Journal of Contemporary Religion,
Vol. 20, No. 1, 2005 pp. 3–23

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group Ltd

Exploring Spirituality and Unchurched Religions in America, Sweden, and Japan

RODNEY STARK, EVA HAMBERG & ALAN S. MILLER

ABSTRACT *A typology of churched and unchurched religions is developed and then used to analyse the status of unchurched spirituality in the United States, Sweden, and Japan. In the United States, churched religions remain strong, while most of those who say they have no religious preference are quite religious, merely unchurched. In Sweden, the lack of participation in the state church seems to be more than offset by a rapid rise in unchurched religion, especially among the young. Japan's celebrated lack of religion is found to be merely a lack of churched religions, as the Japanese are devoted followers of unchurched faiths. In conclusion, the relative lack of authority of unchurched religions is examined.*

Introduction

Debates concerning secularization often confuse faith and practice. Many committed to the reality of secularization point to low or declining levels of participation in organized religion in Britain and parts of Western Europe as proof that religion is doomed in the modern world. However, their opponents point out, belief remains high in most of these same places; many people in Britain and Western Europe have become "believing non-belongers", as Grace Davie (93) puts it. Assuming *both* claims are true, what do they mean? Is religion disappearing or is it simply changing?

Moreover, what about those from Christian or Jewish backgrounds who no longer profess Christian or Jewish beliefs and reject any imputation that they have a 'religion'? Are they the 'enlightened' rationalists anticipated by the secularizationists? Or have they merely embraced other sorts of supernatural convictions? When Anthony F. C. Wallace (265) pronounced the inevitability of secularization, he did not limit himself to predicting the demise of the churches or even of Christianity, but asserted that "belief in supernatural powers is doomed to die out, all over the world". Thus, when people switch their commitment from Jehovah to 'the Goddess', that is not secularization, but a shift from one religion to another.

To understand properly the religious situation in modern nations and to gauge correctly future possibilities requires that we know what unaffiliated and self-styled 'unreligious' people actually believe. Are most of them irreligious or do they pursue relatively unorganized religions? If the latter, they give importance to many aspects of the nature and capacities of such faiths.

In this essay we first offer some needed definitions and then elaborate the concept of *unchurched religion*, developing a conceptual scheme to identify its

ISSN 1353-7903 print/ISSN 1469-9419 on-line/05/010003-21 © 2005 Taylor & Francis Group Ltd
DOI: 10.1080/1353790052000313882

major forms. We then use this scheme to guide case studies of the significance of unchurched religions in the United States, Sweden, and Japan. Finally, we offer a few preliminary observations comparing the fundamental strengths and weaknesses of churched and unchurched religions.

Godly and Godless Religions

Religion consists of *explanations* of *existence* based on *supernatural assumptions* and including statements about the *nature* of the *supernatural* and about *ultimate meaning* (Stark, "Reconceptualizing Religion" iii).

Ultimate meaning concerns the fundamental point and *purpose of being*. Does life have meaning? Why are we here? What can we hope? Why do we suffer? Does justice exist? Is death the end?

Supernatural refers to *forces or entities* (conscious or not) which are *beyond or outside nature* and which can suspend, alter, or ignore physical forces. ***Gods*** are a particular form of the supernatural consisting of *conscious supernatural beings*.

Notice that the definition of religion leaves room for 'Godless' religions, such as the *élite* forms of Confucianism and Taoism, wherein the supernatural is conceived of as a *supernatural* ***essence***—an underlying mystical force or principle governing life, but one which is *impersonal, remote, lacking consciousness, and definitely not a being*. As explained in the *Lao-tzu*, the Tao is a cosmic essence, the eternal Way of the universe that produces harmony and balance. Although the Tao is said to be wise beyond human understanding and "the mother of the universe", it is also said to be "always nonexistent", yet "always existent", "unnameable", and "the name that can be named". Both "soundless and formless", it is "always without desires". Finally, the sage is advised to make no effort to understand the Tao, which is how such an understanding will be achieved. Little wonder that the Tao inspires meditation and mysticism, but not worship.

Religions based on essences are not found only in the East. Many Western intellectuals, including some theologians and even Christian bishops, propose an image of 'God' as impersonal and unconscious as the Tao. For example, Paul Tillich's (155–7) conception of God as a purely psychological construct, the "ground of our being", has attracted many advocates and, as will be seen, impersonal 'higher powers' of one sort or another abound in New Age and Spirituality circles.

Supernatural essences may be ideal objects for meditation and mystical contemplation by intellectuals, but Godless religions fail to appeal to most members of the general public and, therefore, the popular forms of Confucianism and Taoism include a substantial pantheon of Gods. This split has existed for millennia. The Chinese philosopher Xun-zi (c. 215 B.C.E.) taught that the truly educated know that although religious rituals can be beautiful and inspiring, they are but products of the human imagination: "They are done merely for ornament." However, "the common people regard them as [involving the] supernatural" (qtd. in Overmyer 997).

Revelations and Theology

Why do most people prefer a Godly religion? Because Gods are the only plausible sources of many things people desire intensely. It must be recognized that these

desires are not limited to tangibles. Very often it is rewards of the spirit that people seek from the Gods: meaning, dignity, and inspiration. Even so, the most basic aspect of religious activity consists of exchange relations between humans and Gods; people ask of the Gods and make offerings to them. Indeed, it is believed that Gods, unlike unconscious essences, set the terms for such exchanges and communicate them to humans. Thus, while Godless religions rest upon the results of human meditation and speculation—upon wisdom, Godly religions rest upon ***revelations***, on *communications believed to come from the Gods*. Consequently, the intellectual advocates of Godless religion devote themselves to seeking enlightenment through meditation, while the intellectuals in Godly religions devote their efforts to understanding the full implications of revelations: ***theology*** consists of *explanations that justify and specify the terms of exchange with Gods, based on reasoning about revelations*. Theologians attempt to expand understanding of divine concerns and desires and to extend the range of instances to which they apply by tracing the logical implications of revelations. Indeed, the authority of the Mishnah rests on the Jewish belief that revelations are granted to scholars through their close study of the Torah. A classic example of the theological process is how Saint Augustine deduced that suicide is a sin from scriptures making no direct mention of suicide (1: 17–23.)

Creeds and Congregations

A primary consequence of theology is the construction of ***creeds***, *a specific set of beliefs to which all members of a religious group are expected to assent*. When a religion is based on revelations, it tends to follow that a particular set of beliefs is regarded as of divine origin and therefore not subject to human choice. Although most Godless religions sustain quite elaborate religious culture and foster a common wisdom, they tend not to have formal creeds of the kind associated with Roman Catholicism or Islam. Moreover, as will be seen, not all Godly religious groups, not even all organized forms of Godly religions, sustain creeds.

Although we define religion as a set of beliefs, religions exist outside sacred texts only as *social or collective phenomena*. Purely idiosyncratic faiths are only found, albeit very rarely, among the mad or (perhaps) singular prophets—even ascetic hermits pursue a collective faith. One reason why religions are social is because it is a difficult task to create a plausible and satisfying religious culture and, therefore, any given religion is usually the product of many contributors (even those attributed to a single founder). For this same reason, religions are most effectively sustained by dedicated specialists. The second reason why religions are social is because the universal problem of religion is *confidence*—the need to convince people that its teachings are true and that its practices are effective. Since the ultimate proofs of religious claims typically lie beyond direct examination, it is through the testimony of others that people gain confidence in a religion. Organized religious groups maximize the opportunity for people to reassure one another that their religion is true. Among followers of Godly religions, in addition to asserting their personal certainty about otherworldly rewards, people often enumerate miracles—how they recovered from cancer, how they overcame alcoholism or drug abuse, how they became reliable and faithful spouses, how they survived a catastrophic accident or how their prayers for a dying child were answered. In this way, people demonstrate that a religion 'works', that its

promises come true. Thus, religions tend to generate ***congregations***, groups of *adherents* who *meet regularly* for religious reasons.

Magic

While all religions offer answers to questions of ultimate meaning (even if only to say that life has no meaning), magic does not. As Émile Durkheim noted, magic is not concerned with the meaning of the universe, but with "technical and utilitarian ends" and hence "magic does not waste time in pure speculation" (39). Or, as John Middleton (ix) put it, "Magical beliefs and practices are particularly significant in being mainly instrumental, with little expressive content". Magic is thus excluded by the definition of religion, since it does not concern itself with ultimate meaning and typically does not offer explanations, even of its own mechanisms, let alone of more profound matters. In addition, magic is essentially Godless.

Magic refers to all efforts to *manipulate or compel* supernatural forces *without reference to a God or Gods* or to *matters of ultimate meaning* (Stark, "Reconceptualizing Religion" iii). Put another way, magic is *limited to impersonal conceptions of the supernatural*, what the celebrated Bronislaw Malinowski described as a "mystic, impersonal power". He went on to describe the nearly "universal idea found wherever magic flourishes", that there exists "a supernatural, impersonal force" (19–20).

Summing up more than a century of anthropological studies of magic, John Middleton pointed out that

> . . . the realm of magic is that in which human beings believe that they may directly affect nature and each other, for good or for ill, by their own efforts (even through the precise mechanism may not be understood by them), as distinct from appealing to divine powers by sacrifice or prayer. (ix)

Of course, Middleton did not mean to place in the magical realm just any or even most human efforts to affect nature or one another. He assumed his readers understood that, just as rain dances differ from irrigation projects, only efforts involving a resort to supernatural means constitute magic. What is important is that these efforts are not directed towards a God, although they are efforts to manipulate supernatural forces.

When a Catholic wears a Saint Christopher's medal to ensure a safe journey, that is *not* magic because the power of the medal is attributed to the patron saint whose powers, in turn, are granted by a God. The medal is intrinsic to an exchange with a God. However, when followers of the New Age place 'mystic' crystals under their pillows in order to cure a cold, this *is* magic because no appeal has been made to a God. The same applies to astrology. The conclusion that, for example, tomorrow is not an auspicious day for travel is not a message from a God, but a calculation concerning the location of heavenly bodies relative to one's birth date. Magic deals in impersonal supernatural forces, often in the belief that such forces are *inherent properties* of particular objects, such as planets or crystals, or words, especially written or spoken formulae and incantations. Ruth Benedict distinguished religion and magic in this way, proposing that the former involves "personal relations with

the supernatural", while the latter deals with "mechanistic manipulation of the impersonal" (637).

Spirituality

Recently, discussions of popular religion have been dominated by spirituality, a label which is applied to an immense variety of beliefs, feelings, and practices concerned with things of the spirit as opposed to the material (Fuller; Jacobson; Marler and Hadaway; Roof, *Generation of Seekers*; Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace*; Wuthnow; Zinnbauer *et al.*). Although seldom defined in any precise way, all forms of ***spirituality*** assume the *existence of the supernatural (whether Gods or essences)* and assume that *benefits can be gained from supernatural sources*. The term also connotes that these beliefs are *not necessarily associated with organized congregations* and *often do not constitute creeds*, even if exponents often freely pick and choose from an array of creedlike bodies of doctrine. Indeed, this picking and choosing reflects the view of many who regard themselves as involved in spirituality that it is *a highly personal search* for what Christopher Clausen has so tellingly called "conformist individualism". As will be seen, many who say they have no religion are deeply involved in spirituality.

Much that is called spirituality these days is not religion, but magic, as in the case of astrology, crystals, reflexology, alchemy, rebirthing, tarot, aroma therapy, tantric sex, divination, candles, intuitive medicine, bio-rhythms, numerology, telepathy, pyramids, and essential oils. Other forms of spirituality involve Godless religion, as in the instance of people who say that they do not believe in a personal God, but in some sort of 'higher power', and in the popularity of Eastern religions in these milieux. However, many forms of spirituality involve Godly religions—they assume the existence of conscious supernatural beings. The difference is that, within the realm of spirituality, these Godly religions often lack congregations or creeds and sometimes both.

Against this background we propose to distinguish among religions on the basis of variations in their degree of organization and in their commitment to a creed.

Figure 1. A Typology of Unchurched and Churched Religions.

		Has formal congregations?	
		No	**Yes**
Has an official creed?	**No**	Type 1a: Folk Religions Type 1b: Audience Religions Type 1c: Privatized Religions	Type 3: Creedless Religious Groups
	Yes	Type 2: Client Religions	Type 4: Churches (and Priesthoods)

Churched and Unchurched Religions

Although all religions are social, there is substantial variation in their organizational character so that some can be identified as 'churches', while others fall far short of any legitimate definition of that term. A ***churched religion*** has a relatively stable, organized *congregation* of lay members who acknowledge a *specific religious creed*—therefore, we include both 'sects' and 'churches' in churched religions. An ***unchurched religion*** typically lacks a congregational life, usually existing as relatively free-floating culture based on loose networks of like-minded individuals who, if they do gather regularly, do not acknowledge a specific religious creed, although they may tend to share a common religious outlook. Unchurched religions may or may not coalesce around leaders. As this suggests, even among unchurched religions, there is a great deal of variation, which generates the typology developed in Figure 1.

Type 4 is the most prevalent and socially important form of religion, but of least interest to the purpose of this article. Included in Type 4 are all the *churched religions*, groups having formal congregations and creeds. The other three types are *unchurched religions*. As will be noted in the discussion of Type 2 (Client Religions), *practitioners* of these faiths often accept creeds and form organized bodies (priestly guilds or monasteries) and thus approximate Type 4. Their 'clients' do, however, not form congregations and most do not limit their religious portfolios to any one of these faiths.

Type 1 is the polar opposite of Type 4: religions having neither organization nor creed, some acknowledge a God, some settle for a divine essence. There is sufficient diversity within this type to warrant the specification of three sub-types.

Type 1a: Folk Religions

Most medieval Europeans had little contact with the Church and their religion was without organization or creed, being a loose and somewhat inconsistent set of pagan and Christian notions and practices, with a very large component of magic. As written in the Icelandic *Landnámabók*, Helgi the Lean "was very mixed in his faith; he believed in Christ, but invoked Thor in matters of seafaring and dire necessity" (qtd. in Brønsted 306). In addition to invoking a jumble of supernatural beings and entities, the medieval European masses took part in various sacred celebrations and festivals not authorized or sponsored by the Church, were obsessed with 'luck', made pilgrimages to various sacred wells and groves (some Christianized, many not), and made constant use of incantations, potions, and charms—often hiring local specialists to supply such objects or perform these procedures (Kieckhefer; Thomas). Although much of this popular religious culture had originated in organized religions—in classical paganism, tribal religions, Judaism, and Christianity, it lived on in decayed and heterodox forms as part of a free-floating folk culture, for, although many parish priests embraced much or most of this same culture, they were insignificant as to its maintenance and transmission. Local priests did not learn this culture from the Church (which often opposed portions of it), but, like everyone else, they had simply grown up with it (Stark, *Glory of God*). Faiths of this sort can best be identified as *folk religions*, lacking both creeds and congregations.

Folk religions are not limited to pre-modern societies. For example, although Iceland has a Lutheran State Church, folk religion is so potent there today that planned highways are sometimes re-routed so as not to disturb various hills and large rocks wherein may dwell 'huldufolk' or hidden people, such as elves, trolls, gnomes, and fairies, and people planning to build a new house often hire 'elf-spotters' to ensure that their site does not encroach on 'huldufolk' settlements (Nickerson; Swatos and Gissurarson). All of this in what has been called the first fully secularized nation on earth (Tomasson). As will be seen, very similar activities take place in Japan.

Moreover, when a churched religion has passed through several generations of non-participants, it effectively becomes a folk religion. Lacking congregational life and organized religious socialization, creeds grow hazy, problematic, and heterodox. When asked if she believed "in a God who can change the course of events on earth", an English respondent answered, "No, just the ordinary kind" (Davie 1). To the extent that 'believing' non-belongers are common in Europe, folk religion thrives. There is also an important variation on folk religion that *is* limited to modern societies: religions sustained by the mass media.

Type 1b: Audience Religions

In all modern societies, an immense array of proponents of unchurched supernaturalisms (both magical and religious) vie for public attention through the general mass media and countless specialized publications, websites, and public lectures: wicca, astral travel, astrology, Goddess worship, channeling, bio-rhythms, 'walk-ins', ascended masters, and the like. A survey conducted by the National Science Foundation in 2001 found that 60% of Americans believe that some people have psychic powers, 50% think that astrology is scientific, 30% believe that the earth is being visited by aliens (another 13% are not sure), and 68% think that magnetic therapy is based on science. As noted, much of this is magic and of interest only to refute claims that we live in an enlightened age in which science has vanquished all forms of superstition. Yet some of these are religions which, as in the case of Goddess worship, offer a general perspective on matters of ultimate meaning based on supernatural assumptions. However, many people who are deeply engrossed in some of these faiths never gather in pursuit of their interests, except sometimes for public lectures or book signings—they are audiences, not congregations. While some do seem to become committed to a single selection, most have many interests and express belief in many faiths, including sets that would seem to be utterly contradictory. This catholicity is facilitated by the fact that most who are active in the world of audience religions identify themselves as 'students' of occult, metaphysical, and spiritual subjects. Indeed, given the immense array of available cultural options, it is likely that many people have their own peculiar blend.

The following quotations come from an internet spirituality site devoted to personal advertisements seeking lovers and companions. Each was asked to include his/her 'spiritual interests':

> Female, 42: "Self-awareness, Astrology, Tarot, UFOs, Reiki, Channeling, Meditation."
> Male, 45: "astrology, aquarian gospel and christianity."

> Female, 27: "Finding the spiritual path, earth energies, shamanism, ecologist."
> Male, 47: "healthfood, yoga, astrology, Ascended Masters, meditation."
> Female, 52: "Meditation, channeling, Rebirthing, anything to keep me connected to self."
> Male, 47: "Spiritualism, Tarot, Astrology, Metaphysical, UFOs."
> Female, 48: "Walk-ins, astrology, channeling, Edgar Cayce's information, paganism."
> Male, 35: "The Celestine Prophesy, Reiki Healing, Unity, Science of Mind, Stephen R. Schwartz, OSHO, Adi Da, gurus, metaphysics, Eckhart Tolle, Conversations with God."
> Female, 30: "Astrology, past lives, crystals, tarot, dreams, angels, egyptology, spirit guides, fairies, mermaids."
> Male, 45: "I am both a Christian and an alien abductee."

People are encouraged to select and sustain such splendid jumbles of supernaturalism by the dominant theme in these milieux: that religion and/or spirituality is a wholly private matter—some devotees even claim that such things can only be experienced, not expressed (Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace*).

Type 1c: Privatized Faiths

In recent decades, many social scientists have claimed that churched religions are not only doomed, but that a major step in that direction is the 'privatization' of faith (Luckmann; Berger). Of course, the predicted, rapid privatization of religion not only failed to appear on time, but we are not even convinced that there is anything really new about privatization. In fact, we are inclined to think that privatization was quite prevalent even in medieval times. Whether or not that is so, clearly many people today prefer to shield their religiousness from others and pursue it only in private (Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace*; Roof and McKinney; Fuller; Miller, *Rational Choice Model*; Wuthnow). This will be evident when we examine unchurched religion in America.

It ought be kept in mind that privatization is a verb, not a noun. What is distinctive about privatized religions is how they are acquired and pursued, not their contents or origins. As noted, people do not create their own religions. Although there will be some degree of idiosyncrasy, when people do not rely on organizations and clergy to define their beliefs and practices, the contents of privatized religion will be well-known, deriving from folk religions and from the organized and professional sources that sustain audience religions. For example, this 27-year-old divorced woman described her spiritual interests as "Buddhism, Wicca, Divination, Runes, Astrology, Meditation, and Yoga". Each of these 'interests' is firmly rooted in well-organized, professional sources.

Type 2: Client Religions

A major form of unchurched religion involves exponents of elaborate creeds, who operate however without congregations, their relations with the laity taking the form of practitioner/client. Émile Durkheim observed that this was typical of magic. He began by pointing out that magic may be as widely believed as religion, but that magical notions "do not bind men who believe in them to one another…

There is no Church of magic" (42, emphasis in original). "Between the magician and the individuals who consult him", Durkheim continued, "there are no durable ties that make them members of a single moral body, comparable to the ties that join the faithful to the same god or the adherents of the same cult." Rather, "the magician has a clientele, not a Church, and his clients may have no mutual relations, and may even be unknown to one another. Indeed, the relations they have with him are . . . analogous to those of a sick man with his doctor." Indeed, just as with doctors, when magicians form societies, they "encompass only the magicians. Excluded from them are the laity."

Modern societies abound with magicians and their clients, as is evident in the many 'interests' expressed in the advertisements quoted above. The practitioner/client relationship is far less common when religions are involved, especially monotheistic religions—usually proponents of these faiths can assemble congregations. 'Initiation religions' tend to be the exception. Thus the early Christian gnostics could not sustain congregations, because their creeds prevented them from ever being more than a loose network of individual adepts, each pursuing secret knowledge through private, personal means. Moreover, within the realm of unchurched spirituality, even many proponents of fully-developed religions (especially of the Godless variety) must settle for clients and audiences. In the United States, Canada, and Europe, most Zen masters must support themselves by holding classes in meditation and most exponents of Hinduism end up giving lessons in Yoga. Hence, despite the fact that the practitioners may have elaborate creeds, they are unable to assemble congregations.

Type 3: Creedless Religious Groups

The final type of unchurched religion is sustained by (weak) congregations, but is quite lacking in creeds. An apt example was provided by Melinda Bollar Wagner (49) in her revealing study of the Spiritual Frontiers Fellowship (SFF). As one member explained, the most attractive aspect of membership in SFF is that "you can look at these things [various teachings] with an open mind, believe what you want to believe and take the best from each one of them". Indeed, SFF "leaders are advised that each member should feel free to work out a personal interpretation". Another example of creedless religious groups is the UFO-oriented religious organization studied by Christopher Bader. The central concern of this group is with the activities of aliens, including their frequent abduction of earthlings—most participants believe that they have been abductees, a fact only known to them through memories 'recovered' during hypnosis. As they conceive them, aliens have supernatural powers and know truths about the meaning of life and the universe towards which earthbound religions are merely groping: the aliens are Gods on a par with most deities found in polytheistic systems. Nevertheless, the group is so lacking in a coherent creed that members appeared not to notice when what seemed to have been a firmly held prophesy concerning the arrival of an alien space fleet failed to take place. No-one but the sociological observer seemed to have been aware that the deadline had passed uneventfully, let alone given the failure any importance.

Although they gather regularly and sometimes even pay dues, groups such as these are more like discussion groups than real congregations. Solid congregations

of committed believers require creeds to give them unity and purpose, as many ultra-liberal Christian groups seem to be discovering the hard way (Stark and Finke).

We now use this conceptual scheme to inform close-up examinations of spirituality and unchurched religion in the United States, Sweden, and Japan.

Unchurched Religions and Spirituality in America

The percentage of Americans who say they have no religion is said to have increased in recent decades. In 1973, the General Social Survey found that 5% of the nation's adults answered 'none' when asked their religious affiliation. In 1983, this had inched up to 7%. In 1993, 9% said they had no religion. The survey in 2000 found 14% with no religion. These may be real increases or a result of the steep decline in the response rate to surveys, given that lower income and less educated people are increasingly over-represented in surveys and, of course, most likely to have no religious affiliation. Assuming that the percentage of 'nones' is increasing, some observers have long associated this trend with the secularization thesis, interpreting it as proof that people not only increasingly reject organized religions, "but also their ideological components" (Condran and Tamney 422). Others have been less willing to draw this conclusion. Stark and Bainbridge (47) noted nearly 20 years ago that "the premise that the 'nones' are irreligious is itself false . . . the majority of people who say they have no religious affiliation express considerable belief in the mystical and supernatural" and suggested that this was the group most easily converted to deviant religious perspectives. Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney (99) reached a similar conclusion, noting that what most 'nones' lacked was not belief in "the supernatural and the mystical", but "interest in organized religion". However, despite the seeming importance of the matter, as will be seen, there is only scant research literature on the religious beliefs and activities of the 'nones'.

Table 1 supports the claim that the 'nones' are not the vanguard of secularization, but that most of them pursue privatized religion. Two out of five of these 'nones' pray daily or weekly and only 4% never pray. Atheists are few; the majority believe in God and many of the rest believe in a 'higher power'. Indicative of their taste for magic, about half of the 'nones' believe that 'Astrology—the study of the star signs—has some scientific truth'. Religious they may be, but the 'nones' are overwhelmingly unchurched. Two-thirds say that they never attend church and nearly another third say that they go no more than once or twice a year. 3% attend weekly.

The number of 'nones' probably substantially underestimates the extent of unchurched spirituality in the United States. Many who give, when asked, a specific denominational preference do not in fact actually belong to that group. The best estimate is that about a third of Americans are effectively unchurched (Finke and Stark). They are, however, not unreligious. Limiting the data to those who claim a religious affiliation, but are not actual members, most non-members pray weekly, all of them pray at least occasionally, and there are no atheists among them (General Social Survey).[1] Yet, like the 'nones', these Americans very seldom, if ever, attend a conventional church. Many are involved in unchurched religions and no doubt prefer the label 'spiritual' to 'religious'. This is in close accord with Roof's results: he asked the 14% of his respondents who

Table 1. The Religion of Americans Who Gave Their Religious Preference as 'None'.

Prayer*	
At least once a day	22%
At least once a week	17%
Sometimes	57%
Never	4%
	100%
	$n = (213)$
God*	
Atheists	14%
Agnostics	17%
'Higher Power'	18%
Believe in God	51%
	100%
	$n = (142)$
Astrology**	
True	45%
Perhaps	8%
False	47%
	100%
	$n = (260)$
Church Attendance*	
Never	65%
Once or twice a year	29%
Monthly	3%
Weekly	3%
	100%
	$n = (377)$

*General Social Survey, 2000.
**General Social Surveys, 1993–94.

said 'no' when asked 'Do you consider yourself to be in any way religious?' whether they considered themselves to be 'a spiritual person'. Two-thirds answered 'yes', they were spiritual.

How many Americans are best described as involved in spirituality? The problem is that the overwhelming majority of churched Americans say that they, too, are spiritual! Based on a national sample, Scott reported that 61% of Americans said that they were both religious and spiritual, 20% selected 'spiritual' only, and 8% said that they were only religious. That agrees with Roof's (*Generation of Seekers*) estimate that the spiritual, but not religious, constitute about 19% of the population.

There is both confusion and controversy as to whether there is a trend to spirituality and away from churched religions or whether there has always been a substantial unchurched segment in American religious life. Although they try to be carefully circumspect, Marler and Hadaway cannot restrain their enthusiasm for seeing a progressive switch to spirituality and indeed for regarding this as a harbinger of eventual religious decline. If they are right, if there is a substantial trend to spirituality, it will have quite significant implications, not just for organized religion, but for the culture in general (as will be discussed in the last section of this article). However, it is entirely plausible that there is no trend one way or the other. There has always been a substantial demand for unchurched

religion (spirituality) in America. It was after all in the nineteenth century that spiritualism boomed, as did such nearly creedless faiths as Unitarianism and Universalism. There are many similar examples, as Lippy has demonstrated in his study, *Being Religious, American Style*, emphasizing the continuity of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American 'popular' religions.

Trend or not, the conclusion must be drawn that between religion and spirituality and various combinations thereof, the overwhelming majority of Americans are accounted for, offering no visible support for Anthony F. C. Wallace's prediction that belief in supernatural powers is doomed. Of course, since Americans are thought to be among the most religious people on earth, these findings about the religiousness and spirituality of the unchurched may not reflect what is going on in other nations. Perhaps when people in Sweden and Japan say they are not religious, they are denying all forms of supernaturalism. Or perhaps not.

Unchurched Religions and Spirituality in Sweden

If one examines data on Christian beliefs and practices, Sweden appears to be among the most secularized nations in Western Europe. According to the 1995 World Values Survey, only 10% attend church as often as once a month and only 16% express confidence in the existence of a personal God. However, before we propose Sweden as the vanguard of a secular future, it is significant that 46% affirmed the existence of 'some kind of spirit or life force' and 18% said that they simply did not know what to believe. Thus, looked at from the other end of the distribution, one could say that 'only' 20% of Swedes reject God.

Responses to a survey (Hamberg, *Prevalence of Religious Beliefs*), which asked Swedes to answer in their own words what they believed about God, suggest that it is not rampant secularity, but a kind of jumbled and unchurched spirituality that characterizes the majority view:

> Male, 18: "There is something. Perhaps God or some superior power, don't know."
> Female, 18: "Believe that there's something, not exactly a God, but something else. Cannot say what."
> Female, 64: "I believe in something, I don't quite know what."
> Female, 69: "Believe that there's something divine or spiritual, but don't know what."

The pressing question is whether what is happening in Sweden is religious *decline* or religious *change*. Is Sweden undergoing a transition from faith to secularity or are Swedes mainly abandoning what they perceive as a moribund state church and adopting unchurched spirituality? Many new surveys suggest that it is the latter, that in the place of conventional Christian commitment, most now describe themselves as 'Christians in their own personal way' and many other Swedes advocate a whole range of New Age and Eastern spiritualities.

However, it is important to know that Sweden may never really have shifted from folk to churched religion, as it is not clear whether the 'ordinary' Swedes were ever fully Christianized. The 'official' Christianization of Sweden involved little more than the baptism of the royal family and the upper nobility. At that time, very little was done to convert the people, most of whom seem to have been

content to add Jesus and a few saints to the pantheon of Norse folk religion and observe some Christian holidays while continuing to celebrate pre-Christian holidays as well (Stark, 2001; Stark, *Glory of God*; Stark and Finke). This explains how King Gustavus I (1496–1560) was able to expel the Catholic Church and replace it with a Protestant state church without arousing any popular outcry (Latourette 1; Roberts). Catholic or Protestant? Apparently the public did not care, probably because most of them were neither. Nor did the Swedish Catholic clergy protest—they quickly professed to be Protestants and remained in the same churches offering pretty much the same services, only in Swedish rather than Latin. Subsequently, there was no need for the Swedish Lutheran clergy to stir up public support—all Swedes were, by law, members and required to pay church taxes sufficient to keep the clergy in style.

This is the way in which a classic example of the monopoly church was created. Indeed, rather than rely on evangelism to overcome the prevalence of folk religion, the Church Law of 1668 was content to demand conformity. Henceforth, the local clergy were required to hold home 'examinations' in which all competent members of each household were required to demonstrate knowledge of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and elements of Luther's catechism. Passage of these examinations was to be recorded along with records of births, baptisms, and the like. Home examinations continued into the nineteenth century when the responsibility for religious education was shifted to the schools. However, it is certainly not clear that, even if enforced, this policy would produce belief rather than rote learning. It seems pertinent that all students in the former Soviet Union were required to study Scientific Atheism at every grade level, but that after 70 years of such instruction, there were very few atheists (World Values Surveys 1995). One supposes that efforts to force conformity to religious standards might not be much more successful and that Swedish folk religion remained quite unscathed.

In any event, in the past century, the Swedish state church has been in no position to demand conformity to a traditional Christian creed, since many of its clergy no longer embrace it. In recent decades, the Swedish Church has been partly controlled by a liberal or very liberal clergy—the current Archbishop is frequently accused of being evasive about theological matters, for example, whether one can reject the idea that Jesus was the Son of God and regard him merely a man who set a moral example and still qualify as a Christian.[2] Nor have the state church clergy resisted government intervention, not even in theological matters (Gustafsson). In November 2002, the Swedish Parliament passed a law that defines the expression of religious opposition to homosexuality from *any* pulpit as illegal 'hate speech'.

If one assumes that people attend church primarily for religious motives, it is not surprising that the state churches appear to be nearly empty shells. Only about 3% of those claiming affiliation with the state church attend weekly (another 6% say they go at least once a month), which does little to fill the pews in church buildings constructed to hold far larger crowds—whether or not they ever actually did so. With members of the small evangelical 'free churches' added in, about 4% of Swedes attend weekly and another 6% go at least once a month. However, church attendance does not tell us much, if the most basic aspect of current Swedish religion is a shift to unchurched faiths. It seems very revealing that Swedes are *far* more likely to pray than to attend church—only 38% say they never pray (Hamberg, *Kristen tro och praxis*). In addition, most Swedes (69%)

say that they are concerned about "the meaning and purpose of life" and 59% believe that each individual has a soul (World Values Surveys, 1995).

It is not just a metaphor to refer to the Swedish Church as a shell, since one of its major functions is to provide a physical site for 'unchurched' religious activities. The churches are often used for life-cycle events, such as funerals and weddings, although the actual religious orientation of those involved is often closer to the folk religion of their medieval forebears. Until several years ago, the Swedish Church "willingly offer[ed] such services to nonmembers" (Hamberg and Pettersson 214), but the church stresses now that only by remaining within the church and continuing to pay their annual church 'tax' can Swedes be certain that they will receive a church funeral—an appeal made in lieu of 'evangelism'.

Further, the Swedish church offers a meeting place for various 'unchurched' faiths—what Granqvist and Hagekull (527) describe as a 'smorgasbord' of spirituality. Indeed, many have noted a rapid increase in 'New Age' activities and beliefs in Sweden in recent years, both within and without the Swedish church (Frisk; Sjödin). About one Swede in five believes in reincarnation (World Values Surveys, 1995). Another recent national survey showed that 33% believed in non-traditional medical treatments, such as 'healing crystals'; one in five said s/he would consider purchasing a personal horoscope, 10% would consult a medium, and nearly two of five believe in ghosts (Bråkenhielm).

The question of how religious (or secularized) Sweden is produces quite different answers, if one examines beliefs rather than church attendance and especially, if one explores non-Christian beliefs. It is also crucial that not only has the popularity of non-traditional spirituality and New Age notions been increasing in recent years, but also these beliefs are substantially more prevalent among the young than among older people. Indeed, the young are especially given to belief in paranormal phenomena, such as premonitions and UFOs. A similar *penchant* to embrace esoteric and magical beliefs has been reported for students in Germany and Austria (Höllinger and Smith) and in the Netherlands (Houtman and Mascini). In any event, using supernatural beliefs as the criterion, Ulf Sjödin (83) concluded that 78% of "young Swedes are religious" and only 13% are not.

In summary, religiousness has not disappeared in Sweden, it is simply not to be found in church. Faith lives on as privatized, unchurched spirituality—"a kind of private or invisible religion" (Sjödin 84). Being undisciplined by creeds or congregations, the supernaturalism most popular in Sweden is infused with a lot of 'paranormal' convictions and about as skeptical of science as of organized religion (Sjödin). Surely this is not what the secularization theorists had in mind.

Unchurched Religions and Spirituality in Japan

At first glance, Japanese religion is a muddle. Statistics of what Westerners call religious affiliation add up to far more than 100% of the population. That is because many Japanese claim several affiliations, with Shinto and Buddhism being the common pair. On the other hand, as shown in Table 2, only 5% of Japanese say that they are active in a church, 77% say that they were not raised 'religiously', and 76% do not consider themselves to be religious. Such statistics have led many to cite Japan as a 'post-religious' or secularized society (Eades et al.; Fukutake; Ikado; Wilson). However, the last two items in Table 2

Table 2. Japanese 'Religion'.

'Are you active in a church?'*	
Not a member	88%
No, inactive	7%
Yes, active	5%
'Were you raised religiously?'*	
No	77%
Yes	23%
'Do you consider yourself religious?'*	
No	76%
Yes	24%
'Do you believe in the supernatural'**	
Yes	57%
No	43%
'Do you believe in a human soul?'**	
Yes	63%
No	37%

Sources: *World Values Survey, 1992.
**World Values Survey, 1995.

challenge that conclusion. The majority (57%) believe in the 'supernatural'. Almost two-thirds (63%) believe that humans have souls. Yet to conclude from these data that the Japanese are, like the British, 'believing non-belongers' is to miss the primary aspects of Japanese religious life. The Japanese turn out to be deeply and very *actively* religious, if unchurched religion and spirituality are examined. Unfortunately, as translated into Japanese, the word 'religious' excludes these forms of faith.

In 88% of households, the 'irreligious' Japanese maintain Buddhist altars which are believed to shelter the spirits of their deceased ancestors (Miller, "Conventional Religious Behavior"). Most Japanese perform frequent rites before these altars and offer gifts (including food) to the spirits. In addition to a Buddhist altar, nearly all Japanese homes contain a *kami-dana* or Shinto home shrine, before which they perform rituals each morning and evening. In similar fashion, Japanese life outside the home is drenched in religious assumptions and practices. Upon buying a new car, it is customary to drive to the nearest Shinto Temple to have the vehicle blessed by a priest (Nelson). Those who seek a loan to build a house will be sent a form by the government Home Loan Office, listing normal 'closing' expenses. Here is a translation of part of this list, with estimated costs transformed into US dollars:

*transfer of ownership paperwork	$2,600
*filing legal documents	$1,200
*earthquake insurance	$ 890
*religious ceremony to purify land	$1,200

One may be able to persuade a lender to forego the religious ceremony, but few Japanese would consider doing so, nor would most be willing to inhabit a home built without such a ceremony. In similar fashion, should it be necessary to remove a tree, it is assumed that no action will be taken without a religious service to appease the spirit of the tree in question. This, too, requires the services of a Shinto priest and does not come cheap.

In truth, Japan is an unreligious society only if that term is understood to refer to churched religions. With the possible exception of Soka Gakkai, the only real churched religions in Japan are mission faiths of foreign origin. About 2–3% of Japanese are Christians and some profess to be Muslims or Hindus, which approximates the 5% who say that they are active in a church (World Values Surveys; Barrett, Kurian, and Johnson 412). The traditional, organized Japanese faiths are *client* religions and the average Japanese mixes these with large doses of *folk* and *audience* religions and with *privatized spirituality.*

Japan's two major, traditional faiths—Buddhism and Shintoism—do not sustain congregations. They are more like firms engaged in a service industry (Miller, "Conventional Religious Behavior"). For a fee, they provide a variety of rites, such as funeral services and the pacification of spirits, as noted above. There is no emphasis on regular participation nor do these faiths seek to impose a creed, although each sustains a full-time priesthood that does embrace a creed. However, like the laity, both Buddhist and Shinto priests assume that individuals will mix and match to their own satisfaction. The results are clear in Table 3.

Table 3. Unchurched Spirituality in Japan.

'Do you regularly visit a family grave at least several times a year?'	
Yes	75%
No	25%
'After death, a person's spirit remains with the family.'	
Agree	58%
Unsure	16%
Disagree	26%
'Do you pray on certain occasions when you need assistance?'	
Yes	64%
No	36%
'Have you visited a temple recently to pray for a positive outcome in your life?'	
Yes	54%
No	46%
'Do you keep a good luck charm or amulet around?'	
Yes	63%
No	37%
'Do you feel that rivers and mountains have spirits?'	
Yes	59%
No	41%
'Do you think palm reading is a reliable way to tell the future?'	
Yes	53%
No	47%
'When a person is born and when a person dies are predetermined.'	
Agree	73%
Unsure	8%
Disagree	19%
'Without reference to any established religion, do you believe it is important to have spiritual beliefs?'	
Yes	72%
Unsure	14%
No	14%

Source: Tenth Annual Japanese Character Study, Institute of Statistical Mathematics (Sakamoto).

Most Japanese (75%) regularly visit their family grave site. Few (26%) doubt that a person's spirit remains with the family after death. About two-thirds (64%) say that they pray when they need assistance. More than half (54%) recently visited a temple in order to pray for 'a positive outcome' in their lives. Nearly two-thirds (63%) use good luck charms and amulets. Three out of five (59%) believe rivers and mountains have spirits. Over half (53%) think palm reading is 'a reliable way to tell the future' and almost three-fourths (73%) accept predestination.

Finally, the Japanese overwhelmingly believe that it is important to have spiritual beliefs—only 14% say 'no'. Rather than being one of the most secularized societies (if such there be), Japan is among the most religious, if care is taken to distinguish between churched and unchurched religions. Indeed, those who do not consider themselves to be religious are as 'religious' or more so than other Japanese in terms of their beliefs and activities. For example, 86% of those who do not consider themselves to be religious believe that it is important to have spiritual beliefs (not shown). What sets Japan apart from the United States and Sweden is that the Japanese are not *turning towards* unchurched religion; they have pursued unchurched religions all along. Consequently, Japan offers an opportunity to observe some of the possible consequences, should there be a shift elsewhere from churched to unchurched religions.

Religion and Authority

Unchurched religions lack authority, both moral and intellectual. *Creedless* religions impose no standards—individuals are truly expected to be their own philosophers or theologians and the concept of 'sin' is either very vague or entirely absent. Religions without *congregations* cannot exert social pressure to observe the moral order, even if they maintain a creed. Therefore, the lack of creeds and/or congregations causes unchurched religions to have little or no social impact. Put another way, where unchurched religions predominate, the result is a culture in which religion plays, at most, a very peripheral role. This is clear in Japan. Religion may provide divine car insurance and protect against unsettled spirits, but it plays no part in defining or sustaining the moral order. Neither religious beliefs nor practices are correlated with disapproval of criminal acts among the Japanese (Stark, "Moral Order"). In Japan, attitudes towards buying stolen goods or engaging in a hit-and-run car accident are uncorrelated with the importance placed on God, the frequency of temple visits, prayer or meditation. The same lack of religious effects exists in China, where religion is also primarily of the unchurched variety. In contrast, strong correlations obtain in all of the nations of 'Christendom', including Sweden, where the legacy of churched religion still is decisive. Therefore, the sociological 'law' that 'religion functions to sustain the moral order' is limited to churched religions.

Moreover, the lack of religious authority extends to a variety of more 'distant' cultural matters, including respect for science. Just as the fundamental commitment of Christian theologians to reason explains why science arose only in Europe (Grant; Jaki; Stark, *Glory of God*), unchurched religions, and especially those engaged in celebrating spirituality, tend to reject not only creeds, but also commitment to rationality—they often condemn the very idea that there are *rules* of logic and evidence (Houtman and Mascini). In contrast, studies based on

research in Sweden (Sjödin), Canada (Orenstein), and the United States (Bainbridge and Stark) demonstrate that churched religion offers a very substantial barrier to belief in magic and various forms of 'pseudo'-science—it even seems to be far more supportive of conventional science than education.[3] Conversely, as young Swedes embrace spirituality, they express skepticism about science. Indeed, expressions of hostility to science are rife on internet spirituality sites where little is so disdained as the 'dead grip of linear thought' and the 'materialist dogmas of science'.

When Bainbridge and Stark first published their findings about the incompatibility of evangelical religion and 'superstitions' in *The Skeptical Inquirer*, a journal founded to oppose magic and pseudo-science (but quite as hostile towards religion), many readers went into extreme denial. Dozens wrote to explain why it must be impossible that students who claimed to be 'born again Christians' could be far less accepting of UFOs as alien visitors, of ESP, astrology, Tarot, *séances*, and Transcendental Meditation than students who said they had no religion. As a prominent American Humanist leader put it rather good-naturedly, "Am I supposed to agree that secularity is a mixed blessing?" The answer would seem to be 'yes'.

Conclusion

There is not the space nor is it appropriate to pursue further the range of social implications of the lack of authority of unchurched religions. Our concern is to delineate the concept of unchurched religion and to demonstrate that the apparent irreligiousness of many people in the United States, Sweden, and Japan is an illusion caused by a failure to define religion with sufficient breadth and nuance: to say that most Japanese are irreligious is to ignore the extraordinary spirituality of their daily lives. On the other hand, the Japanese are overwhelmingly unchurched and that matters a great deal, too. Indeed, only where most people lack anchorage in a churched religion could a new religious movement, such as Soka Gakkai, enrol a million homes in a decade. After more than 20 years of effort, Herff Applewhite had only 37 followers when his Heaven's Gate 'cult' committed mass suicide, while it took Shoko Asahara less than half that long to attract about 10,000 followers to Aum Shinrikyo by the time the group released nerve gas in a Tokyo subway (Kisala and Mullins).

Finally, other things being equal (which often they are not), we expect that churched religions will tend to be more popular than unchurched religions, having far more to offer, even if they also demand more (Iannaccone; Stark and Finke). However, for those unable or unwilling to be churched, unchurched religions seem to fill a basic human need. Irreligion appears to be the least stable of all 'religious' conditions—at least a substantial body of well-known research shows that it is extremely difficult to pass secularity on to one's offspring (Stark and Finke).

Rodney Stark is University Professor of the Social Sciences at Baylor University, USA. Eva Hamberg is Professor of Immigration Studies at Lund University, Sweden. The late Alan Miller was Professor of Social Psychology at Hokkaido University, Japan.
CORRESPONDENCE: *socstark@aol.com*

NOTES

1. This was the only year in which a follow-up question asked respondents if they belonged to a specific congregation of the religious group they had just named.
2. See *Svenska Dagbladet*, March 3, 2002: 31; *Svensk pastoraltidskrift*, vol. 44, 2020: 88 and 2002: 255–7.
3. The National Science Foundation study found no educational effects on belief in psychics and visiting aliens and a very weak effect on astrology.

REFERENCES

Bader, Christopher. "When Prophesy Passes Unnoticed: New Perspectives on Failed Prophesy." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 38 (1999): 119–31.

Bainbridge, William Sims, and Rodney Stark. "Superstitions: Old and New." *Skeptical Inquirer* 25.4 (1980): 22–27.

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.

Benedict, Ruth. "Religion." Ed. Franz Boas. *General Anthropology*. New York: C. D. Heath, 1938: 627–65.

Berger, Peter. *The Sacred Canopy*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967.

Bråkenhielm, Carl Reinhold, ed. *Världbild och mening: En empirisk studie av livsåskådningar i dagens Sverige*. Nora: Nya Doxa, 2001.

Brønsted, Johannes. *The Vikings*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1965.

Clausen, Christopher. *Faded Mosaic: The Emergence of Post-Cultural America*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000.

Condran, John G., and Joseph B. Tamney. "Religious 'Nones': 1957 to 1982." *Sociological Analysis* 46 (1985): 415–23.

Davie, Grace. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing Without Belonging*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Durkheim, Émile. The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. 1912. New York: Free P, 1995.

Eades, Carla, Jerry Eades, Yuriko Nishiyama, and Hiroko Yanase. "Houses of Everlasting Bliss." Eds. Jerry Eades, Tom Gill, and Harumi Befu. *Globalization and Social Change in Contemporary Japan*. Melbourne: Transpacific, 1986: 159–79.

Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776–1990*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1992.

Frisk, L. *Nyreligiositet i Sverige: Ett religionsventenskapligt perspektiv*. Falun: Nora Nya Doxa, 1998.

Fukutake, Tadashi. *Japanese Society Today*. Tokyo: U of Tokyo P, 1981.

Fuller, Robert C. *Spiritual, But Not Religious*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.

Granqvist, Pehr, and Berit Hagekull. "Seeking Security in the New Age: On Attachment and Emotional Compensation." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40 (2001): 527–45.

Grant, Edward. *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages: Their Religious, Institutional, and Intellectual Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.

GSS (General Social Surveys): National surveys of the US conducted annually 1973–1995 and every two years since then. Available in electronic form from International Consortium for Political Science Research, U of Michigan.

Gustafsson, 1990 Göran. "Politicization of State Churches—A Welfare State Model". *Social Compass* 37 (1995): 107–16.

Hamberg, Eva. "Kristen tro och praxis i dagens Sverige." Ed. Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm. *Världbild och mening: En empirisk studie av livsåskådningar i dagens Sverige*. Nora: Nya Doxa, 2001. 33–65.

———. *Studies in the Prevalence of Religious Beliefs and Religious Practice in Contemporary Sweden*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1990.

Hamberg, Eva, and Thorleif Pettersson. "The Religious Market: Denominational Competition and Religious Participation in Contemporary Sweden." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (1994): 205–16.

Höllinger, Franz, and Timothy B. Smith. "Religion and Esotericism Among Students: A Cross-Cultural Comparative Study." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 17 (2002): 229–49.

Houtman, Dick, and Peter Mascini. "Why Do Churches Become Empty, while New Age Grows? Secularization and Religious Change in the Netherlands." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (2002): 455–73.

Iannaccone, Laurence R. "Why Strict Churches are Strong." *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (1994): 1180–211.

Ikado, Fujio. *Religion in a Secular Society* [Sezoku shakai no shukyo]. Tokyo: Nihon Kikan Kyodan, 1972.
Jacobson, Steve. *Heart to God, Hands to Work: Connecting Spirituality and Work*. Bethesda, MD: The Alban Institute, 1997.
Jaki, Stanley L. *Science and Creation*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986.
Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.
Kisala, Robert J., and Mark R. Mullins. *Religion and Social Crisis in Japan*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christianity.* vol. 2. rev. ed. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1975.
Lippy, Charles H. *Being Religious, American Style: A History of Popular Religiosity in the United States*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994.
Luckmann, Thomas. *The Invisible Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Magic, Science and Religion.* 1948. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland P, 1992.
Marler, Penny Long, and C. Kirk Hadaway. "'Being Religious' or 'Being Spiritual' in America: A Zero-Sum Proposition." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (2002): 289–300.
Middleton, John, ed. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1967.
Miller, Alan S. "A Rational Choice Model of Religious Behavior in Japan." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34 (1995): 234–44.
———. "Conventional Religious Behavior in Modern Japan: A Service Industry Perspective." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 31 (1992): 207–14.
National Science Foundation. *Science and Engineering Indicators*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2002.
Nelson, John. "Shinto Ritual: Managing Chaos in Contemporary Japan." *Ethnos* 57 (1992): 77–104.
Nickerson, Colin. "In Iceland, Spirits Are in the Material World." *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 25 Dec. 1999: A12.
Orenstein, Alan. "Religion and Paranormal Belief." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (2002): 301–11.
Overmyer, Daniel L. "Religions of China: The World as a Living System." Ed. H. Bryon Earhart. *Religious Traditions of the World*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993. 975–1073.
Roberts, Michael. *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden, 1523–1611*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968.
Roof, Wade Clark. *Spiritual Marketplace*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999.
———. *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993.
Roof, Wade Clark, and William McKinney. *The American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1987.
Sakamoto, Yoshiyuki. *A Study of the Japanese National Character: The Tenth Nationwide Survey.* Tokyo: Institute of Statistical Mathematics, 2000.
Scott, R. O. "Are You Religious or Are You Spiritual: A Look in the Mirror." *Spirituality and Health* Spring 2001: 26–8.
Sjödin, Ulf. "The Swedes and the Paranormal." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 17 (2002): 75–85.
Stark, Rodney. *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism Led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003.
———. "Reconceptualizing Religion, Magic, and Science." *Review of Religious Research* 43 (2001): 101–20.
Stark, Rodney, and William Sims Bainbridge. *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1985.
Stark, Rodney, and Roger Finke. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2000.
Swatos, William H., Jr., and Loftur Reimar Gissurarson. *Icelandic Spiritualism: Mediumship and Modernity in Iceland*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997.
Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. New York: Scribners, 1971.
Tillich, Paul. *Systematic Theology.* vol. 1. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1951.
Tomasson, Richard E. *Iceland*. Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 1980.
Wagner, Melinda Bollar. "Spiritual Frontiers Fellowship." Ed. Joseph H. Fichter. *Alternatives to American Mainline Churches*. New York: Rose of Sharon P, 1983. 45–66.
Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Religion: An Anthropological View.* New York: Random, 1966.
Wilson, Bryan. "Aspects of Kinship and the Rise of Jehovah's Witnesses in Japan." *Social Compass* 24 (1977): 97–120.

World Values Survey (WVS): national surveys containing the same questions (in the local language) conducted every few years in a large number of nations. Available in electronic form from the International Consortium for Political Science Research, U of Michigan.

Wuthnow, Robert. *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.

Zinnbauer, Brian J., Kenneth I. Pargament, Brenda Cole, Mark S. Rye, Eric M. Butter, Timothy G. Belavich, Katheleen M. Hipp, Allie B. Scott and Jill L. Kadar. "Religiousness and Spirituality: Unfuzzing the Fuzzy." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36 (1997): 549–64.