

CHANGING RELIGIOSITY: Secularisation and Variation *Data Analysis of Religious Values in Spain*¹

Anthony M. Abela S.J.

The theory emerging from contemporary research in the sociology of religion posits a complex dynamic between the traditional notion of secularisation and an observed persistence, transformation or revival of religion. Just as secularisation is a multi-dimensional concept, so also religiosity has a plurality of meanings and manifestations. A nuanced understanding of secularisation requires the identification of the relevant religious factors, a consideration of the various social forces and an examination of the social significance of religious culture.

In the operationalisation of the generalised concept of secularisation change in contemporary religious culture and its relation to society is often overlooked. While contemporary social theory tends to generalise the results from phenomenological findings, analytical research often delimits the scope of investigation to a single clearly defined and easily measurable religious variable, such as participation at religious services, and elaborates on a single dimension of religious change. Accordingly, there is a need for the identification of the various dimensions of religion at work in today's increasingly complex world. Earlier I have argued that research in the sociology of religion requires a post-secularisation approach concerned with the social significance of religion in a changing world (Abela 1993). Such an approach examines how specific traditional and post-traditional religious factors vary for different social groups in distinct social settings over time.

This article is an attempt to analyze survey data on a wide range of religious values for a Western European country (CIRES 1990) and reports on the

Anthony M. Abela S.J. was born in Malta in 1954. He is *professore aggiunto* of sociology at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, and a lecturer in Social Policy at the University of Malta. He is author of *Transmitting Values in European Malta* (1991) and *Changing Youth Culture in Malta* (1992).

1. The data available from the *Centro de Estudios sobre la Realidad Social* (CIRES) was collected from interviews to a stratified random sample of 1,200 adults in December 1990.

emerging social and religious factors. It accounts for religious change in terms of past, present and prospected future religiosity for a representative sample of the Spanish population. Through a comparison with the *European Value Systems Study Group's* (EVSSG 1981) data for the same country it investigates change in religious practice over a period of ten years. Does change in religious involvement correspond to the life-cycle, or is it rather a process of secularisation to be explained by a cohort or a period effect? Is there a significant variation in religiosity for distinct social groupings over time?

Theory

Initially, as the concept of secularisation was found to lack analytical precision (Shiner 1967), a number of European sociologists refined the concept (Wilson 1966-85; Martin 1978, Dobbelaere 1981) and set the ground for qualitative and quantitative research. Building on the theory of secularisation, British sociologists of religion moved away from the original normative functionalism and applied phenomenological methods to understand religion's resistance to secularisation, the relation between belief and action, and how knowledge, innovation and change are socially constructed (Wallis and Bruce 1989). At the same time the application of quantitative methods of research enabled other sociologists, in particular in the United States, to identify various dimensions of religion even if they tended to overlook collective phenomena. In Europe there emerged a new interest in diffuse, popular and unofficial religion documenting the importance of shared values and beliefs that served as a basis for collective meaning and action (Cipriani 1988). In this movement a shift is observed away from institutionalized religion. There is a growing awareness that the social significance of religion extends beyond the confines of formal religious organisations. Accordingly, reviewing the international contribution to the sociology of religion, Beckford (1990) suggests that as the social functions of religion continue to decline, the social significance of religion, conceptualized in a new form - as religious culture - may be on the increase.

The scientific study of World Values initiated by the *European Value Systems Study Group* (EVSSG) in the beginning of the eighties has opened the way for a new conceptualisation of the social significance of religion. In these studies religious values are examined alongside and in relation to social and political values, work occupations, leisure and family life for randomly chosen representatives of entire populations. The European studies reported on how social and religious options constitute a complex network of relations. Inter-related values formed coherent wholes both on the individual and the

collective level (Stoetzel 1983). Allowing a margin for individuals' freedom of choice, it was possible to infer the social and political orientations of respondents from their respective adherence to religion (Stoetzel 1983:15.87. 106; Harding *et al* 1986:84.216). Although local conditions and historical developments of every country have the greatest influence on people's adherence to religious values and institutions, there emerged a number of sociological constants across Western Europe. Stoetzel discovered that generally Western Europeans tend to be more religious and moral than is often assumed to be the case. Religiosity was found to vary by occupation, place of residence and education and is subject to an age effect. Catholics stand out for their reported higher religious practice and belief and for their satisfaction with their religion and the moral teachings of the Church. Stoetzel (1983:95) observed that as Catholics are more attached to their religious beliefs they seem to resist change better. However, Harding *et al* found a wide diversity of practice among people nominally affiliated to the same Church.

Catholic countries show very diverse patterns of practice and belief and seem to sustain a greater commitment among young people. The separate studies on values in Latin European countries have variously reported on religion in Italy, Spain and Malta. Calvaruso et Abbruzzese (1985) distinguished between the declining influence of Church-religiosity, the persistence of a diffused Catholic religion and the new dimensions of belief in Italian society. Orizo (1983:189.373) observed a tension between an emerging secularised consciousness and the strong traditional institutions of the Church in Spain whereas Abela (1991) investigated the transmission of traditional and post-traditional values and the meanings they assume in religious organisations in Malta.

Observing the continued widespread religious belief and the high personal acceptance of the Ten Commandments Harding *et al* caution against premature conclusions concerning the state of contemporary religion and the prevalence of Christian values. They point out that any assumed secularisation does not seem to have taken place to the degree suggested by some authors, nor was it found to be homogenous across countries and for all the dimensions of religion (Harding *et al* 1986:69). In their conclusion, however, they argued that although the data from the survey at one point in time was not sufficient evidence of social or religious change, the marked age differences over values could not be explained as a life-cycle effect.

Catholic Religious Practice

Traditional Catholic religious practice follows the cycle of human

maturity. The seven sacraments of the Church correspond to specific moments in the life cycle of a person. From the early years of their life Catholics are initiated into the various practices of the Church. In most Catholic countries it is customary to baptize babies as soon as they are born. From an early age a child is prepared to receive First Holy Communion and is then required to attend Mass every Sunday. The frequent practice of Confession confers the forgiveness of sins, reconciles to the Church and enables a person to receive Holy Communion. Then the sacrament of Confirmation, intended as a commitment to Christian life, is normally received at the age of reason. For the majority a life-long commitment to marriage is marked by a Church sacrament; a few pronounce religious vows and male celibate leaders are ordained priests for the service of the community. When a person is sick for a very long time and death is in sight, the anointing of the sick, formerly known as the last sacrament, prepares the believer to encounter the Lord. In a predominantly Catholic country the sacraments of initiation are almost universal. People are born into the Catholic faith. In modern society, however, religious practice is deemed secondary to a person's religious identity, sense of belonging to the Church and his or her relations to the external environment. In a post-traditional environment a mature Catholic personality is cultivated through a continuous education, an experience of Christian conversion and finds expression in a universal openness coupled with an integral wisdom (Carrier 1991).

Age, Period and Cohort Effects

Longitudinal studies posit an interaction between age, cohort and period effects in religiosity. Aging effects are often described as the biological, psychological and sociological stages experienced by individuals in a particular society as they age (Chaves 1989:465). Stoetzel (1983:94) gives the classical example of how the elderly think of death more often than the young. Thus, in Western Europe advancement in age was found to be accompanied by a decrease in non-religiosity, a higher attendance at religious services, an increased need for spirituality and a greater satisfaction derived from religious institutions.

An age effect theory for Catholic religious practice would have it that traditional religious practice is regular and very frequent during childhood, tends to weaken and fluctuate during adult life but acquires new vigour as a person grows into old age. An age effect, however, is often accompanied by cohort and period effects. Cohorts effects are the differences between groups of people born at different times, whereas period effects are the broad events and developments that affect all cohorts equally. A period effect theory posits

a decline in religiosity over time, whereas a cohort effect theory attributes change in religiosity to common characteristics or experiences shared by members of the same cohort (Chaves 1989). It has variously been observed that with the passage of time the rate of religious decline often caused by a time-specific event tends to stabilise itself (Stoetzel 1983:252) while post-traditional forms of religion co-exist with and at times displace traditional ones (Abela 1991).

Results

Religious Practice

Our respondents have very strong traditional roots in the religious practices of the Catholic Church. Almost all recall that their parents were baptised Catholics, made their First Holy Communion and were married in the Catholic Church. In turn, this traditional religiosity was passed on to our respondents: 99 percent have received Baptism and 98 percent made their First Holy Communion in their early childhood. Lower levels of participation are recorded for Confirmation (79%). As this sacrament is usually administered in early youth we can already observe the workings of an age effect. As a person grows out of childhood one gains a measure of freedom from the overpowering social influence of parents and the Church and is able to make his or her own mind on the frequency of attendance at the weekly Mass (76%), Holy Communion (50%), prayer (72%) and Confession (38%). Again our respondents' present religious practice is lower than what they recall for their childhood. Still, the greatest majority would like to marry in the Church and to receive the last sacraments (71%) and would favour Baptism (82%), First Holy Communion (79%) and a Church marriage for their children (63%). A considerable number (42%) would like to educate their children in a Church school (8 percent higher than those in possession of a religious schooling), possibly for mixed reasons that go beyond the purely religious [Table 1].

An analysis of the religious practices for distinct age groups of our respondents enables us to distinguish between age, cohort and period effects [Table 2]. Overall, religious practices in contemporary Spain vary from the not so common weekly Confessions (6%) and Holy Communion (16%) to the more frequent practice of Mass attendance (35%) and prayer (49%). The global index of religious participation ranges from a low for the under 24 year olds (11) to a high for the over 65 year old (45). This continuum suggests that religious practice is under the influence of an age effect: apparently, as people advance in years they engage more in religious activities.

We observe an overall drop (-30) in the religious practices of our



respondents from the time of their childhood to the present. As might be expected, Catholics participate more often during their childhood than in their adult life in the weekly liturgy of the Mass (+36%), Holy Communion (+32%), Confession (+32%) and prayer (+23%). In the early stages of their socialisation our respondents are generally more exposed to religious activities, but tend to slacken as they grow into adolescence and adult life. In old age, however, there is a return to religiosity. On our religiosity index the greatest drop in religious activity from childhood to the present is recorded for the 25-34 year olds (-44) and is lowest for the elderly (-13).

Changing patterns in the practice of Confession and Holy Communion are very dissimilar to the life-cycle effect at work in prayer life and attendance for the liturgy of the Mass. First we observe an overall decline in childhood religious practice for the young (18-34 year olds) relative to the older generations. This is most pronounced for the lower participation of the younger generations since early childhood in the sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion. The marked difference in Confession and to a lower degree in Holy Communion was first experienced during the sixties by the now middle-aged (35-44 year olds). The post-Vatican II transformations have since influenced the religious practice of the whole Church. Generally, the practice of prayer, participation in the liturgy of the Mass and to a lower extent in Holy Communion have remained relatively stable even though greatly renewed. Confession, however, has become increasingly unpopular. On this count, what was originally a cohort effect of the turbulent sixties has now turned into a period effect with a bearing on all subsequent generations.

Within the limits of survey research we observe an overall six percent drop in Sunday Mass attendance over a period of ten years (1981-1990). The age groups which in 1981 were in the "35-44", "45-54" and "55-64 years" cohorts (now in the "45-54", "55-64" and "over 65 years" age groups respectively) have remained stable, the "25-34 year old" cohort (now in the "35-44 years" age group) has increased by 13 percent, whereas the then "18-24 year" olds (now in the "25-34 years" age group) have dropped by 11 percent in their weekly Mass participation. A religious crisis seems to occur during the years of early adulthood, after which time for a considerable number of our respondents there is a return to a regular participation in the weekly Mass and even more so to a life of prayer.

Religious Factors

A large-scale factor analysis for a wide range of religious items in Spain as represented in the CIRES (December, 1990) questionnaire extracted eleven

distinct religious factors [Table 3]. The first three factors are concerned with our respondents' religious practice in the present (R1), as recalled for their childhood (R2) and as envisioned for the future (R3). Here religious practice includes attendance for the weekly liturgy of the Mass, participation in Holy Communion, going to Confession and spending time in prayer.² Other factors are concerned with a religious environment for the transmission of values (R4), traditional morality and belief (R5), eschatological belief (R6), spiritual life (R7), religious conviction (R8), the social teaching of the Church (R9), social influence in decision making (R10) and an option for a liberating faith (R11).

The religious environment factor (R4) consists of our respondents' parish activity at present (88%) and in their youth (71%), bible reading (62%), discussion of religious matters with friends (34%) and in the family (22%), regular contacts with priests (25%) and nuns (18%), participation in retreats at present (9%) and in their childhood (24%) and bringing God to mind when alone (24%).³ The traditional morality and belief factor (R5) includes our respondents' firm belief in God (80%) and the Virgin Mary (68%) and their support of the Catholic Church's prohibition of abortion (42%), divorce (30%), birth control (24%) and not allowing priests to marry (29%).⁴ Eschatological belief (R6) is concerned with the last things: belief in life after death (55%), heaven (58%), hell (40%), sin (38%) and the devil (36%).⁵ The spiritual life of our respondents (R7) consists in prayer of thanksgiving (50%) or petition (43%), feeling God's presence (38%) and deriving comfort and strength from religion (30%).⁶ Religious conviction (R8) is manifest in the way our

2. The factor for *present religious practice* (R1) has high positive loadings for participation in Communion (.79), Confession (.75), Mass (.74), and prayer (.69). The factor for *Childhood religiosity* (R2) has high loadings for Communion (.87), Confession (.85), Mass (.84) and prayer (.72) but a lower loading for an education in a Church School (.34). Then the factor for *prospected future religiosity* (R3) has high loadings for respondents who favour their child's baptism (.74) and First Holy Communion (.77), but lower loadings for a Church marriage for themselves (.57) and their child (.54), their willingness to receive the last sacraments (.54) and for a religious education for their child (.46). *Note:* For percentages see Table 1.
3. The factor loadings for R4 in descending order are: Talk religion in the family (.68), read bible (.67), talk religion with friends (.65), contacts with priests (.58) and nuns (.54), parish activity now (.51) and during youth (.49), think of God when alone (.51) doing retreats now (.35) and when a child (.35).
4. The factor loadings for R5 are: Prohibition of divorce (.62), birth control (.60), abortion (.58), married priests (.46), belief in God (.51) and the Virgin Mary (.41), esteem of priests (.43) and a negative loading for reading novels (-.57).
5. Factor loading for R6 are: Belief in hell (.83), heaven (.81), the devil (.77), sin (.66) and life after death (.48).
6. The factor loadings for R7 are: Derive comfort and strength (.92), prayer of petition (.92) and

respondents find it a duty and not just a matter of convenience or custom to baptise their children (43%) and to prepare them for the First Holy Communion (41%).⁷

The factor for the social teaching of the Church (R9) is concerned with our respondents' satisfaction with the Pope's teaching on the Third World (31%), the poor and political oppression (27%), democracy in Eastern Europe (75%) and the teaching of the local Church on family life (36%), moral problems, the needs of the individual (34%) and spiritual life (41%).⁸ Considerations in decision-making (R10) range from the influence exercised by the family (28%), friends (7%), public opinion (5%), the most advantageous (40%), one's own ideas (41%) and religious beliefs (16%).⁹ Finally, the option for a liberating faith (R11) consists in our respondents' readiness to sacrifice everything even to risk their life for the values of freedom (44%), peace (55%), justice (31%), democracy (28%), saving the life of another person (61%), God and religious faith (33%).¹⁰

Social Factors

The CIRES (1990) survey also enquired about people's present social objectives first for their country and second for the world. Accordingly, respondents were asked to choose their first three priorities from a list of national and world concerns. The list of items corresponds to Inglehart's (1990) battery of questions intended to discover respondents' materialist and post-materialist orientations. In the Spanish situation such concerns range from

thanksgiving (.91), and feeling God's presence (.90).

7. R8 has the following factor loadings: A duty to give child the First Holy Communion (.81) and Baptism (.79).
8. R9 has the following factor loadings: Satisfaction with the Pope's teaching on the Third World (.74), the poor (.73), political oppression (.73), democracy in Eastern Europe (.42); the local Church teaching on family life (.72), moral problems and needs of the individual (.72) and spiritual life (.70).
9. R10 has the following factor loadings: social influence by one's family (.71), friends (.70), public opinion (.66), the most advantageous (.53), one's own ideas (.60) and religious beliefs (.42).
10. The following are the factor loadings for R11: Freedom (.86), peace (.82), justice (.82), democracy (.78), God and religious faith (.71), saving life of another person (.66), Country (.66). Note that in a similar factor analysis for four Latin European countries (Italy, France, Malta and Spain) in the eighties the highest loadings were observed for justice, peace and religious faith. This suggests that in the aftermath of the democratisation of Eastern Europe, the *justice and faith* option of the eighties has given place to a *liberating faith* option, marking a shift from the priority of justice to freedom in the nineties.

drug trafficking (55%), unemployment (49%), terrorism (39%), social inequalities (30%), social welfare (23%), the environment (21%), delinquency (22%), rising prices (15%), economic growth (9%), immorality and corruption (9%), civil liberty (9%) and national security (5%). Then on a world level the Spaniards find important to avoid war at all costs (57%), eliminate poverty (54%), reduce the divide between rich and poor countries (48%), curb international drug trafficking (38%), protect the world environment (37%), promote democracy (29%), but not so much to have easy access to cheap and abundant resources (10%), the reduction of multinationals' power (8%), the control of world population growth (5%) or the restriction of the emigration of the poor to rich countries (4%).

Two separate factor analyses respectively for the national and world objectives extracted two distinct factors for each set of items. The first factor for national objectives (S1) has positive loadings for a *post-materialist concern* over inequalities (.69), promotion of civil liberty (.46), protection of the environment (.44), resistance to immorality and corruption (.31) and negative loadings for a preoccupation with unemployment (-.48), terrorism (-.39), delinquency (-.36), drugs (-.27) and rising prices (-.27). Conversely, the second factor for national objectives (S2) has high loadings for a *materialist concern* with social welfare (.60) and price control (.52) [Table 4]. Then the first factor for world objectives (W1) is concerned with *world justice and peace* as it has high loadings for avoiding war at all costs (.64), reducing differences between rich and poor countries (.59), fighting poverty everywhere (.49) and the protection the environment (.41). The second factor (W2) stands for *liberalism* as it favours the promotion of democracy and the opposition of all dictators in the world (.61), a guarantee for the availability of cheap and abundant energy (.47) but not so much a decrease in the power of multinational financial groups (.31), nor the protection of the environment (-.51) or the reduction of inequalities between rich and poor countries of the world (-.30) [Table 5].

Social and Religious Orientations

Table 6 is the result from a second order factor analysis for a number of our previously extracted religious factors in conjunction with the factors representing our respondents' *post-materialist* (S1) and *world justice and peace* orientations (W1). The emerging three factors represent the socio-religious orientations of our respondents at present, during the time of their childhood and as prospected for the future. The first, labelled *present morality and religiosity orientation* (T1) has high positive loadings for the traditional morality and belief factor (.73) and for present religious practice

(.64) but negative loadings for both the Post-materialist (-.58) and the world justice and peace factor (-.52). The second, *religious inheritance factor* (T2) has high loadings for the transmission of values (.74), religious schooling (.67) and childhood religious practice (.63) and a lower loading for membership in a religious association (.33). The third factor represents a *future-oriented and diffuse religiosity* (PT) and has high loadings for our respondents' future religious practice (.61), their eschatological belief (.53), an option for a liberating faith (.53), a concern with the social teaching of the Church (.52) and to a lower extent our respondents' spiritual life (.30).

It emerges that Spanish society stands on a continuum ranging from a traditional to a post-traditional religiosity (T1). Traditionalists tend to have a high religious practice, are strong on traditional belief and support the moral teaching of the Church on issues like abortion, divorce, birth regulation and the celibacy of priests. By contrast, post-traditionalists are low in their religious practice and belief and tend to favour post-materialist values and world justice and peace. The morality of our respondents ranges from the literal observance of the laws of the Church on personal and public life to a concern with social and international justice. On the one hand, respondents who give great importance to the observance of traditional Church morality and belief tend to overlook social issues. On the other hand, those who are highly interested in contemporary social problems tend to have only a qualified adherence to the moral teaching and the belief propagated by the Church.

From factor two (T2) we infer that the childhood religious practice of our respondents strongly favours their present religious environment. Religious values are transmitted through informal channels such as exchanges with family members, friends, priests and nuns and in socio-religious activity in the parish and during retreats. Church schooling also favours a religious upbringing that is made manifest in a high religious practice during childhood as well as a religious environment in the family of our respondents.

From factor three (PT) it emerges that there exists a latent and diffuse post-traditional religiosity in Spanish society. Although religious practice is by far lower in adult life than during childhood our respondents were found to possess a strong religious orientation. Irrespective of whether our respondents are practising or not they find a life orientation in their religious values and beliefs. Such a diffuse religiosity orients our respondents to favour the initiation of their children into the practices of the Church, marriage in Church and the reception of the last sacraments at the end of their life. Such a religiosity is guided by a diffuse eschatological belief in after-life, heaven, hell, sin and the devil and is nourished by a search for a relevant spirituality. It is also a matter

of a post-traditional option for a liberating faith, expressed by our respondents as a widespread readiness for self-sacrifice in order to promote freedom, democracy, justice, peace without the exclusion of one's religious values and beliefs. Such a diffuse post-traditional religiosity is also very likely to favour the teaching of the Church on contemporary social problems.

Variance in Religiosity

Table 7 represents the results from a one-way analysis of variance for traditional and post-traditional religiosity in Spain. The greatest variance is observed for the morality and belief factor (T1). Whereas traditional religiosity (T1 and T2) varies according to our respondents' socio-demographic characteristics, post-traditional religiosity (PT) seems to be more universal.

Traditional morality and belief (T1) is supported by the advanced in age (.58), the lower educated (.36), women (.21), the lower social class (.30), the politically right (.40), people who reside in rural areas (.24) and who never travelled overseas (.23), members of religious associations (.80) and those who were not brought up in a Church school or College. By contrast, post-traditional morality and belief is favoured by the younger generation (-.56), the higher educated (-.61) as well as those who received a long education in a Church school or College (-.56), men (-.24), the politically left (-.59), urban dwellers (-.13) and people who often travel overseas (-.54). Then, a religious environment that is conducive to the transmission of values is strongest with the middle-aged (.13), women (.21), the upper social classes (.44), the politically right (.45) and as might be expected members of religious associations and those who received a Church education. Significantly, urban dwellers, the higher educated, those who received a Church schooling and people who are experienced in foreign travel can simultaneously maintain a religious environment (T2) and favour a post-traditional morality. Such a situation posits a post-traditional religiosity whose adherents favour postmaterialism and the promotion of world justice and peace.

The factor for post-traditional future-oriented religiosity (PT) is widespread in contemporary Spanish society irrespective of age, gender, social origin, place of residence or the international experience of our respondents. The only significant variation in post-traditional religiosity is observed for level of education, type of school, political orientation and membership in associations. Thus, in Spain a post-traditional religiosity is sustained by many years of Church schooling (.25) or a university education (.14), belonging to a religious group or movement (.41) but not by a politically left orientation.

Conclusion

The foregoing analyses of contemporary religiosity in Spain, a Catholic Western European country, posits a diversity in the social significance of religious factors. In modern times, the Catholic faith has a variety of social manifestations ranging from the traditional to the post-traditional. The greatest variance on a number of socio-demographic characteristics is observed for the factors of traditional religiosity. Depending on their age, education, gender, political orientation and religious belonging, Catholics differ in their religious practice and in their degree of adherence to the teachings of the Church. A higher education at a University or a Church School and an exposure to international contacts seem to be conducive to a post-traditional and socially-oriented morality.

Variation in religious practice, in particular the one observed for the young with respect to the older generations, is not a matter of an ever-increasing and irreversible secularisation. We notice a stabilising process in the frequency of weekly Church attendance for the Spanish adult population of the nineties. Variations in the weekly religious practice of our respondents is explainable in part by an age effect. The slight drop in the overall weekly Church attendance from the eighties to the nineties can be attributed to the younger generations. Were the latter to follow the pattern of their immediate predecessors it is not expected that there will be any further major decrease in the weekly Church attendance. It remains to be seen, however, whether the younger cohorts will overcome the crisis of early adulthood and improve on their weekly Church attendance. The sharp fall in religious practice that has occurred in Spain and in many other Catholic countries over the past few years under the influence of a cohort and a period effect now seem to have stabilised.

By contrast to traditional religiosity, the factor for post-traditional religiosity, is not significantly dependent on any socio-demographic characteristic. Irrespective of their social origin or present religious practice most of our respondents have great religious aspirations for the future. In this way a future-oriented religiosity permeates Spanish society. Such a situation posits a diffuse post-traditional religiosity that is nevertheless inconceivable without the religious heritage of the past and the environment of the present. Modern religiosity simultaneously builds on tradition and secularisation but moves beyond them. A post-secularisation approach to religion is needed to account for the observed variations in traditional religiosity and the occurrence of a diffuse post-traditional religiosity.

Dar Patri Manwel Magri
Triq it-Torri
Msida MSD 06
Malta

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TABLE 1
Catholic Religious Practice in Spain
(percentages)

Religious Practice	— P A S T —			
	Parents	during Childhood	at PRESENT	in the FUTURE
Baptism	97	99	DNA	82*
First Holy Communion	97	98	DNA	79*
Confirmation	NA	79	DNA	NA
Pray weekly or more often	NA	72	49	DNA
Attend Mass weekly or more often	NA	76	35	DNA
Receive Communion weekly or more	NA	50	16	DNA
Confession weekly or more often	NA	38	6	DNA
Attend Church School/College	NA	34	DNA	42*
Member of an association	NA	11	6	DNA
Church Marriage	98	DNA	71+	63*
Last Sacraments	NA	DNA	DNA	71+

Source: CIRES, December 1990. N = 1200. NA = Not Available; DNA = Does Not Apply; * Would favour practice for one's own child; + favour practice for self.

TABLE 2
Weekly Religious Practice in Spain by Age Groups
(percentages)

— 1990 — AGE GROUP	Confession		Communion		— Mass —			Prayer		INDEX	
	Ch	90	Ch	90	Ch	81	90	Ch	90	Ch	90
18-24 years	18	1	40	5	63	23	14	56	26	44	11
25-34 years	37	2	50	5	73	21	12	66	30	56	12
35-44 years	46	4	54	12	78	42	34	75	47	63	24
45-54 years	46	7	56	19	85	49	42	80	55	66	30
55-64 years	47	10	56	24	85	56	52	79	65	66	37
65+ years	36	14	46	35	76	60	59	77	75	58	45
ALL AGES	38	6	50	16	76	41	35	72	49	59	26

Source: CIRES, 1990; EVSSG, 1981. Ch = Childhood, 81 = 1981, 90 = 1990, INDEX = Religious Practice (100-point) Index.

TABLE 3
Large Scale Factor Analysis for religious values in Spain

Present Religious Practice			Traditional Church Morality and Belief		
%	(*Weekly or more often)	R1	%		R5
16	* Communion	.79	71	Parish activity in youth	.49
6	* Confession	.75	20	Think of God when alone	.51
35	* Mass	.74	9	Retreats at present	.35
40	* Prayer	.69	24	Retreats at 10 years old	.35
43	Religious at 17 years	-.62	<hr/>		
52	Religious family	-.57	* <i>Support Church prohibition of:</i>		
32	Talk religion often	-.53	30	* Divorce	.62
<hr/>			24	* Birth control	.60
Childhood Religious Practice			42	* Abortion	.58
%	(*Weekly or more often)	R2	29	* Married priests	.46
60	* Communion	.87	52	Firm belief in God	.51
48	* Confession	.85		Importance of God in life	.51
76	* Mass	.84	38	High esteem of priests	.43
72	* Prayer	.72	68	Belief in Virgin Mary	.41
34	Church School	.34	61	Read Novels	-.57
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Future Religious Practice			Eschatological Belief		
%		R3	%		R6
<i>Favour:</i>			40	Hell	.83
79	Child's communion	.77	58	Heaven	.81
82	Child's baptism	.74	36	The Devil	.77
69	Church Marriage for oneself	.57	38	Sin	.66
63	Church Marriage for child	.54	55	Life after death	.48
71	Receive last sacraments	.54	28	Has a relative religious	.26
42	Child's religious schooling	.46	<hr/>		
<hr/>			Reasons for Prayer		
Religious Environment, Transmission of Values			%		R7
%		R4	30	Derive comfort	.92
<i>Often:</i>			43	Petition	.92
22	Talk religion in family	.68	50	Thanksgiving	.91
62	Read Bible	.67	38	Feel God's presence	.90
34	Talk religion with friends	.65	<hr/>		
12	Contact with priests	.58	Religious Conviction		
10	Contact with nuns	.54	<i>A duty to give child:</i>		
88	Active in parish now	.51	41	Communion	.81
<hr/>			43	Baptism	.79
<hr/>			<hr/>		

Church Social teaching sufficient:		R9		
%			5	People's opinion .66
	<i>* Pope's teaching on:</i>		51	One's own considerations .60
31	<i>* Third World</i>	.74	40	The most advantageous .53
27	<i>* Poor social classes</i>	.73	16	Religious beliefs .42
27	<i>* Political persecution</i>	.73		
75	<i>* Democracy in East Europe</i>	.42	Post-traditional Religiosity:	
66	Pope's work satisfactory	.33	%	Option for a liberating faith R1
	<i>+ Local church on:</i>		<i>Sacrifice everything for:</i>	
36	<i>+ Family life</i>	.72	44	Freedom .86
41	<i>+ Spiritual needs</i>	.70	52	Peace .82
34	<i>+ Individual/moral problems</i>	.72	31	Justice .82
			28	Democracy .78
			33	Religious Faith, God .71
			18	Country .66
			61	Save life of another person .33
			90	Family .46
Influence Decisions		R10		
%				
	<i>A lot:</i>			
28	Family	.71		
7	Friends	.70		

Source: CIRES, Spain 1990. N=1,200. Varimax rotation.

TABLE 4
Factor Analysis for National objectives

%	Objectives	S1	S2
30	Reduce social inequalities	.69	
9	Guarantee civil liberty	.46	
21	Protect environment	.44	
49	Reduce unemployment	-.48	.21
39	Combat terrorism	-.39	-.38
22	Combat delinquency	-.36	
9	Combat immorality and corruption	.21	
9	Economic growth	.16	
55	Combat drug traffic	-.27	-.68
23	Social welfare		.60
15	Price control	-.27	.52
5	National security		.23

Source: CIRES Spain 1990. N = 1,200. Varimax rotation. S1 = Post-Materialist values; S2 = Materialist values.

TABLE 5
Factor Analysis for World Objectives

%	Objectives	W1	W2
57	Avoid war at all costs	-.64	
48	Reduce differences between rich-poor	.59	-.30
38	Fight against drug traffic	-.50	
54	Fight poverty everywhere	-.49	
5	Control population growth	.28	
29	Oppose dictators, promote democracy		.61
37	Protect environment	.41	-.51
10	Guarantee access to cheap and abundant energy		.47
8	Reduce power of multi-nationals		.31
4	Control emigration from poor to rich countries		.25

Source: CIRES Spain 1990. N = 1,200. Varimax rotation. W1 = World Peace and Justice; W2 = Liberalism.

TABLE 6
Second Order Factor Analysis for Religious Practice and Morality

	T1	T2	PT
Traditional morality and belief	.73		
Present religious practice	.64	.40	
Local Solidarity: Post-materialist orientation	-.58		
World Solidarity: Peace and Justice	-.52		
Religious environment, transmission of values	.28	.74	
Religious schooling	-.27	.67	
Childhood religious practice		.63	
Membership in a religious association		.33	
Future religious practice	.38		.61
Eschatological belief			.53
Option for a liberating faith			.53
Church social teaching satisfactory			.52
Spiritual life			.28

Source: CIRES (December, 1990). N = 1200. Varimax Rotation; T1 = First Traditional Factor: Present Morality and Belief, T2 = Second Traditional Factor: Religious Inheritance, PT = Post-Traditional Factor: Future-oriented and diffuse religiosity. Total variance explained = 38 %. Factor loadings acceptable at .25 or higher.

TABLE 7
One-way Analysis of Variance for Religiosity in Spain

		T1	T2	PT	N
AGE GROUPS	8-34 years	-.56	-.08	-.03	425
	35-54 years	.05	.13	.05	358
	55+ years	.58	-.03	-.01	377
	<i>F Ratio</i>	166.67**	4.73*	.NS	
EDUCATION	Primary	.36	-.21	.00	710
	Secondary	-.46	.17	-.09	297
	Tertiary	-.61	.50	.14	193
	<i>F Ratio</i>	130.90**	44.15**	3.01*	
SEX	Male	-.24	-.24	.06	561
	Female	.21	.21	-.06	621
	<i>F Ratio</i>	59.66**	61.88**	.NS*	
SOCIAL CLASS	Upper	-.01	.44	.29	87
	Middle	.02	.28	-.05	967
	Lower	.30	-.11	.13	120
	<i>F Ratio</i>	3.39*	12.15**	.NS	
POLITICS	Left	-.59	-.26	.06	347
	Centre	.06	.18	.16	134
	Right	.40	.45	.17	182
	<i>F Ratio</i>	69.70**	22.83**	7.29**	
PLACE OF RESIDENCE	Rural	.24	-.11	.08	327
	Small Urban	-.07	-.02	-.02	532
	Large Urban	-.13	.13	-.05	341
	<i>F Ratio</i>	13.44**	4.74*	.NS	
OVERSEAS TRAVEL	Never	.23	-.10	-.03	607
	Sometimes	-.19	.09	-.02	436
	Often	-.54	.17	.17	106
	<i>F Ratio</i>	41.91**	6.59**	.NS	
ASSOCIATION	Member	.80	1.36	.41	67
	Non-member	-.04	-.07	-.01	1106
	<i>F Ratio</i>	46.14**	141.74**	11.03**	
CHURCH SCHOOLING	None	.23	-.41	-.10	789
	1-8 years	-.37	.43	.16	242
	over 8 years	-.56	1.31	.25	169
	<i>F Ratio</i>	67.33**	354.97**	11.94**	

Source: CIRES (Dec, 1990) N = 1200. T1 = Traditional Morality and Belief; T2 = Religious environment; PT = Post-traditional future-oriented and diffuse religiosity. ** p < .005, * p < .05, NS = Not Significant.