaves and the devotion and the respect that you have during the rite, you know, you are like more part of it, like more connected with what you are and you are supposed to be, what is expected. Let's say, for example, the purpose of the rite of paying the earth[27] is to be integrated…

Grouping 3

Maria, a 23 Business Administration student, shares her experiences as how she is related to religion. She states that she feels a connection with God, but often times this reenactment of religious belief comes in moments of need.

Yes, I don't consider religion to be the most important thing, but there are moments when I long to have a deep and secure faith. So, I'm in this back and forth. The fact is that I am a little more open to an idea of God, more open, not closed, that adheres to certain rules but more to a comprehensive God which maintain a more personal connection, It is not necessary to go rituals, that depends on each person, how close one is to God will depend on each person….When I was a kid, my parents used to discuss a lot because of financial problems we had in our house. There was a lot of negative energy and life there was just awful sometimes. When things like this happen I used to pray, and ask for all this to go away. Though it didn't happened most of the times, somehow after doing it I felt better, maybe it's because God truly heard me and that was enough… Often I do the same today, though it may be a little hypocritical from my part.

Magdalena, a 25-year-old Architecture student, says that when she was little, went quite frequently to a Catholic parish from her neighborhood with her family. She felt security within that environment but eventually, as she grew older, she started taking her distance

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[27] She is making reference to the "paga apu", a traditional Andean shamanistic tradition that is done to express gratitude or request for good fortune to the mountain spirits.

from the church because she lost interest in going. Though still a believer, she has continued to cultivate a "natural" adeption she has for perceiving the voice of God. At the same time, she has a lot of classmates that belong to Christian Esoteric church. This connection with God faces tension when in interaction with other forms of religiosity, as she starts reflecting about what she holds as true

> I think it's not something I learned but it was born to me to talk to him. At first, I thought how to talk to myself. When I went to church, when I was little, I was taught to be good, I had to believe in God. But little by little I began to feel the presence of God and at first I felt like a madwoman to talk alone or think that someone is next to me, but I was assimilating that I am not crazy but I talk to someone and that someone listens to me too and is always by my side… I have friends who know a lot about the Bible because they attend their church. Sometimes they say things to me and I hesitate because I don't read the Bible all the time, but they do, and they tell me things and I don't know if it will be true or false or if they are exaggerating because they belong to another religion...For example, they say that Jesus had children, and things like that. I said, but how. They gave me a different perspective from the one I have been instilled in the Catholic Church, I feel dubious and indecisive. I don't know what position to take, but I don't give them one hundred percent reliability.

David, a 28-year-old Psychology student, recalls how was the process for him to become spiritual. Curiously enough, he refers that his time spent with Catholic monks that lived nearby his neighborhood taught him how to address religious belief openly and critically. Because of this exploration, he even considered for some time in becoming a monk.

> I remember that, when I was 19 I remember, I began to look for a place to know more about spirituality within my area. I discovered something interesting within the Catholics, that there are the religious people or priests, and also the monks. So I was lucky to find a monastery nearby my neighborhood, which itself was located on the outskirts of the city. I had that luck and I started to learn more about spirituality. With the monks I was given the freedom to question, I was given the freedom to speak, I started to question everything, the existence of God, the existence of the virginity of Mary, hell, everything of everything. I felt super comfortable, it is because of this experience that I wanted to be a monk there, but now that I remember, it was better I did not get into that life.

Chapter 5: Current religious and secular worldviews among young adults

In the present chapter, I layout the most descriptive and least descriptive statements for each grouping, which I will be referring now as Worldviews. These will provide a comprehensive overview of how, through the previous socialization experiences concretized in CREDs and CRUDs, young adults have come to articulate nuanced religious and secular worldviews. An interpretation of the most polar statements follow each worldview, as to examine what are the distinctive features of each of them, in order to be proposed as ideal-type models.

5.1 Worldview 1

Defining statements

51 Actively works towards making the world a better place to live (+4)
56 Embraces an outlook that actively seeks to change societal structures and values   (+4)
83 Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious (+4)
87 Views religious content as metaphoric, rather than literally true (+4)
100 Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality (+4)
18 Considers religious scriptures to be of human authorship-inspired, perhaps, but not infallible (3)
70 Rejects religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles (3)
101 Considers hypocrisy-not practicing what one preaches-to be common in religious circles (3)
16 Being religious or spiritual is central to whom he or she is (-3)
22 Thinks that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation (-3)
52 Lives his or her earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter (-3)
62 Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection.   (-3)
97 Is an active, contributing member of a religious or a spiritual community   (-3)
15 Considers the meaning of religious texts and teachings to be clear and true (-4)
54 Thinks that men and women are by nature intended for different roles (-4)
59 His or her sexuality is strongly guided by a religious or spiritual outlook (-4)
64 Centers his or her life on a religious or spiritual quest.   (-4)
71 Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation (-4)

Interpretation

Worldview 1 "Views religious content as metaphoric, rather than literally true" (87: +4).

This view of religion is further supported by additional statements like "Considers religious scriptures to be of human authorship- inspired, perhaps, but not infallible" (18: +3), "Rejects religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles" (70: +3), and with the

disagreement of "Considers the meaning of religious texts and teachings to be clear and true" (15: -4). For this worldview then, religion is something that is openly questioned and is no longer a holder of truth; rather, they constantly examine it in a critical way.

In relation to this, criticism of religion is most prompted when it intertwines itself with the public sphere, or to be more precise, for this worldview religion gains criticism through its observable behavior in society. Statements such as "Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious" (83: +4), "Hypocrisy-not practicing what one preaches- to be common in religious circles" (101: +3), "Thinks that men and women are by nature intended for different roles" (59: -4), "Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation" (71: -4) are of particular relevance in the clarification of this attitude.

One thing to note is that, while open criticism towards religion is manifested, this worldview doesn't negate the possibility for other people to make explorations of their own; this is why I find "Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality" (100: +4) as descriptive of this worldview.

Idealism, in terms of having a world-changing perspective, is also a defining trait of this worldview. Statements related to this are "Actively works towards making the world a better place to live" (51: +4), "Embraces an outlook that actively seeks to change societal structures and values" (56: +4). It is possible that this worldview engages frequently in social activities that are meant to transform their local realities for the better.

Fueled by the previously mentioned naturalistic view on religion, we can observe a consolidation of the self-secularization process in the eventual adoption of a humanist,

although not antireligious, worldview. Statements that point out this process in the everyday life of this worldview are "His or her sexuality is strongly guided by a religious or spiritual outlook" (59: -4), "Centers his or her life on a religious or spiritual quest" (64: -4), "Being religious or spiritual is central to whom he or she is" (16: -3), "Thinks that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation" (22: -3), "Lives his or her earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter" (52: -3), "Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection" (62: -3), and "Is an active, contributing member of a religious or a spiritual community" (97: -3). It is possible to conclude that, for this worldview, religion doesn't have any relevant involvement in its everyday life, but on the other hand, firmly believes in working to change their social reality.

Suggested label: Secular idealist

5.2 Worldview 2

Defining statements

66 Deeply identifies with some holy figure, either human or divine (+4)
75 Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties (+4)
77 Is profoundly touched by the suffering of others. (+4)
80 Faces the prospect of death with courage and calmness. (+4)
100 Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality. (+4)
65 Furnishes his or her living space with objects for religious or spiritual use or inspiration (3)
67 Observes with great care prescribed religious practices and laws   (3)
78 Is often keenly aware of the presence of the divine.   (3)
26 Regrets the personal loss of religious faith or a sense of divine presence (-3)
39 Feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine.   (-3)
70 Rejects religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles (-3)
84 Has a vague and shifting religious outlook.   (-3)
96 Can see no higher purpose or ultimate destiny for the human species   (-3)
5 Feels guilty for not living up to his or her ideals (-4)
7 Participates in religious practices chiefly to meet others' wishes or expectations. (-4)
24 Takes no interest in religious or spiritual matters. (-4)
35 Feels adrift, without direction, purpose, or goal. (-4)
99 Takes comfort in thinking that those who do not live righteously will face suffering or punishment. (-4)

Interpretation

Worldview 2 has a deep connection with religion and spirituality, particularly, on a personal level. Most of the statements that can be pointed out as highly descriptive of this worldview are related to lived experiences and everyday life. We find among the positive ones the following: "Deeply identifies with some holy figure, either human or divine"(66: +4), "Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties" (75: +4), "Faces the prospect of death with courage and calmness" (80: +4), "Observes with great care prescribed religious practices and laws"(67: +3), "Is often keenly aware of the presence of the divine" (78: +3), and "Furnishes his or her living space with objects for religious or spiritual use or inspiration" (65: +3).

The depth or strength of the presence of religion and spirituality in the life of this worldview is further accentuated by its rejection of statements that expresses doubt, both in relation to its beliefs and own lifelong convictions. Statements such as "Feels guilty for not living up to his or her ideals" (5: -4), "Takes no interest in religious or spiritual matters" (24: -4), "Feels adrift, without direction, purpose, or goal" (35: -4), "Regrets the personal loss of religious faith or a sense of divine presence" (26: -3), "Feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine" (39: -3), and "Has a vague and shifting religious outlook" (84: -3) offer broad evidence of this. An interesting nuance in this regard is the statement "Rejects religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles" (70, -3) since this worldview considers religious related content to be a valid source for their own guidance.

Because of the aforementioned statements, it is possible to conclude that a major trait of this worldview is having a firm conviction on its religious and spiritual beliefs for guidance in its life. It is likely that this view may primarily be on an individual level because there is no further elaboration of its collective dimension.

Furthermore, while this worldview finds religion and spirituality as a main source of meaning, it doesn't necessarily think that is the only possible one since it understands that other people could have different – and equally fulfilling– worldviews. It's just simply that this has worked for them so far, aside from the fact that they really haven't reflected on this beyond themselves. The statement "Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality" (100: +4) helps in determining the overall reach of religion and spirituality for this worldview.

Another set of statements that allow us to further develop the previously described attitude are "Takes comfort in thinking that those who do not live righteously will face suffering or punishment" (99: -4), and "Is profoundly touched by the suffering of others" (77: +4). While the first one clearly points out that having a different set of ideas is not something negative –much less condemnable–, the second strongly antagonizes with the former, although it appears that this worldview does not actually participate with concrete actions towards a specific goal in relation to the suffering of others; it seems to be more of a display of sensitivity -or even "good will"-, for the other's wellbeing.

In relation to the previous two paragraphs, I find "Participates in religious practices chiefly to meet others' wishes or expectations" (7: -4) as another complimentary idea; this helps us in gaining further insight about the value that religion and spirituality have for this worldview: these two dimensions provide meaning to their life through a conscious effort, solely driven by their own decision to follow them.

Suggested label: Open Theist

5.3 Worldview 3

Defining statements

53 Believes in a divine being with whom one can have a personal relationship. (+4)
62 Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection. (+4)
83 Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious (+4)
93 Sees personal self-realization as a primary spiritual goal in life (+4)
100 Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality. (+4)
2 Has frequent doubts about long-held religious convictions. (3)
8 Longs for a deeper, more confident faith. (3)
41 Thinks of the divine as a sheltering and nurturing parent. (3)
26 Regrets the personal loss of religious faith or a sense of divine presence (1)
58 Feels that it is important to maintain continuity of the religious traditions of family and ancestors (-1)
13 Views religious faith as a never-ending quest. (-2)
68 Has sensed the presence or influence of specific spirits, demons or patron saints (-3)
25 Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practices (-4)
50 Has used methods of attaining altered states of consciousness (-4)
71 Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation (-4)
73 Thinks that ritual or practice is more important than particular beliefs or mystical or spiritual experiences (-4)
99 Takes comfort in thinking that those who do not live righteously will face suffering or punishment (-4)

Interpretation

Worldview 3 feels connected with religion and spirituality on a personal level; the particular way in which this relationship unfolds seems to be, on one hand, through practices in specific situations or contexts, and on the other, through a constant interaction with the divine. Statements such as "Believes in a divine being with whom one can have a personal relationship" (53: +4), "Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection" (62: +4), "Thinks of the divine as a sheltering and nurturing parent" (41: +3) are evidence of this.

Additional statements that support this more individual relationship with religion and spirituality are the following two pairs: "Sees personal self- realization as a primary spiritual goal in life" (93: +4), "Views religious faith as a never-ending quest" (13: -2), "Has frequent doubts about long-held religious convictions (2: +3), and "Longs for a deeper, more confident faith" (8: +3). These make complimentary sense once paired with each other, for

while the first two point out the perceived unfinished status of themselves as individuals and of their religious convictions, the later couple gives an idea of internal struggle this worldview has for maintaining a consolidated set of beliefs.

So far, I have identified how and when religion and spirituality play a part in this worldview's life. The next thing that should be occupied is what they understand by religion and spirituality. The statement "Thinks that ritual or practice is more important than particular beliefs or mystical or spiritual experiences" (73, -4) plays a definitive role in this part because through it, worldview 3 points out the more or less abstract nature of its conceptualization on these. Hence the negative identification with statements related to not only deep engaging practices and material religion –i.e. "Has used methods of attaining altered states of consciousness" (25: -4) – but also the rejection of perceiving specific supernatural agents as part of their reality – "Has sensed the presence or influence of specific spirits, demons or patron saints" (68: -3). These highlight the distance this worldview takes from religion and spirituality, although these two are not solely understood in intellectual terms, for their refuge, sheltering and guidance capabilities are deeply ingrained within this worldview.

In consonance with this somewhat abstract, but at the same time, personal take on religion and spirituality, we can observe social context related statements that dissociate religion from morals, as well as the public sphere; these being "Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious" (83: +4), "Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality" (100: +4), "Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation" (71: -4), "Takes comfort in thinking that those who do not live righteously will face suffering or punishment" (99: -4), explain themselves in this regard.

Suggested label: Individually Spiritual

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In the present thesis, I have explored the role of religious socialization in the shaping of religious and secular worldviews, through a joint cognitive and social approach applied to the study of Peruvian youth. The data gathered through surveys, q-sorts and structured interviews give the possibility to have a comprehensive overview on how the changing religious landscape of Peru has taken place. As it will be described below for the present data, CREDs and CRUDs have played a key role in the acquisition, maintenance or relegation of religious and secular worldviews.

A large part of Peruvian youth is still being religiously socialized within traditional religious socialization agents, such as the Catholic Church, schools and families. However, the way on how young adults have learned their beliefs has introduced novel possibilities for their further understanding and role in daily life. The cases from David, and Julio illustrate this characteristic since all of them have experienced religious socialization in their early childhood, or in subsequent spiritual explorations, respectively. This would say something about the CREDs and CRUDs, namely, that some are more important than others. For David, despite being in a parochial school, he did not feel as being interested into learning more about religion for the first experiences with his family already ruled out the possibility to develop an added interest. While Julio, paradoxically, was lead to be critical of religion by a traditional religious group (in the form of monks), which developed later in his interest in spirituality.

In Worldview 1, statements that were related to criticism of religion and religious institutions were highly descriptive. As Walter's testimony refers, observable behavior on the part of the Catholic and Evangelical churches were the main reason why he chose to step aside from involving himself with them. A series of clearly defined CRUDs then are the cause for which he deliberately decided this. Though it can't be said for all of the cases of this

worldview, often critical takes on religion are replaced for worldly activism that is perceived as having real incidence in the world.

Another important point in relation to CRUDs is that long held religious convictions may be immune to them, or at least less likely to be influenced in some degree. This is the valid for the cases of Worldview 2, with Alberto and Pedro as chief examples. Alberto, because of his views on abortion and despite his leadership position, he was set aside from his local Catholic community. However, this did not make him change his religious views. A similar case is for Pedro when confronted about the role of the Catholic Church in negative episodes of history or finding out about condemnable behavior from religious leadership. His early personal experiences with his religious high school have become a constitutive part of his self, and he experiences any additional input related to religion through that lens.

As picked up from the survey data, a common trend among the Peruvian young adults is that they do not deem themselves as religious. But at the same time, it is possible to observe from the q-sort data that they at least in what regards to worldview 2 and 3, they are not religious in the traditional sense, that is, to be part of a group or frequent religious institutions. The cases of worldview 3 are particularly telling in this matter, like with Maria and Magdalena, where both of them feel have as coping strategy to connect and communicate with God or the divine. Their ways of being religious become more manifest by context specific events, as they reach them in order to deal with uncertainty and distress. It can be argued that these later situations would act as a deterrent for religious belief, but on the contrary, they serve for their reenactment.

Finally, another meaningful conclusion from the data presented is that religious and secular worldviews are not definitive content-wise. Nuances, self-reflective processes, and combinations of different traditions are a staple into how young adults build their religious or secular worldviews today. The cases of Elizabeth and Alexander are good examples of

that since she allows herself an integration between her Catholic religiosity and traditional or more modern accounts of religious content; while Alexander takes a self-reflective stance into how his activist work could have a significant impact for his community. At the same time, one of the q-sort statements that is shared equally among the three worldviews, namely the one related to the support of freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality, has to be addressed. For this kind of openness towards different religious manifestations and outlooks is what defines this group of Peruvian youth. I believe this common trait will allow the changing continuity of the religious landscape in Peru.

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Appendix

1. Gives substantial amounts of time or money to some religious organization or worthy cause.

2. Has frequent doubts about long-held religious convictions.

3. Views religion as a central means for becoming a better and more moral person.

4. Thinks that the world's religious traditions point to a common truth.

5. Feels guilty for not living up to his or her ideals.

6. Spends much time reading or talking about his or her convictions.

7. Participates in religious practices chiefly to meet others' wishes or expectations.

8. Longs for a deeper, more confident faith.

9. Thinks about the ultimate as a life force or creative energy rather than a supernatural being.

10. Has experienced moments of intense divine, mysterious, or supernatural presence.

11. Has a strong sense of a spiritual or higher order of reality in the midst of nature.

12. Participates in religious activities chiefly on special occasions.

13. Views religious faith as a never-ending quest.

14. Is moved by the atmosphere of sacred or venerated places.

15. Considers the meaning of religious texts and teachings to be clear and true.

16. Being religious or spiritual is central to whom he or she is.

17. Becomes more religious or spiritual at times of crisis or need.

18. Considers religious scriptures to be of human authorship—inspired, perhaps, but not infallible.

19. Understands and relates to the divine as feminine.

20. Relies on religious authorities for understanding and direction.

21. Takes part in religious activities to form or maintain social relationships.

22. Thinks that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation.

23. Engages regularly in religious or spiritual practices in private.

24. Takes no interest in religious or spiritual matters.

25. Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practices.

26. Regrets the personal loss of religious faith or a sense of divine presence.

27. Expresses his or her religion primarily in charitable acts or social action.

28. Believes in some way, but does not view him or herself as religious.

29. Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions.

30. Considers regular attendance at places of worship to be an essential expression of faith.

31. Is critical of the religious tradition of his or her people.

32. Considers all religious scriptures to be outdated or misguided.

33. Feels spiritually moved and deeply sustained by music, art, or poetry.

34. Sees this world as a place of suffering and sorrow.

35. Feels adrift, without direction, purpose, or goal.

36. Has dedicated his or her life to serving the divine.

37. Has experienced a profound change in religious or spiritual understanding or commitment.

38. Feels confident of attaining eternal salvation.

39. Feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine.

40. Expresses his or her convictions by following certain dietary practices.

41. Thinks of the divine as a sheltering and nurturing parent.

42. Has a thorough knowledge of religious scriptures or texts.

43. Is consumed by day-to-day responsibilities, leaving little or no time for spiritual matters.

44. Senses a divine or universal luminous element within him- or herself.

45. Feels distant from God or the divine.

46. Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation.

47. Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook.

48. Values his or her own purity and strives to safeguard it.

49. Seeks to intensify his or her experience of the divine or some otherworldly reality.

50. Has used methods of attaining altered states of consciousness.

51. Actively works towards making the world a better place to live.

52. Lives his or her earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter.

53. Believes in a divine being with whom one can have a personal relationship.

54. Thinks that men and women are by nature intended for different roles.

55. Personally finds the idea of divinity empty of significance or meaning.

56. Embraces an outlook that actively seeks to change societal structures and values.

57. Seldom if ever doubts his or her deeply held convictions.

58. Feels that it is important to maintain continuity of the religious traditions of family and ancestors.

59. His or her sexuality is strongly guided by a religious or spiritual outlook.

60. Views religion as the illusory creation of human fears and desires.

61. Feels threatened by evil forces at work in the world.

62. Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection.

63. Battles with inner impulses that are experienced as dark or even evil.

64. Centers his or her life on a religious or spiritual quest.

65. Furnishes his or her living space with objects for religious or spiritual use or inspiration

66. Deeply identifies with some holy figure, either human or divine.

67. Observes with great care prescribed religious practices and laws.

68. Has sensed the presence or influence of specific spirits, demons or patron saints.

69. Feels a sense of guilt and personal inadequacy.

70. Rejects religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles.

71. Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation.

72. Has moved from one group to another in search of a spiritual or ideological home.

73. Thinks that ritual or practice is more important than particular beliefs or mystical or spiritual experiences.

74. Feels personally protected and guided by a spiritual being.

75. Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties.

76. Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook.

77. Is profoundly touched by the suffering of others.

78. Is often keenly aware of the presence of the divine.

79. Views all events in this world within a religious or spiritual framework.

80. Faces the prospect of death with courage and calmness.

81. Is positively engaged by or interested in other peoples' religious traditions.

82. Is reluctant to reveal his or her core convictions to others.

83. Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious.

84. Has a vague and shifting religious outlook.

85. Finds it difficult to believe in a benevolent divine being in the face of evil.

86. Is committed to following a spiritual path that is in harmony with the environment.

87. Views religious content as metaphoric, rather than literally true.

88. Views the divine or a higher reality as a deep mystery that can be pointed to but never fully understood.

89. Has experienced moments of profound illumination.

90. Affirms the idea of reincarnation, the cycle of birth and rebirth.

91. Takes delight in paradox and mystery.

92. Takes for granted that particular religious claims are true.

93. Sees personal self-realization as a primary spiritual goal in life.

94. Views symmetry, harmony, and balance as reflections of ultimate truth.

95. Believes that human progress is possible on a worldwide scale.

96. Can see no higher purpose or ultimate destiny for the human species.

97. Is an active, contributing member of a religious or a spiritual community.

98. Willingly gives up worldly or bodily pleasures for religious or spiritual reasons.

99. Takes comfort in thinking that those who do not live righteously will face suffering or punishment.

100. Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality.

101. Considers hypocrisy—not practicing what one preaches—to be common in religious circles.