

Cambridge University Press  
052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## SACRED AND SECULAR

Seminal thinkers of the nineteenth century – Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Sigmund Freud – all predicted that religion would gradually fade in importance and cease to be significant with the emergence of industrial society. The belief that religion was dying became the conventional wisdom in the social sciences during most of the twentieth century. During the last decade, however, the secularization thesis has experienced the most sustained challenge in its long history.

The traditional secularization thesis needs updating. Religion has not disappeared and is unlikely to do so. Nevertheless, the concept of secularization captures an important part of what is going on. This book develops a theory of secularization and existential security and compares it against survey evidence from almost 80 societies worldwide.

*Sacred and Secular* is essential reading for anyone interested in comparative religion, sociology, public opinion, political behavior, political development, social psychology, international relations, and cultural change.

Pippa Norris is the McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Her work compares elections and public opinion, gender politics, and political communications. Companion volumes by this author, also published by Cambridge University Press, include *A Virtuous Circle* (2000), *Digital Divide* (2001), *Democratic Phoenix* (2002), *Rising Tide* (2003, with Ronald Inglehart), and *Electoral Engineering* (2004).

Ronald Inglehart is professor of political science and program director at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. His research deals with changing belief systems and their impact on social and political change. He helped found the Euro-Barometer Surveys and directs the World Values Surveys. Related books include *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies* (1997), *Rising Tide* (2003, with Pippa Norris), and *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy* (forthcoming, with Christian Welzel).

Cambridge University Press  
052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics

### *Editors*

David C. Leege *University of Notre Dame*  
Kenneth D. Wald *University of Florida, Gainesville*

The most enduring and illuminating bodies of late-nineteenth-century social theory – by Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and others – emphasized the integration of religion, polity, and economy through time and place. Once a staple of classic social theory, however, religion gradually lost the interest of many social scientists during the twentieth century. The recent emergence of phenomena such as Solidarity in Poland; the dissolution of the Soviet empire; various South American, Southern African, and South Asian liberation movements; the Christian Right in the United States; and Al-Qaeda have reawakened scholarly interest in religiously based political conflict. At the same time, fundamental questions are once again being asked about the role of religion in stable political regimes, public policies, and constitutional orders. The series Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics will produce volumes that study religion and politics by drawing on classic social theory and more recent social scientific research traditions. Books in the series offer theoretically grounded, comparative, empirical studies that raise “big” questions about a timely subject that has long engaged the best minds in social science.

Cambridge University Press  
052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

# Sacred and Secular

RELIGION AND POLITICS WORLDWIDE

**Pippa Norris**

*Harvard University*

**Ronald Inglehart**

*University of Michigan*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
 Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
 Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
 Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Pippa Norris & Ronald Inglehart 2004

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
 no reproduction of any part may take place without  
 the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

Printed in the United States of America

*Typeface* Janson Text Roman 10/13 pt.      *System* L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X 2<sub>ε</sub> [TB]

*A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data*

Norris, Pippa.  
 Sacred and secular : religion and politics worldwide / Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart.  
 p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in social theory, religion, and politics)  
 Includes bibliographical references and index.  
 ISBN 0-521-83984-X – ISBN 0-521-54872-1 (pbk.)  
 I. Religion and politics. I. Inglehart, Ronald. II. Title. III. Series.  
 BL65.P7N67 2004  
 306.6-dc22 2004045119

ISBN 0 521 83984 x hardback  
 ISBN 0 521 54872 1 paperback

## Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
 <b>PART I UNDERSTANDING SECULARIZATION</b>	
1 The Secularization Debate	3
2 Measuring Secularization	33
3 Comparing Secularization Worldwide	53
 <b>PART II CASE STUDIES OF RELIGION AND POLITICS</b>	
4 The Puzzle of Secularization in the United States and Western Europe	83
5 A Religious Revival in Post-Communist Europe?	111
6 Religion and Politics in the Muslim World	133
 <b>PART III THE CONSEQUENCES OF SECULARIZATION</b>	
7 Religion, the Protestant Ethic, and Moral Values	159
8 Religious Organizations and Social Capital	180
9 Religious Parties and Electoral Behavior	196
	<b>vii</b>

Cambridge University Press  
052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

viii

CONTENTS

**CONCLUSIONS**

10	Secularization and Its Consequences	215
	<i>Appendix A: Classifications of Types of Society</i>	243
	<i>Appendix B: Concepts and Measures</i>	247
	<i>Appendix C: Technical Note on the Freedom of Religion Scale</i>	253
	<i>Notes</i>	255
	<i>Bibliography</i>	287
	<i>Index</i>	315

## Tables

2.1	Indicators of religiosity	<i>page</i> 41
2.2	Classification of societies by their historically predominant major religions	46
2.3	Social and economic indicators of the major world religions	49
3.1	Religiosity by type of society	57
3.2	Human security and religious behavior	62
3.3	Explaining religious behavior	66
3.4	Social characteristics of religious participation	70
3.5	Decline in religious participation, EU 1970–1998	72
3.6	Trends in religious participation, 1981–2001	74
3.7	Rise in thinking about the meaning of life, 1981–2001	75
4.1	Belief in God, 1947–2001	90
4.2	Belief in life after death, 1947–2001	91
4.3	Human security, religious markets, and religiosity in postindustrial societies	99
4.4	The perceived functions of religious authorities	105
5.1	Age and religiosity in post-Communist Europe, without controls	120
5.2	Explaining individual religious participation in post-Communist Europe	123

x	TABLES	
5.3	Explaining societal-level religiosity in post-Communist Europe	126
5.4	Explaining societal religious values in post-Communist Europe	128
6.1	Classification of societies by religious cultures	141
6.2	Factor analysis of political values	143
6.3	Political values by type of religious culture, with controls	145
6.4	Social values by type of religious culture, with controls	150
A6.1	Illustration of the full regression model used in Tables 6.3 and 6.4	156
7.1	Factor analysis of work ethic	164
7.2	Mean scores on the work ethic scales	165
7.3	Work ethic by type of predominant religious culture, with controls	166
7.4	Economic attitudes by religious culture and society	171
7.5	Ethical scales by religion	173
7.6	Moral “life issue” values by religious culture	174
7.7	Moral values by type of predominant religious culture, with controls	176
A7.1	Illustration of the full regression model used in Tables 7.3 and 7.7	179
8.1	Explaining membership in religious organizations	187
8.2	Explaining membership in non-religious voluntary organizations	189
8.3	Religious participation and associational membership	190
8.4	The effects of religious participation on civic engagement	193
9.1	Support for the Right by society and religiosity	203
9.2	Explaining Right orientations, pooled model all nations	205
9.3	Correlations between religious values and Right orientations	206
9.4	The electoral strength of religious parties in national elections in postindustrial societies, 1945–1994	209
10.1	Demographic indicators by type of society	232
10.2	Population growth rate by type of society	234
10.3	Estimated population growth by type of society, 1900–2002	236
10.4	Explaining fertility rates	238



## Figures

1.1	Schematic model explaining religiosity	<i>page</i> 15
2.1	Nation states included in the pooled World Values Surveys and European Values Surveys, 1981–2001	39
2.2	Historically predominant religions in 188 nations worldwide	45
3.1	Religiosity by type of society	58
3.2	Religious behavior in 76 societies	60
3.3	Faith in science and religion	68
3.4	Religious participation by birth cohort	77
4.1	Religious behavior in postindustrial societies	85
4.2	Religious participation in Europe	86
4.3	Religious participation in Western Europe, 1970–1999	87
4.4	Religious participation in the United States, 1972–2002	92
4.5	Religious identities in the United States, 1972–2002	93
4.6	Religiosity and pluralism	101
4.7	Religiosity and economic inequality	107
4.8	Religiosity by income in postindustrial societies	109
4.9	Religiosity by income in the United States	110
5.1	Religious values by cohort of birth	121
5.2	Religious participation by cohort of birth	122
5.3	Religious values and societal indicators of human development	129

Cambridge University Press

052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii	FIGURES
5.4 Religious values, religious pluralism, and the Religious Freedom Index	130
6.1 Democratic values	146
6.2 Leadership attitudes	147
6.3 Social values	152
6.4 Support for sexual liberalization values by cohort and society	153
7.1 Work values by religious culture	168
7.2 Work orientations by religious culture	169
7.3 Moral “life issue” values by type of religion	177
9.1 Religious values and left-right self-placement	204
9.2 The electoral strength of religious parties in national elections in postindustrial societies, 1945–1994	210
10.1 Religious behavior and religious values	224
10.2 Religious participation and beliefs	226
10.3 Religious values and population growth rates, 1975–1998	235
10.4 Fertility rates and traditional/secular-rational values, mid-1990s	239

## Preface and Acknowledgments

The events of 9/11 and their aftermath in Afghanistan and Iraq have shaken scholarly assumptions about “the end of history” and the post–Cold War peace dividend – and the study of religion has suddenly emerged into the glare of public attention. Is religious conflict now the central issue? Were the prophecies of a new “clash of civilizations” being realized? Speculation about these matters was fed by a rapidly expanding literature on everything from the causes of terrorism to divisions in the Atlantic alliance, the prospects for democracy in the Middle East, and the nature of Islamic beliefs.

Social scientists are divided concerning whether the process of secularization is reducing the role of religion in everyday life – or whether the world’s major religious faiths are experiencing a strong resurgence. Fortunately, a massive body of new evidence about the underlying factors driving religiosity around the globe has recently become available. This book uses this evidence to reexamine the classic questions about the nature of religion. Building on ideas Weber and Durkheim developed a century ago, it develops a new theoretical framework for understanding how the experience of existential security drives the process of secularization. We test this theory against evidence from the Values Surveys 1981–2001, which have carried out representative national surveys in eighty societies around the globe, covering all the world’s major faiths. This analysis builds on our previous

Cambridge University Press

052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

book, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World* (2003), which examined the role of religiosity in explaining egalitarian or traditional attitudes toward the roles of women and men. We hope that this study will contribute to informing the debate about the role of religion in the contemporary world.

This book owes multiple debts to many friends and colleagues. The analysis draws on a unique database – the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Survey (EVS). These surveys provide data from countries containing more than 85% of the world's population and covering the full range of variation, from societies with per capita incomes as low as \$300 per year to societies with per capita incomes one hundred times that high; and from long-established democracies with market economies to authoritarian states and ex-socialist states. We owe a large debt of gratitude to the following WVS and EVS participants for creating and sharing this invaluable dataset: Abdel-Hamid Abdel-Latif, Anthony M. Abela, Q. K. Ahmad, Rasa Alishauskene, Helmut Anheier, Jose Arocena, W. A. Arts, Soo Young Auh, Taghi Azadarmaki, Ljiljana Bacevic, Olga Balakireva, Josip Balobn, Miguel Basanez, Elena Bashkirova, Abdallah Bedaida, Jorge Benitez, Jaak Billiet, Alan Black, Ammar Boukheldir, Rahma Bourquia, Fares al Braizat, Pavel Campeanu, Augustin Canzani, Marita Carballo, Henrique Carlos de O. de Castro, Pi-Chao Chen, Pradeep Chhibber, Mark F. Chingono, Hei-yuan Chiu, Margit Cleveland, Andrew P. Davidson, Jaime Diez Medrano, Herman De Dijn, Juan Diez Nicolas, Karel Dobbelaere, Peter J. D. Drenth, Javier Elzo, Yilmaz Esmer, P. Estgen, T. Fahey, Nadjematul Faizah, Georgy Fotev, James Georgas, C. Geppaart, Renzo Gubert, Linda Luz Guerrero, Peter Gundelach, Jacques Hagenaaers, Loek Halman, Mustafa Hamarneh, Sang-Jin Han, Stephen Harding, Mari Harris, Bernadette C. Hayes, Camilo Herrera, Virginia Hodgkinson, Nadra Muhammed Hosen, Kenji Iijima, Ljubov Ishimova, Wolfgang Jagodzinski, Aleksandra Jasinska-Kania, Fridrik Jonsson, Stanislovas Juknevičius, Jan Kerkhofs SJ, Johann Kinghorn, Zuzana Kusá, M. Legrand, Ola Listhaug, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Hennie Kotze, Marta Lagos, Bernard Lategan, Carlos Lemoine, Noah Lewin-Epstein, Jin-yun Liu, Brina Malnar, Mahar Mangahas, Felipe Miranda, Mario Marinov, Carlos Matheus, Robert Mattes, Mansoor Moaddel, Jose Molina, Rafael Mendizabal, Alejandro Moreno, Gaspar K. Munishi, Elone Nwabuzor, Neil Nevitte, F. A. Orizo, Dragomir Pantic, Juhani Pehkonen, Paul Perry, Thorleif Pettersson, Pham Minh Hac, Pham Thanh Nghi, Gevork Pogosian, Bi Puranen, Ladislav Rabusic, Angel Rivera-Ortiz, Catalina Romero, David Rotman,

Cambridge University Press  
 052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
 Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

xv

Rajab Sattarov, Seiko Yamazaki, Sandeep Shastri, Shen Mingming, Renata Siemienska, John Sudarsky, Tan Ern Ser, Farooq Tanwir, Jean-Francois Tchernia, Kareem Tejumola, Larissa Titarenko, Miklos Tomka, Alfredo Torres, Toru Takahashi, Niko Tos, Jorge Vala, Andrei Vardomatskii, Malina Voicu, Alan Webster, Friedrich Welsch, Christian Welzel, Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar, Josefina Zaiter, Brigita Zepa, and Paul Zulehner.

Most of these surveys were supported by sources within the given country, but assistance for surveys where such funding was not available and for central coordination was provided by the National Science Foundation, the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, the Swedish Agency for International Development, the Volkswagen Foundation, and the BBVA Foundation. For more information about the World Values Survey, see the WVS websites: <http://wvs.isr.umich.edu/> and <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>. The European surveys used here were gathered by the European Values Survey group (EVS). For details of EVS findings, see Loek Halman, *The European Values Study: A Sourcebook Based on the 1999/2000 European Values Study Surveys*. Tilburg: EVS, Tilburg University Press, 2001. For more information, see the EVS website, <http://evs.kub.nl>.

Some preliminary ideas were first sketched out in articles published in *Foreign Policy* and *Comparative Sociology*. The theme of the book received encouragement in conversations over the years with many colleagues including David Appel, William Inglehart, Swanee Hunt, Richard Parker, Larry Diamond, Ivor Crewe, Mark Franklin, and Sam Huntington. We also are most grateful to all those who went out of their way to provide feedback on initial ideas or to read through draft chapters and provide comments. The support of Cambridge University Press has been invaluable, particularly the efficient assistance and continuous enthusiasm of our editor, Lew Bateman, and his assistant, Sarah Gentile, as have the comments of the anonymous reviewers and of David C. Leege, co-editor of the series Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics. We thank Karen Long and Zhengxu Wang for assistance in cleaning and coding the WVS, and Roopal Thaker and Jose Chicoma at the Kennedy School for research assistance in the collection of datasets and literature. Lastly, this book would not have been possible without the encouragement and stimulation provided by many colleagues and students at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and the Department of Political Science and the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

– Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Ann Arbor, Michigan

Cambridge University Press  
052183984X - Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide  
Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## SACRED AND SECULAR