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Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

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SACRED AND SECULAR

Religion and Politics Worldwide, 2nd Edition

Seminal nineteenth-century thinkers predicted that religion would gradually fade in importance 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. The traditional secularization thesis needs updating, however, as 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 existential security. It demonstrates that the publics of virtually all advanced industrial societies have been moving toward more secular orientations during the past half-century, but also that the world as a whole now has more people with traditional religious views than ever before. This second edition expands the theory and provides new and updated evidence from a broad perspective and in a wide range of countries. This confirms that religiosity persists most strongly among vulnerable populations, especially in poorer nations and failed states. Conversely, a systematic erosion of religious practices, values, and beliefs has occurred among the more prosperous strata in rich nations.

Pippa Norris is the McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and a visiting professor at Sydney University. Her work analyzes comparative elections and public opinion, gender politics, and political communications. Companion volumes by this author and Ronald Inglehart, also published by Cambridge University Press, include *Rising Tide* (2003) and *Cosmopolitan Communications* (2009).

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 Forty-Three Societies* and *Development, Cultural Change and Democracy* (with Christian Welzel).

In 2011, the Johan Skytte prize was awarded to Inglehart and Norris for “contributing innovative ideas about the relevance and roots of political culture in a global context, transcending previous mainstream approaches of research.” The prize committee cited their work on the importance of religion in today’s world.

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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 upon 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.

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RELIGION AND POLITICS WORLDWIDE
2nd EDITION

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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 about 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

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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.

The first edition of the book attracted considerable attention – and also debate. This second edition allows us to add two new concluding chapters responding to comments and addressing potential criticisms. In particular, Chapter 11 expands on the theoretical framework by clarifying some core concepts. Chapter 12 analyzes additional independent evidence derived from the Gallup World Poll 2007.

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, Juan Diez Nicolas, Herman De Dijn, 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 Hagenaars, 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

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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. The second edition greatly benefited from a generous and vigorous exchange of comments and ideas with Robert Putnam and David Campbell. 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. Last, this book would

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– Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Ann Arbor, Michigan