

Spirituality and Religion in the United States, 1998-2020

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Introduction

Spirituality is an ancient and core construct of the existential lives of humans and the religions they have formed. It has manifested itself in many ways across societies and religions from the cave paintings of Lascaux to the spirit animals of shamans, the kami of Shintoism, the mysticism of Kabbalah, the whirling dervishes of Sufism, and the Holy Spirit of the Christian trinity. Despite its long historical presence, spirituality has been undergoing important changes and growth in recent decades. Some scholars even see the expansion of spirituality as challenging secularization theory's contention that modernization inexorably diminishes religion as education in general and science in particular undermine religious belief and many governments take over many social functions of religions such as caring for the ill and needy. They argue that modernization tends not to destroy religion, but to transform it and that spirituality has emerged and grown as a result.

Of course spirituality and religion are closely intertwined concepts. This report disentangles them by looking at them in comparative perspective, by comparing a person's spirituality to their religiousness. First, recent trends in spirituality vs. religion are examined. Second, the correlates of spirituality vs. religion are studied. Finally, the role of spirituality and religion is analyzed across societies.

Data

This report used three datasets: 1) NORC's General Social Surveys (GSSs) for 1998, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018, 2) the Fetzer 2020 Study of Spirituality in the United States (SSUS) and 3) the International Social Survey Program's (ISSP) Religion IV Study, 2018-2020. The GSS is a national, in-person, probability survey of adults living in households in the United States and conversant in English or Spanish. Across the years used in this study, 21,136 people were interviewed. It is primarily funded by the National Science Foundation. For more information see <https://gss.norc.umd.edu/>. The SSUS uses NORC's AmeriSpeak panel to cover via the internet and telephones a probability sample of adult Americans conversant in English or Spanish. 3,609 people were interviewed. The SSUS was funded by the Fetzer Institute. For more information, see <https://spiritualitystudy.fetzer.org/about/researchers> and <https://www.thearda.com/Archive/Files/Descriptions/SSUS2019.asp>. The ISSP Religion IV is a cross-national survey conducted in 48 countries. Each country fields a national probability sample of adults in their respective nation. Across all countries 68,197 people were interviewed. For the samples size in each country see the Appendix, Table A3. Most ISSP member countries fund data collection from their own national sources, but for Religion IV, the Templeton Religion Trust supplied funding for surveys in an additional 15 countries in Africa and Asia. For more information see <https://www.gesis.org/en/issp/modules/issp-modules-by-topic/religion/2018> and

<https://www.gesis.org/en/issp/modules/issp-modules-by-topic/religion/2018/2018-additional-14-countries>.

Spirituality and Religiousness Compared

To measure religious and spiritual identification, a pair of matched items were used. They asked respectively “To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person? Are you very religious, moderately religious, slightly religious, or not religious at all?” and “To what extent do you consider yourself a spiritual person? Are you very spiritual, moderately spiritual, slightly spiritual, or not spiritual at all?” Spiritual and religious were not further defined. These items were crosstabbed to determine a person’s relative self-rating as religious or spiritual. Three categories were produced

- 1) rates self as more religious than spiritual,
- 2) rates self as equally religious and spiritual, and
- 3) rates self as more spiritual than religious.

This approach examines spirituality and religiousness in relative perspective, focusing on which orientation is greater among individuals.

Trends

As Table 1 shows, from 1998 to 2018 there have been major changes in people’s religious vs. spiritual identification. The more religious than spiritual group declined from 16.7% in 1998 to 11.9% in 2018 (-4.8 percentage points) and those saying they are equally religious and spiritual also decreased from 64.8% to 55.1% (-9.7 points). Rising notably, the more spiritual than religious group climbed from 18.5% to 33.0% (+14.5 points). The gains of the more spiritual than religious group resulted from a weakening of religiousness ratings and a rise in spirituality ratings. Ratings as very or moderately religious dropped by 8.4 points while those very spiritual rose by 7.5 points.

The rise in the more spiritual than religious group results from a combination of cohort and period effects. Table 2 looks at changes within and across age groups and cohorts from 1998 to 2018. Age groups are in the rows, years in the columns, and cohorts are along the diagonals. For example, in the upper left corner of the table of those 18-27 years old in 1998, 22.0% were more spiritual than religious and they were also the cohort born in 1970-1979. Looking at 18-27 years olds over time shows that more spiritual than religious rose to 34.2% in 2018 (+12.2 points) and following the 1970-1979 cohort along the diagonal reveals a rise in 2018 to 31.1% (+9.1 points). The cohort effect is demonstrated by each entering cohort having a growing share in the more spiritual than religious group with the 1970-79 cohort starting at 22.0% in 1998, the 1980-89 cohort at 29.6% in 2008, and the 1990-99 cohort at 34.2% in 2018. The period effect shows up in part in the rising % of each cohort being more spiritual

than religious over time as its members age with the 1970-79 cohort up 9.1 points, 1960-69 up 11.1 points, 1950-59 up 17.0 points, 1940-49 up 7.0 points, and 1930-39 up 5.4 points. The earlier cohorts who were already 48+ in 1998 showed the least change probably because their religious and spiritual identifications were more fixed by that age, but even they did show growth in the more spiritual than religious group.

There is some indication that the rise in the more spiritual than religious group may be plateauing. From 1998 to 2008 the annual growth in the more spiritual group was +0.8 percentage points per annum and from 2008 to 2018 it slowed a little to +0.65 points per annum. When the Fetzer survey in 2020 is added to the GSS time series, this group levelled off in 2016-2020 (33.2% in 2016, 33.0% in 2018, and 33.6% in 2020). This occurred largely because the cohort effect that had been an important part of the growth appears to have largely run its course. On the 2018 GSS the size of the more spiritual group did not meaningfully vary among those 18-67, averaging 34.8%, and only declined among older cohorts to 24.1% among those 68-77 and 18.4% among those 78+. On the 2020 Fetzer study there were no notable differences in the share more spiritual among those 18-80, averaging 34.1%, and only those 81+ were notably lower with 17.0% more spiritual (presented later in Table 9).

Comparing Spiritual and Religious Groups from the GSS

Next, the profile of the more spiritual than religious group is compared to the equally religious and spiritual and more religious than spiritual groups. These inter-group comparisons are done on 1) demographics and politics, 2) religion, 3) science, 4) social welfare programs/policies, 5) altruism, empathy, and volunteering, and 6) psychological well-being.

As Table 3 indicates, differences across genders and race/ethnicity are fairly small. 26.5% of men and 30.7% of women were more spiritual than religious (+ 4.2 points). The more spiritual are higher among whites than blacks or others for a difference of (+4.3 points) and non-Hispanics exceed Hispanics in being more spiritual by +4.7 points. Age differences are much more substantial with the more spiritual group being over 30% among those under 48 and falling to less than 15% among those 78+ for a total spread of 20.6 points. This of course largely reflects the cohort differences discussed above.

Life cycle and family characteristics show notable differences that largely follow from the age differences. Among those who have had no children, 35.4% are more spiritual and for those with 5+ children only 19.1% are more spiritual for a gulf of 16.3 points. The never married have the highest level of being more spiritual (34.6%) while the widowed have the fewest who are more spiritual (19.9%) for a difference of 14.7 points.

On socio-economic status there are small differences on household income with the top third of earners having 31.8% more spiritual and the bottom third with 28.5% for a difference of 3.3 points. Education differentiates much more than income does. Only 20.1% of those without a high school degree are more spiritual compare to 36.7% of those with graduate-level degrees for a difference of 16.6 points.

The divide is largely between those without a college degree and those with an associate degree or higher. This suggests that a college education tends to encourage more spiritual identity.

Geographically, being more spiritual is highest in large metropolitan areas and bicoastal regions. Being more spiritual is highest in central cities and their suburbs peaking at 33.6% in central cities of 250,000 and higher. It is lowest in small towns and open country at 22-23% for a spread of 11.5 points. On region, the more spiritual are most common in the northeast (New England and the Mid-Atlantic and the west (Mountain and Pacific) at 31-35% and lowest in the South and Midwest at 23-30% for a maximum difference of 12.4 points.

Politically, the more spiritual than religious are lower among Republicans and conservatives than among Democrats and liberals. The differences across the partisan and ideological spectrum are quite large. Identifying as more spiritual is highest among Democrats and Independents leaning towards Democrats and lowest among strong Republicans for a spread of 16.9 points. The difference on political ideology is even greater, peaking at over 40% among liberals and extreme liberals and bottoming out at 16.8 % among extreme conservatives for a difference of 27.5 points.

As Table 4 shows, the more spiritual than religious group shows a very distinctive profile from the other groups on religious beliefs, behaviors, and identification. First, the more spiritual are much less engaged in organized religion than the others are. Only 66.9% of the more spiritual identify with a religion compared to 85.5% of the equally religious and spiritual and 92.5% of the more religious for a difference of -25.6 points.¹ Similarly, only 14.0% attend religious services weekly as opposed to 30.1% of the equals (i.e. those who are equally religious and spiritual) and 29.0% of the more religious for a difference of -16.1 points. Likewise, daily praying is less common among the more spiritual (51.3%) than among the more religious (56.4%) or the equals (61.1%) (a difference of 9.8 points). The smaller difference on praying than on attending religious services is probably because praying is often a personal, unorganized act unlike attending religious services. Among those identifying with a religion, the more spiritual than religious are less likely to say their religious affiliation is strong (36.7%) than are the equals (47.5%) or the more religious (43.7%) for a difference of -10.8 points. In addition, the specific religious identity of the more spiritual than religious leans towards liberal Christian denominations (46.9%) and away from fundamentalist faiths (16.4%).² In contrast, the equally religious and spiritual and the more religious both tilt in the opposite direction with respectively 27.4% and 21.0% in liberal denominations and 30.1% and 29.2% following fundamentalist denominations. Those orientations in turn mean that the more spiritual than religious are less likely to have engaged in evangelical/fundamentalist actions such as having had a born-again experience (33.0%) or trying to

¹ Besides being much more likely to report no religious affiliation, the more spiritual than religious are also more likely than the other groups to identify as Buddhist, Jewish, and some other religions. But the number of cases in these groups is small for all of these groups.

² Fundamentalist faiths refers to denominations classified as “fundamentalist” rather than “moderate” or “liberal” in Tom W. Smith, “Classifying Protestant Denominations,” *Review of Religious Research*, 31 (March, 1990), 225-245.

convince others to accept Christ as their savior (34.6%) than either the equally religious and spiritual or the more religious (differences on born again of -9.6 points and on proselytizing of -13.4 points).

Second, in terms of two important religious beliefs, belief in God and belief in an afterlife, a very distinctive pattern emerges. The more spiritual than religious are more likely to be atheists and agnostics than other groups (by respectively + 2.8 points and +5.9 points), but even among the more spiritual, relatively few are either atheists (3.9%) or agnostics (8.3%). Most members of all three groups are believers, but among them there is one major difference with 22.3% of the more spiritual believing in a higher power, but not a personal God, while only 6.1% of the more religious and 7.4% of the equally religious and spiritual do so (a difference of +16.2 points). In contrast, 64.0% of the more religious and 63.7% of the equals are sure that God exists compared to just 46.5% of the more spiritual (difference of -17.5 points). In contrast to these large differences relating to God, on belief in an afterlife, there are no differences across the three groups with about 81% of each believing in life after death. Thus, it is beliefs about God rather than an afterlife that distinguishes the more spiritual from the others.

Six items on daily spiritual experiences further illuminate this pattern. In 1998, the only year in which these daily spiritual experience items were asked along with the spiritual by religious duo, the more spiritual than religious were less likely to report daily interactions with God (by -14.5, -15.7 and -13.0 points on the three items) than the other groups did and also were less likely to daily report "I find strength and comfort in my religion" (-17.1 points). However, on daily reporting "I feel deep inner peace or harmony," there were no statistically significant variation across the groups and on "I am spiritually touched by the beauty of creation," there is a mixed pattern with daily experiences being reported by 57.0% of those equally religious and spiritual, by 46.4% of the more religious, and by 51.4% of the more spiritual. Thus, once again it is experiences with God and not other spiritual experiences that distinguishes the more spiritual from the other groups.

Table 5 shows that the more spiritual than religious group also has a very distinctive pattern on knowledge about and attitudes towards science. They are consistently the most pro-science of the three groups and nine of the ten relationships are statistically significant. This pattern is consistent with their higher level of education. Generally, the more religious than spiritual group is least favorable towards science and the equally religious and spiritual group is intermediate, but the differences between these two groups are small. The more spiritual than religious group is more knowledgeable than the other groups about the universe starting with a big bang (+ 12.4 points) and that humans evolved from animals (+15.3 points). They also have more confidence in the leaders of the scientific community, are more supportive of government spending for science, and more likely to see science as improving life. In addition, when science and religion are directly compared, the more spiritual than religious group is most likely to take science's side. When presented with the statement that "We believe too often in science, and not enough in feelings and faith," 39.8% of the more spiritual disagreed while only 22.5% of the more religious did so (+17.3 points). Likewise, in response to "We trust too much in science and not enough in religious faith," 47.4% of the more spiritual disagreed, while

only 33.6% of the more religious disagreed (+13.8 points). Thus, compared to the other groups, the more spiritual than religious are pro-science and their greater relative spirituality is not related to a rejection of science.

Table 6 shows that the more spiritual than religious group is consistently the most likely to support government social-welfare programs and the more religious than spiritual group is always the least supportive. Seven of the eight differences are significant, but most are modest in size. The largest difference was that the more spiritual were more in favor of the government paying for medical costs (55.7 %) than the more religious were (44.4%)(+11.3 points). This direction is of course consistent with the Democratic and liberal political leanings noted above.

On measures of altruism, empathy, and volunteering which are the personal side of the pro-social policies covered above, the more spiritual than religious are consistently the most likely to engage in such behaviors and hold such attitudes and on seven of the eight measures the more religious than spiritual are the least likely to be altruistic, empathetic, and volunteers (Table 7). While seven of the eight measure show statistically significant differences, they are generally small. The largest difference appears on “I accept others even when they do things I think are wrong” which occurs daily for 25.8% of the more religious, 31.5% of the equals, and 38.1% of the more spiritual for a difference of +12.3 points.

Finally, as Table 8 indicates, on measures of psychological well-being, differences across groups tend to be small or mixed with only seven significant differences among the ten measures. The equally spiritual and religious group does have the most positive scores on nine of the ten measures, but their edge is generally small. The more spiritual have the least positive levels on five items and the more religious are lowest on four measures. One notable difference is the more spiritual are lonelier than the other groups. For example, while 61.8% of the equally religious and spiritual say they never feel isolated from others only 49.3% of the more spiritual never experience that for a difference of -12.5 points.

Looking across the dimensions just discussed, a pattern that emerges across all topics is that the more spiritual than religious differ more from the more religious and the equally religious and spiritual than these groups do from each other. In 89% of the 62 comparisons, the more spiritual is the group showing the greatest distance from the others, while either the more religious or equals are the most distinctive in 11% of the cases. For example, on attending religious services weekly, the difference between the more spiritual and the more religious is 15.0 points and between the more spiritual and the equals the difference is 16.1 points, but between the more religious and the equals the gap is only 1.1 points. Likewise, on most other comparisons the more religious and equal groups differ little, while the more spiritual usually differ from the other two groups. As the growing, emergent group, the more spiritual than religious has a profile that distinguishes itself from both of the other declining groups.

Comparing Spirituality and Religiousness from the Fetzer SSUS

While spirituality and religion are only one small component of the GSS, the Fetzer SSUS is an in-depth study of these concepts and focuses on comparing the role of spirituality vs. religion. As a result, a much deeper understanding of these concepts emerges.³

As Table 9 indicates, the demographic and political comparisons from the Fetzer study are similar to those shown in the GSSs.⁴ More women than men are more spiritual (+6.7 points). Whites are slightly more likely to be in the more spiritual groups than are blacks (+2.3 points) or Hispanics (+4.3 points). Being in the more spiritual group declines with age (-19.7 points), but as indicated above in the discussion of cohorts, the age differences may be diminishing over time. Related to age differences, the never married and those cohabitating outside of marriage have the highest number who are more spiritual and the widowed and separated the least for a spread of 15.9 points. On socio-economic status, those with the top two-thirds of household income have somewhat greater numbers in the more spiritual groups and those in the bottom third the lowest for a difference of (+4.7 points). The educational spread is larger with 27-28% of those with a high school degree or less being more spiritual compared to 37.9% among those with graduate degrees (+10.4 points). Geographically, the more spiritual are greatest in the bi-coastal regions of the Northeast and Pacific/Mountain regions and lowest in the South and Midwest for a spread of 13.7 points.

Politically, the variation in the more spiritual group is quite substantial. Only 18.6% of strong Republicans are more spiritual compared to 41.8% of the strong Democrats, but it is independents leaning towards the Democrats who have the most who are more spiritual with 47.0% for a range of +28.4 points. On economic issues the very conservative have the fewest more spiritual (20.6%) and the somewhat and very liberal have the most in the more spiritual group with 46-47% for a spread of (+26.6 points). Similarly, on social issues only 21.5% of the very conservative are more spiritual while 51.1% of the very liberal are more spiritual for a difference of +29.6 points.

Consistent with the GSS analysis which showed that the more spiritual group were less likely to attend religious services and to identify with a religion, the Fetzer study shows that almost 50% of the more spiritual attend a religious or spiritual service less than once a year and nearly 65% do not consider themselves members of “a spiritual or religious community” (Table 10), much higher rates than the more religious or equally religious and spiritual. Religion represents the more formal, structured, and organized, while spirituality the more informal and personal.

³ For an extensive analysis of the SSUS see Veronica Seltzer, Gillian Gonda, and Mohammed Mohammed, What Does Spirituality Mean to US? Fetzer Institute, 2020 at <https://spiritualitystudy.fetzer.org/>.

⁴ The GSS figures cover 1998-2018 and the Fetzer 2020. There are also differences in how many of the variables were measured on the two surveys and the Fetzer study did not include measures for some of the GSS variables.

All religious-spiritual groups agree that there are substantial differences between religion and spirituality with 62-65% of each group saying that they are either entirely different or more different than the same (Table 11). But the more spiritual see the differences as greater than the other groups. Almost 31% indicate that they are entirely different compared to 18% of the more religious and 13% of the equally religious and spiritual.

The more spiritual are less likely than the other religious-spiritual groups to both believe in and have frequent interactions with a higher power. While 61.2% of the more religious and 55.8% of the equals are sure that there is a Higher Power, only 47.8% of the more spiritual believe that. As Table 12 indicates, the difference is small for feeling the presence of a higher power (-3.3 points), but much greater for all other interactions with a higher power (-8.4 points for feeling guidance during daily activities, -10.1 points for help in time of need, -10.3 points for feeling love through others, -12.0 points for directly feeling love, -12.0 points for asking for help during daily activities, -15.7 points desiring to be closer to a higher power). But among the two interactions not involving a higher power, the more spiritual are more likely than the others groups to report frequent experiences. They are slightly more likely to feel thankful for their blessings (+2.4 points) and moderately more likely to feel in touch with the beauty of creation (+8.8 points).

As Table 13 shows, the more spiritual report that spirituality is much more likely to be very important than religion is in deciding about right and wrong (+23.2 points), how to act (+22.6 points), and inspiring to “give back to my community” (+14.3 points). For the more religious the opposite pattern emerges with religion exceeding spirituality in deciding about right and wrong (+15.2 points), how to act (+8.8 points), and inspiring to “give back to my community” (+10.2 points). For the equally religious and spiritual there is virtually no difference with spiritually narrowly edging out religion on all three by +0.6 to +1.3 points. Across the three groups the more spiritual are more likely to say that spirituality is very important by a spread of +13.5 points on right and wrong, +13.7 points on actions, and +15.6 points giving back to the community. Clearly, spirituality is a powerful factor in shaping the lives and actions of the more spiritual and much less vital for the other religious-spiritual groups.

Table 14 examines engagement in 17 activities for religious and spiritual reasons. Doing these activities for reasons other than religion or spirituality were not to be reported. The more spiritual were the group most likely to have engaged in the following activities for spiritual reasons: yoga, martial arts, or other physical activity (+20.5 points), meditation (+16.9 points), tarot cards and fortune telling (+8.0 points), being in nature (+13.0 points), writing (+15.3 points), honoring or communication with ancestors (+11.4 points), acts of service (+10.6 points), and acts of protest (+10.9 points). The more spiritual were also the most likely to engage in the following activities for religious reasons: yoga, martial arts, or other physical activity, meditation, tarot cards and fortune telling, being in nature, and acts of protest.

The more religious were the group most likely to have done the following activities for spiritual reasons: praying, studying religious texts, fasting, attending religious services, and making an offering or donation. They were also the most likely to engage in the following activities for spiritual reasons:

praying, studying religious texts, reading, fasting, attending religious services, writing, making an offering or donation, acts of service, and religious teaching.

The equally religious and spiritual were the most likely to engage in only two activities for spiritual reasons - attending other religious or spiritual groups and religious teaching. For religious reasons they lead on attending other religious or spiritual groups and art.

The more spiritual are generally more likely to engage in activities for spiritual rather than for religious reasons. The spiritual edges over religion are especially large for reading (+11.1 points), art (+13.1 points), being in nature (+16.1 points), writing (+13.5 points), and acts of service (+13.0 points). The only activities that were done slightly less for spiritual rather than religious reasons were attending religious services (-1.9 points) and attending other religious or spiritual groups (-0.1 points).

Conversely, the more religious usually did activities more for religious than spiritual reasons. Spiritual reasons were a more common motivation only for meditation, tarot cards and fortune telling, and being in nature.

For the equally religious and spiritual, the religious and spiritual reasons for engaging were usually very similar, but spirituality eked out often very small leads in 13 of the 17 activities.

The activities that are consistently more spiritual (i.e. more often engaged in for spiritual than religious reasons by all groups and highest among the more spiritual group) are meditation, tarot cards/fortune telling, and being in nature. The activities that are consistently more religious (i.e. more often done for religious than spiritual reasons for all groups and highest for other than the more spiritual) are attending religious services and attending other religious or spiritual groups.

Tables 15 indicates that over people's lifetime, spirituality has increased for a plurality of all religious-spiritual groups, led by 53.6% of the more spiritual followed by 43.2% of the more religious, and 40.1% of the equally religious and spiritual. The net gain of spirituality over religiousness is +38.5 points for the more spiritual followed by +10.2 points for the equally religious and spiritual, and +6.8 points for the more religious. The more spiritual led with 81.7% consistently spiritual or gaining in spirituality, followed by the equally religious and spiritual at 66.2% and the more religious at 57.3%. Relatedly, the more spiritual are highest on being consistently non-religious or less religious than previously (68.5%), followed by the equal group at 37.9% and the more religious at 24.7%. This pattern is consistent with the rise of the more spiritual group shown in the GSS trends.

As Table 16 shows, spirituality is seen as more important by the more spiritual (45.8% very important), followed by the equal group at 40.5%, and the more religious at 30.9%. The importance of spirituality exceeds the importance of religion by +28.6 points (spiritual very important – religion very important) among the more spiritual, falls behind among the equally religious and spiritual (-3.9 points) and lags even more so among the more religious (-19.8 points).

Table 16 also indicates that the aspiration to be more spiritual (i.e. agreeing with this goal) is greatest among the more spiritual (68.5%) then the equal group (58.8%) and next the more religious (46.6%). Spiritual aspirations exceed religious ones by +44.4 points among the more spiritual and by +1.7 points among equally religious and spiritual and fall behind by -22.3 points among the more religious.

The three religious-spiritual groups have notable differences on whether religion or spirituality offers them more across a number of topics. As Table 17 indicates, the three religious-spiritual groups show no statistically significant differences in what spiritually best offers them regarding morality, values, belonging, security, love, or structure. But the more spiritual are more likely than the other groups to mention that spirituality best offers them more regarding purpose (+7.9 points), peace (+12.2 points), inspiration (+9.5 points), wonder (+8.9 points), transformation (+8.0 points), clarity (+11.2 points), and transcendence (+15.3 points).

In terms of what religion best offers, there are statistically significant differences on all categories except transcendence. For all of the categories, the more spiritual are the least likely to mention religion as offering something to them. The differences are often quite large: purpose (-26.3 points), morality (-21.9 points), values (-19.1 points), belonging (-12.8 points), peace (-25.8 points), inspiration (-17.1 points), security (-22.6 points), love (-27.7 points), structure (-10.5 points), wonder (-7.1 points), transformation (-12.5 points), and clarity (-16.3 points).

The more spiritual mention spirituality rather than religion as the main source for what they get from most of these categories. The two exceptions are that they report getting less from spirituality than from religion regarding structure (-8.7 points) and belonging (-1.6 points). The opposite is true for the more religious who get more from religion than spirituality for almost all categories. The two small exceptions are getting somewhat more from spirituality than religion for wonder (+4.1 points) and transcendence (+1.7 points). The equally religious and spiritual show mostly small differences between the impact of religion and spirituality with spirituality leading in five cases and religion for the other eight.

Overall, the three religious-spiritual groups show substantial differences in the role that religion and spirituality have in shaping their lives and these differences give each group a distinctive and meaningful profile.

Cross-National Comparisons

The ISSP/Templeton Religion Trust Religion IV Study, 2018-2020 asked two questions that tapped religiousness-spirituality continuum. The first asked:

What best describes you?

1. I follow a religion and consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.

2. I follow a religion, but don't consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
3. I don't follow a religion, but consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
4. I don't follow a religion and don't consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.

This measures the same dimension as the two-items that the GSS and Fetzer SSUS used to make the religious-spirituality scale, but does so with a single item and a measurement that is different from the other scale. Table 18 shows results extracted from this item and the full results are presented in Table A1 in the Appendix. The first column contains the percent who identify as a spiritual person (those who have a religion and are also spiritual plus those without a religion, but who are spiritual). The range across countries on this measure is enormous, from a low of just 17.7% in Bulgaria to 89.6% in Malawi. The US with 66.2% is 8th highest of the 48 countries. The second column has the percent who do not have a religion, but are spiritual minus the percent that have a religion, but are not spiritual. In 40 countries the measure has a negative sign which indicates that religion without being spiritual exceeds being spiritual without a religion. When the spiritual but without a religion group exceeds the having a religion, but not being spiritual group, there is a positive sign. Eight countries are in this category. The cross-national spread is again large, ranging from -62.1 points in Cambodia to +27.2 points in Vietnam. The US's score of +0.1 points essentially means that these two groups are the same size. Relatively, however this once again places the US as 8th highest towards the more spiritual end. The US being towards the top of both of these scales places the country in a nearly unique position.

Comparing the US placement to that of 12 Western European nations (Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK) helps to illuminate the situation. The size of the spiritual but not religious group is similar in the US and the Western European nations, 21.1% in the US and an average of 19.1% in Western Europe. But larger differences appear on the other categories. Having a religion, but not being spiritual is 21.0% in the US, but averages 26.9% in Western Europe. Having a religion and being spiritual is 45.1% in US and averages 15.8% in Western Europe and at the other end, neither having a religion nor being spiritual is 12.8% in the US and averages 36.2% in Western Europe. As other studies have routinely shown, Western Europe has shifted more towards secularism than has the US. These countries are lower than the US on both having a religion (respectively 34.9% vs. 66.2%) and being spiritual (42.7% vs. 66.1%) and of course higher on without being either (36.2% vs. 12.8%). Some see the Western European shift as confirming secularization theory's projection that religion and spirituality will decline with modernization and that while the US is lagging behind, it will follow the Western European trend. Others see the spiritual without religion group not as a waystation on the track to neither, but representing a transformation of the connection between the two domains that avoids a complete shift to secularism.

The second cross-national measure does not tackle the religious versus spiritual as directly as the first, but provides a related perspective. It asks:

Do you agree or disagree with the following:

I have my own way of connecting with God without churches or religious services.

1. Strongly agree, 2. Agree, 3. Neither agree nor disagree, 4. Disagree, 5. Strongly disagree

It does not mention spirituality, but allows people to indicate a connection to God independent of ties to organized religion. As seen in the GSS and Fetzer SSUS analysis above, a personal connection outside of formal religions is a hallmark of the more spiritual than religious perspective. A limitation of the item is that disagreeing would include the secular who might well have no connection to God and the religious whose only connection to God is through their religion and not via “their own way.” Table 19 shows the % agreeing that they have their own channel to God ranges from 10.5% in South Korea to 82.2% in Nepal (see Table A2 for the full distributions). The US is relatively high at 64.8% which places it 10th highest of the 48 countries. The US is also higher than all of the Western European nations discussed above. They range from 29.4% agreeing in Sweden to 58.1% in Spain and average 45.6% or -19.2 points below the US. This may indicate that an individual, personal connection to God may be part of sustained spiritual perspective which is more prevalent in the US than in Western Europe.

Summary and Conclusion

In recent decades, a growing number of Americans indicate that they are more spiritual than religious. This increase comes from a combination of younger generations being more spiritual than older generations (a cohort effect) and an increase in the more spiritual across all cohorts over time (a period effect). These effects come from a combination of people lowering their ratings of religiousness while rising their assessments of spirituality. It is possible that this increase may slow down or even stop as the difference across cohorts has diminished. The growth in spirituality vs. religiousness is also shown by people’s reports that over their life their spirituality has increased more than their religiousness.

The most important demographic differences are the greater number more spiritual among younger than older adults due to the cohort effect mentioned above and the larger number in the more spiritual among the college educated. On the political measures of party identification and liberal-conservative ideology, the differences are even greater. This is especially true on political ideology where the more spiritual are highest among liberals and lowest among conservatives.

On religious variables, the more spiritual are concentrated among those not identifying with a religion and infrequently attending religious services. The more spiritual are also less likely to pray, but the difference across groups is much smaller than on belonging and attending. This is probably because pray is often an informal and personal act and not primarily a practice of organized religion. The more spiritual also have very different views about God than the other religious-spiritual groups do. They are

somewhat more likely to be atheists and agnostics and less likely to be sure that God exists. They are much more likely than other groups to say “I don’t believe in a personal God, but do believe in a Higher Power of some kind.” Similarly, the more spiritual report less connection with God on all measures than the others have. Overall, the more spiritual have a different image of a supreme being than the traditional portrayal of the religious-spiritual groups. But the three religious groups show no differences about believing in an afterlife.

The more spiritual are the most pro-science of the religious-spiritual groups. They are both more knowledgeable about science and more favorable towards science. This is consistent with their higher level of education. In particular, when science and religion are pitted against one another, they are the group most likely to take science’s side.

The more spiritual are more likely to support pro-social, governmental policies and to be more empathic and altruistic towards individuals. This is consistent with their liberal political leaning, but the differences across the religious-spiritual groups are not large.

The groups differ very little on psychological well-being, but the more spiritual are somewhat lonelier than the others. This in part may come from them having less connections than the other religious-spiritual groups have from the fellowship that comes from being members of congregations and attenders of religious services.

While religion and spirituality are overlapping transcendental domains, most people in all religious-spiritual groups see these constructs as quite distinct and each as different from the other concept. These differences show up repeatedly across various comparisons. First, the more spiritual are less likely than the other groups to feel a connection to a higher power. Second, the more spiritual see spirituality rather than religion as more important in deciding what is right or wrong, in guiding how they interact with the world, and in inspiring themselves to help their community. The opposite is true for the more religious. Third, the more spiritual are more driven by spirituality than religion to carry out most transcendental activities. Again the more religious have the opposite pattern. Fourth, spirituality is much more important than religion to the more spiritual and they are much more likely to aspire to be more spiritual rather than more religious. The reverse is the case for the more religious. Finally, a similar pattern emerges for what spirituality vs. religion best offers regarding most goals and experiences.

Cross-nationally, the US leans towards the spiritual side. In particular, it differentiates itself from other, well-to-do nations in Western Europe in the higher relative importance it gives to spirituality.

When it comes to the transcendental, religion represents the more formal, structured, and organized, while spirituality is more informal and personal. In the US spirituality has gained ground over religion. Some see the relative rise of spirituality as religion declines with less belonging to a religion and fewer attending religious services as consistent with secularization theory’s prediction that modernization inevitably undermines a transcendental worldview with spirituality outside of organized religion just a waystation on that path. Others see the relative rise of spirituality as a transformation that is redefining how people understand and interact with the transcendental.

The informal and personal nature of the emergent spiritual is seen by the secularization theorists as an indication that this development is ephemeral and lacks the capacity to sustain itself. This concern is supported by the fact that it appears to lack elements that have nurtured and perpetuated religion such as a system of intergenerational, family-based religious socialization, bonds created by having a community of congregants, and using both lay and clerical leadership to promote religious teaching and recruit new members. However, the more spiritual than religious are not only notably different from the more religious than spiritual and the equally religious and spiritual, but also have a clear and consistent profile with a coherent worldview that does suggest that they are more than just a group losing faith and rejecting religion on their way to a secular endpoint. Time will tell.

Table 1. GSS Trends in Being Spiritual vs. Religious

	1998	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
More religious than spiritual	16.7%	12.5%	13.3%	13.3%	12.5%	11.8%	12.2%	11.9%
Equally religious and spiritual	64.8%	61.5%	60.3%	57.7%	58.8%	57.5%	54.6%	55.1%
More spiritual than religious	18.5%	26.0%	26.4%	29.0%	28.8%	30.7%	33.2%	33.0%

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018, n=17,904

Question Wordings:

To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person? Are you very religious, moderately religious, slightly religious, or not religious at all?

To what extent do you consider yourself a spiritual person? Are you very spiritual, moderately spiritual, slightly spiritual, or not spiritual at all?

Table 2. % More Spiritual than Religious by Age, Cohort, and Year

Age	1998	2008	2018	2018-1998
18-27	22.0	29.6	34.2	+12.2
28-37	22.6	33.9	38.0	+15.4
38-47	20.2	27.9	31.1	+10.9
48-57	17.1	25.7	33.7	+16.6
58-67	11.5	21.5	37.2	+25.7
68-77	7.8	17.7	24.1	+16.3
78-87	15.9	8.5	16.9	+ 1.0
All Ages	18.5	26.5	33.0	+14.5

Source: General Social Survey, 1998, 2008, 2018

Table 3. Demographics and Political Identification by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Demographics/Political	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Men	13.9%	59.6	26.5	
Women	11.8%	57.5	30.7	.000
White	12.6%	57.7	29.8	
Black	11.9%	62.1	26.0	
Other	15.4%	59.0	25.5	.000
Hispanic	14.5 %	59.8	25.7	
Not Hispanic	12.1%	57.6	30.4	.000
18-27	15.8%	53.9	30.3	
28-37	11.1%	55.4	33.5	
38-47	10.7%	58.3	31.0	
48-57	11.5%	59.3	29.2	
58-67	12.0%	61.1	27.0	
68-77	15.5%	64.2	20.3	
78-87	20.1%	67.0	12.9	
88+	22.8%	62.5	14.7	.000
Married	12.9%	61.4	25.7	
Widowed	16.3%	63.8	19.9	
Divorced	11.1%	56.7	32.2	
Separated	11.6%	55.4	33.1	
Never Married	12.8%	52.6	34.6	.000
No children	12.1%	52.6	35.4	
1	11.8%	58.1	30.1	
2	12.2%	59.5	28.2	
3	13.0%	62.7	24.3	
4	15.6%	62.2	22.2	
5+	15.8%	65.0	19.1	.000

Demographics/Political	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Less than High School	16.9%	63.0	20.1	
High School	13.3%	59.7	27.0	
Associate Degree	10.7%	56.9	32.4	
Bachelor Degree	10.6%	54.7	34.6	
Graduate degree	9.8%	53.5	36.7	.000
Household Income Bottom Third	12.9%	58.5	28.5	
Household Income Middle Third	12.8%	58.8	28.4	
Household Income Top Third	12.0%	56.3	31.8	.000
New England	11.6%	54.9	33.4	
Mid-Atlantic	13.4%	55.5	31.1	
East North Central	14.3%	58.6	27.2	
West North Central	11.5%	58.3	30.2	
South Atlantic	13.4%	60.2	26.4	
East South Central	11.6%	65.8	22.6	
West South Central	14.1%	63.0	22.9	
Mountain	11.3%	53.6	35.0	
Pacific	11.0%	55.6	33.4	.000
Large Central Cities (250,000+)	12.3%	54.1	33.6	
Medium Central Cities (50-249,999)	12.4%	58.8	28.8	
Suburbs of Large Central Cities	13.3%	55.8	30.8	
Suburbs of Medium Central Cities	12.3%	58.6	29.0	
Small Cities (10-49,999)	14.9%	60.7	24.4	
Towns > 2,000	15.4%	62.4	22.1	
Smaller Urban Areas	11.0%	60.6	28.3	

Demographics/Political	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Open Country	13.3%	63.6	23.0	.000
Strong Democrat	10.8%	58.9	30.3	
Not Strong Democrat	12.1%	57.7	30.2	
Independent, Leaning Democrat	11.1%	51.2	37.6	
Independent	12.7%	58.5	28.7	
Independent, Leaning Republican	13.3%	59.2	27.6	
Not Strong Republican	15.4%	61.9	22.7	
Strong Republican	16.4%	62.9	20.7	.000
Extremely Liberal	9.0%	49.9	41.1	
Liberal	9.4%	46.3	44.3	
Slightly Liberal	10.8%	53.5	35.7	
Moderate	13.5%	59.6	26.9	
Slightly Conservative	13.5%	61.4	25.1	
Conservative	14.3%	63.7	22.0	
Extremely Conservative	15.3%	67.9	16.8	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018

Table 4. Religious Beliefs and Behaviors by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Religious Beliefs and Behaviors	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Attend services weekly	27.0%	30.1	14.0	.000
Pray daily	56.4%	61.1	51.3	.000
Identifies with some religion	92.5%	85.5	66.9	.000
Strength of Rel. ID, Strong*	43.7%	47.5	36.7	.000
Fundamentalist**	29.2%	30.1	16.4}	
Moderate**	49.8%	42.5	36.7}	.000
Liberal**	21.0%	27.4	46.9}	
Belief in afterlife	80.6%	81.3	81.1	.765
Belief in God, Doesn't	1.1%	3.7	3.9}	
Belief in God, No way to know	2.4%	4.8	8.3}	
Belief in God, Some Higher Power	6.1%	7.4	22.3}	.000
Belief in God, Sometimes	6.0%	3.7	3.7}	
Belief in God, Some Doubt	20.4%	16.7	15.4}	
Belief in God, Sure	64.0%	63.7	46.5}	
Had born again experience	37.7%	42.6	33.0	.000
Tried to get others to accept Christ	44.2%	48.0	34.6	.000
Daily, feel God's presence	42.2%	47.5	33.0	.000
Daily, find strength and comfort in Rel.	37.6%	46.1	29.0	.000
Daily, feel deep inner peace & harmony	26.4%	33.3	29.0	.598
Daily, desire closer/union with God	41.8%	48.8	33.1	.000
Daily, feel God's love for me	42.7%	47.7	34.7	.009
Daily, spiritually touched by beauty of creation	46.4%	57.0	51.4	.000

*Among those identifying with a religion

**Among those identifying with a Judeo-Christian religion

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018

Question Wordings:

How often do you attend religious services? USE CATEGORIES AS PROBES IF NECESSARY.
NEVER,

LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR, ABOUT ONCE OR TWICE A YEAR, SEVERAL TIMES A YEAR, ABOUT
ONCE A MONTH, 2-3 TIMES A MONTH, NEARLY EVERY WEEK, EVERY WEEK, SEVERAL TIMES
A WEEK*

About how often do you pray? USE CATEGORIES AS PROBES IF NECESSARY. DO NOT USE
'NEVER' RESPONSE WHEN PROBING. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY, ONCE A DAY, SEVERAL TIMES
A WEEK, ONCE A WEEK, LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, NEVER

What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?

Would you call yourself a strong {RELIGION NAMED} or not a very strong {RELIGION NAMED}?
Strong, Not very strong, SOMEWHAT STRONG {VOLUNTEERED}**

Fundamentalist, Moderate, Liberal – This is a recode of religious denomination. It is assigned only for
Judeo-Christian religions.

For details see Tom W. Smith, "Classifying Protestant Denominations," Review of Religious Research,
31

(March, 1990), 225-245.

Do you believe there is a life after death? Yes, No

Please look at this card and tell me which of the statements comes closest to expressing what you
believe about God. 1. I don't believe in God, 2. I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe
there is any way to find out, 3. I don't believe in a personal God, but do believe in a Higher Power of
some kind, 4. I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not at others, 5. While I have doubts, I
feel that I do believe in God, 6. I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it.

Would you say you have been 'born again' or have had a 'born-again' experience, that is, a turning
point in your life when you committed yourself to Christ? Yes, No

Have you ever tried to encourage someone to believe in Jesus Christ or accept Jesus Christ as his or
her savior? Yes, No

The following questions deal with possible daily spiritual experiences. To what extent can you say you
experience the following: Many times a day, Every day, Most days, Some days, Once in a while, Never
or almost never

A. I feel God's presence B. I find strength and comfort in my religion C. I feel deep inner peace or harmony D. I desire to be closer to or in union with God E. I feel God's love for me, directly or through others F. I am spiritually touched by the beauty of creation

*Words in CAPITALS are instructions to the interviewer that are not part of the question wordings.

** VOLUNTEERED refers to precoded, but unread response categories.

Table 5. Attitudes towards and Knowledge about Science by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Science	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Universe started with Big Bang	32.5%	32.5	44.9	.000
Humans evolved from animals	42.9%	42.2	57.5	.000
Great deal of confidence in science	38.0%	38.6	47.2	.000
Spending on science too low	34.9%	37.9	43.6	.000
Agree, government support for science	82.8%	83.5	87.5	.000
Agree, science makes life better	78.1%	79.7	83.0	.463
Disagree, science more harm than good	54.1%	59.8	67.4	.000
Disagree, science changes life too fast	45.2%	47.9	57.7	.000
Disagree, believe too much in science and not enough in feelings and faith	22.5%	26.4	39.8	.000
Disagree, we trust too much in sci. and	33.6%	35.9	47.4	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018

Question Wordings:

Now, I would like to ask you a few short questions like those you might see on a television game show. For each statement that I read, please tell me if it is true or false. If you don't know or aren't sure, just tell me so, and we will skip to the next question. Remember true, false, or don't know.

The universe began with a huge explosion. (Is that true or false?)

Human beings, as we know them today, developed from earlier species of animals. (Is that true or false?)

I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them? READ EACH ITEM, CODE ONE FOR EACH. REPEAT THE QUESTION,

OR CATEGORIES, AS NECESSARY. Scientific community 1. A great deal of confidence, 2. Only some confidence, 3. Hardly any confidence at all

First I would like to talk with you about some things people think about today. We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. Supporting scientific research

Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

Even if it brings no immediate benefits, scientific research that advances the frontiers of knowledge is necessary and should be supported by the federal government.

Science and technology are making our lives, healthier, easier, and more comfortable.

Science makes our way of life change too fast.

How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements? 1. Agree strongly, 2. Agree, 3. Neither agree nor disagree, 4. Disagree, 5. Disagree strongly, 6. Can't choose

Overall, modern science does more harm than good.

We believe too often in science, and not enough in feelings and faith.

We trust too much in science and not enough in religious faith.

Table 6. Social Welfare Attitudes by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Social Welfare Attitudes	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Spending too low to help cities	34.2	33.7	37.8	.000
Spending too low for welfare	21.1	21.8	23.0	.009
Spending too low to help poor	66.5	68.0	70.3	.124
Spending too low for health care	64.2	65.6	69.9	.000
Spending too low for child care	50.6	52.4	58.9	.000
Govt. should help poor	26.9	29.2	32.4	.000
Govt. should help pay medical costs	44.4	47.6	55.7	.000
Govt. give Blacks special assistance	16.5	18.3	23.5	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018

Question Wordings:

First I would like to talk with you about some things people think about today. We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount.

Assistance to big cities

Welfare

Assistance for the poor

Improving and protecting the nation's health

Assistance for childcare

I'd like to talk with you about issues some people tell us are important. Please look at the hand card. Some people think that the government in Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans; they are at Point 1 on this card. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself; they are at Point 5. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?

Please look at the hand card. In general, some people think that it is the responsibility of the government in Washington to see to it that people have help in paying for doctors and hospital bills. Others think that these matters are not the responsibility of the federal government and that people should take care of these things themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?

Please look at the hand card. Some people think that Blacks/African-Americans have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their living standards.

Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to Blacks/African Americans. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?

Table 7. Altruism, Empathy, and Volunteering by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Altruism, Empathy, and Volunteering	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Did volunteer work in past month	30.0	35.3	36.5	.138
Altruistic actions last year scale (mean)	5.1	5.2	5.8	.000
Disagree, do not worry about others	41.1	42.6	48.9	.003
Agree, important to assist the troubled	79.6	80.4	82.1	.010
Disagree, needy take care of selves	23.9	19.2	24.7	.009
Agree, help the less fortunate	89.8	91.2	93.0	.000
Daily, accept others even if do wrong	25.8	31.5	38.1	.030
Daily, feels selfless caring for others	30.8	32.8	37.3	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018

Question Wordings:

In the past month, did you do any volunteer activity through organizations, that is, donate your time and energy not for pay? Yes, No

Altruistic actions scale: During the past 12 months, how often have you done each of the following things: 1. More than once a week, 2. Once a week, 3. Once a month, 4. At least 2 or 3 times in the past year, 5. Once in the past year, or, 6. Not at all in the past year.

Donated blood? Given food or money to a homeless person? Returned money to a cashier after getting too much change? Allowed a stranger to go ahead of you in line? Done volunteer work for a charity? Given money to a charity? Offered your seat on a bus or in a public place to a stranger who was standing? Looked after a person's plants, mail, or pets while they were away? Carried a stranger's belongings, like groceries, a suitcase, or shopping bag? Given directions to a stranger? Let someone you didn't know well borrow a item of some value like dishes or tools? Helped someone outside of your household with housework or shopping? Lent quite a bit of money to another person? Spent time talking with someone who was a bit down or depressed? Helped somebody to find a job.

The following are things that you may experience in your daily life. Please tell me how often these occur. 1. Many times a day, 2. Every day, 3. Most days, 4. Some days, 5. Once in a while, or 6. Never or almost never?

I accept others even when they do things I think are wrong.

I feel a selfless caring for others.

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

These days people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about others.

Personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me.

Those in need have to learn to take care of themselves and not depend on others.

People should be willing to help others who are less fortunate.

Table 8. Self-Assessments of Well-being by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Well-being	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Very happy, general	30.3%	32.6	29.7	.001
Very happy, marital	60.3%	62.8	60.8	.038
Excellent quality of life	18.7%	22.3	20.4	.439
Excellent mental health	22.1%	20.6	19.8	.914
Excellent social life	14.6%	15.3	16.1	.163
Emotional problems, never	32.5%	33.1	26.9	.035
Lack companionship, never	42.4%	52.4	42.8	.013
Felt isolated from others, never	58.6%	61.8	49.3	.005
Felt left out, never	57.9%	59.8	48.7	.012

Source: General Social Survey, 1998-2018

Question Wordings:

Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage? Would you say that your marriage is very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

In general, would you say your quality of life is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?

In general, how would you rate your mental health, including your mood and your ability to think - excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?

In general, how would you rate your satisfaction with your social activities and relationships - excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?

In the past seven days, how often have you been bothered by emotional problems such as feeling anxious, depressed or irritable? 1. Never, 2. Rarely, 3. Sometimes, 4. Often, or 5. Always.

The next questions are about how you feel about different aspects of your life. For each one, please indicate how often during the past 4 weeks you have felt that way. How often in the past 4 weeks have you felt that... a. You lack companionship? b. You are isolated from others? c. You are left out?

1. Never, 2. Rarely, 3. Sometimes, 4. Often, or 5. Very often?

Table 9. Demographics and Political Identification by Religious/Spiritual Identification

Demographics/Political	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
All	11.6%	54.8	33.6	-----
Men	13.5%	56.4	30.1	
Women	9.9%	53.3	36.8	.000
White, Not Hispanic	10.7%	54.9	34.4	
Black, Not Hispanic	12.6%	55.3	32.1	
Other, Not Hispanic	12.7%	49.4	42.9	
Hispanic	15.2%	54.7	30.1	
2+ Groups, Not Hispanic	7.4%	49.2	43.4	
Asian, Not Hispanic	10.7%	63.6	25.6	.006
18-30	14.4%	52.3	33.3	
31-40	12.8%	52.3	34.8	
41-50	10.3%	53.0	36.7	
51-60	10.7%	56.2	33.1	
61-70	10.7%	55.4	33.9	
71-80	8.3%	59.7	31.9	
81+	15.0%	68.0	17.0	.001
Married	11.3%	57.7	31.0	
Widowed	5.9%	66.7	27.4	
Divorced	8.2%	48.8	43.0	
Separated	17.7%	55.2	27.1	
Never Married	14.2%	52.6	33.2	
Living with Partner	12.5%	45.9	41.6	.000
Less than High School	11.3%	61.3	27.5	
High School	14.6%	57.5	27.9	
Some College	10.6%	53.4	36.1	
College Degree	10.2%	52.0	37.9	.000
Household Income Bottom Third	12.2%	58.3	29.6	
Household Income Middle Third	10.9%	53.4	35.8	
Household Income Top Third	12.1%	53.6	34.3	.021

Demographics/Political	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
New England	8.3%	49.4	42.3	
Mid-Atlantic	11.1%	55.1	33.8	
East North Central	10.7%	59.1	30.2	
West North Central	13.9%	52.4	33.8	
South Atlantic	11.1%	55.2	33.7	
East South Central	18.1%	50.0	31.9	
West South Central	15.3%	56.1	28.6	
Mountain	6.3%	53.0	40.7	
Pacific	11.0%	54.2	34.8	.001
Strong Democrat	8.8%	49.4	41.8	
Moderate Democrat	10.7%	54.4	34.9	
Lean Democrat	9.8%	43.2	47.0	
Independent	11.5%	53.5	35.0	
Lean Republican	13.0%	57.3	29.7	
Moderate Republican	14.1%	60.5	25.3	
Strong Republican	14.0%	67.4	18.6	.000
Economic Issues				
Very Liberal	5.7%	48.4	45.9	
Somewhat Liberal	9.4%	43.4	47.2	
Moderate	9.5%	54.1	36.4	
Somewhat Conservative	15.2%	57.6	27.2	
Very Conservative	15.7%	63.6	20.6	.000
Social Issues				
Very Liberal	4.6%	44.3	51.1	
Somewhat Liberal	11.1%	43.7	45.1	
Moderate	10.6%	55.5	33.9	
Somewhat Conservative	15.5%	60.4	24.0	
Very Conservative	13.0%	65.5	21.5	.000

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 10. Belonging to and Attending Religious or Spiritual Groups and Services

	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Belongs to Religious/Spiritual Community				
No	34.9%	50.0%	64.5%	.000
Attends Religious or Spiritual Services				
Less than Once Yearly	17.9%	30.1%	49.6%	.000

Which response best describes you?

- 1) I am not a member of a spiritual or religious community. By community, we mean a group of people who share a similar set of beliefs.
- 2) I am a member of a spiritual or religious community. By community, we mean a group of people who share a similar set of beliefs.

How often, if at all, do you attend church, synagogue, or other religious or spiritual services?

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 11. Comparing Religion and Spirituality

	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Religious-Spiritual the Same	14.3%	22.2%	8.3%	
Religious-Spiritual More Similar	19.1	14.0	29.0	
Religious-Spiritual More Different	46.5	49.0	31.6	
Religious-Spiritual Entirely Different	18.1	13.2	30.8	
Missing	0.8	1.7	0.3	.000

Which statement best describes how you think about spirituality and religion?

- 1) Religion and spirituality are the same
- 2) Religion and spirituality are more similar than they are different
- 3) Religion and spirituality are more different than they are similar
- 4) Religion and spirituality are entirely different

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 12. Frequency of Experiences with a Higher Power or Other Feelings

Frequency of Experiences on Most Days or More Often <i>How often do you...</i>	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Feel the presence of a higher power	49.7	50.9	47.6	.000
Desire to be closer to a higher power	65.8	56.8	50.1	.000
Ask for help from a higher power in the midst of daily activities	54.9	53.6	42.9	.000
Ask for help from a higher power in times of need	53.8	53.7	43.7	.000
Feel guided by a higher power in the midst of daily activities	47.9	50.0	41.6	.000
Feel a higher power's love for me, directly	54.7	54.1	42.7	.000
Feel a higher power's love for me, through others	45.7	49.9	39.6	.000
Feel touched by the beauty of creation	56.8	61.6	65.6	.000
Feel thankful for my blessings	76.4	76.3	78.7	.000

How often do you [each experience]? 1) Many times a day, 2) Every day, 3) Most days, 4) Some days, 5) Once in a while, 6) Never

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 13. Impact that Religion and Spirituality Have on One's Life

Spirituality/Religion Describes Very Well in Guiding/ Inspiring	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
How much do the following statements describe you?				
My spirituality guides my sense of right and wrong.	33.7	43.7	47.2	.000
My religion guides my sense of right and wrong.	48.9	43.0	24.0	.000
My spirituality guides how I act in the world.	31.1	39.7	44.8	.000
My religion guides how I act in the world.	39.9	38.4	22.2	.000
My spirituality inspires me to give back to my community.	20.6	30.8	37.2	.000
My religion inspires me to give back to my community.	31.8	30.2	21.9	.000

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 14. Engagement in Various Spiritual and Religious Activities

% Sometimes Engaging in Various Spiritual/Religious Activities	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Prayer				
Spiritual Activity	87.8	79.2	73.3	.000
Religious Activity	93.0	79.9	71.0	.000
Yoga, martial arts, or other physical activity				
Spiritual Activity	39.6	43.4	60.1	.000
Religious Activity	41.5	40.2	52.1	.000
Meditation				
Spiritual Activity	44.9	48.5	61.8	.000
Religious Activity	44.7	46.8	55.8	.000
Study of religious text				
Spiritual Activity	67.3	62.8	52.4	.000
Religious Activity	68.9	62.5	49.8	.000
Tarot cards or fortune telling				
Spiritual Activity	10.8	9.8	17.8	.000
Religious Activity	8.1	9.5	15.3	.000
Reading				
Spiritual Activity	74.3	74.4	77.8	.000
Religious Activity	78.5	73.0	66.7	.000
Fasting (i.e., not eating for a day or more)				
Spiritual Activity	32.7	29.0	28.9	.001
Religious Activity	36.6	30.2	25.0	.000
Attending religious service-				
Spiritual Activity	75.3	69.6	51.7	.000
Religious Activity	83.5	70.8	53.6	.000
Attending other religious or spiritual groups				
Spiritual Activity	42.6	43.6	37.2	.000
Religious Activity	52.2	53.7	37.3	.000
Art (such as singing, painting, listening to music)				
Spiritual Activity	60.9	67.4	77.6	.000
Religious Activity	64.3	65.8	64.5	.000

% Sometimes Engaging in Various Spiritual/Religious Activities	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Being in nature				
Spiritual Activity	72.5	72.0	85.0	.000
Religious Activity	65.9	68.4	68.9	.000
Writing				
Spiritual Activity	46.8	52.4	62.1	.000
Religious Activity	52.6	50.5	48.6	.000
Honoring or communicating with ancestors				
Spiritual Activity	35.3	40.3	46.7	.000
Religious Activity	40.2	38.5	40.4	.003
Offering or donation				
Spiritual Activity	70.6	70.4	69.6	.000
Religious Activity	79.4	70.0	61.6	.000
Acts of service				
Spiritual Activity	58.2	63.8	68.8	.000
Religious Activity	70.6	64.4	55.8	.000
Acts of protest				
Spiritual Activity	13.8	16.1	24.7	.000
Religious Activity	17.5	15.4	19.8	.007
Teaching in a religious or spiritual setting				
Spiritual Activity	28.2	29.4	21.8	.000
Religious Activity	35.4	29.1	19.6	.000

Question Wordings:

How often do you engage in the following as spiritual activities?

How often do you engage in the following as religious activities?

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 15. Changes in Religiousness and Spirituality

Please indicate which of the following best describes you:	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
I have consistently identified as spiritual throughout my life	14.1%	26.1%	28.1%	
I identify as more spiritual now than in my past	43.2	40.1	53.6	
I identify as less spiritual now than in my past	18.6	16.5	11.3	
I have consistently identified as someone who is not spiritual	22.2	16.5	6.1	
Missing	1.9	0.9	0.9	.000
I have consistently identified as religious throughout my life	38.0%	31.6%	15.9%	
I identify as more religious now than in my past	36.4	29.9	15.1	
I identify as less religious now than in my past	19.4	23.1	41.4	
I have consistently identified as someone who is not religious	5.3	14.8	27.1	
Missing	1.0	0.7	0.5	.000

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 16. Importance of Religion and Spirituality and Religious and Spiritual Aspiration

	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
How important to you is spirituality in your life?				
<i>Very Important</i>	30.9%	40.5%	45.8%	
<i>Somewhat Important</i>	22.0	27.1	30.7	
<i>Neither Important nor Unimportant</i>	22.0	13.2	13.5	
<i>Somewhat Unimportant</i>	11.0	4.3	7.8	
<i>Very Unimportant</i>	12.7	14.7	1.9	
<i>Missing</i>	1.4	0.3	0.3	.000
How important to you is religion in your life?				
<i>Very Important</i>	50.7%	44.4%	17.2%	
<i>Somewhat Important</i>	24.9	23.6	21.6	
<i>Neither Important nor Unimportant</i>	11.5	11.1	16.9	
<i>Somewhat Unimportant</i>	8.9	5.5	14.2	
<i>Very Unimportant</i>	0.7	15.3	29.2	
<i>Missing</i>	3.3	0.1	0.8	.000
How much do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements?				
I aspire to be a [more] spiritual person.				
<i>Strongly agree</i>	22.7%	30.8%	36.0%	
<i>Agree</i>	23.9	28.0	32.5	
<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	28.5	19.8	22.8	
<i>Disagree</i>	10.0	5.8	5.6	
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	14.1	14.7	2.8	
<i>Missing</i>	0.7	0.9	0.2	.000

	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
I aspire to be a [more] religious person.				
<i>Strongly agree</i>	33.0%	29.7%	10.5%	
<i>Agree</i>	35.9	27.4	13.6	
<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	18.2	20.3	27.7	
<i>Disagree</i>	8.4	5.4	15.7	
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	3.1	16.7	31.7	
<i>Missing</i>	1.4	0.4	0.7	.000

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 17. Best Descriptions of What Religion and Spirituality Offers

	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
% Best describing what spirituality/ religion offers for you				
Purpose				
Spirituality	41.4	46.6	49.3	.018
Religion	58.4	48.4	32.1	.000
Morality				
Spirituality	41.3	40.5	40.8	.946
Religion	56.9	43.7	35.0	.000
Values				
Spirituality	46.9	47.5	47.7	.962
Religion	62.4	53.9	43.3	.000
Belonging				
Spirituality	30.8	34.4	31.8	.181
Religion	46.2	41.2	33.4	.000
Peace				
Spirituality	59.8	63.4	72.0	.000
Religion	65.9	60.0	40.1	.000
Inspiration				
Spirituality	50.2	51.8	59.7	.000
Religion	53.0	50.1	35.9	.000
Security				
Spirituality	25.6	28.9	26.0	.139
Religion	41.4	32.3	18.8	.000
Love				
Spirituality	52.9	54.7	54.6	.794
Religion	63.0	54.8	35.3	.000
Structure				
Spirituality	22.0	25.0	21.5	.060
Religion	40.7	33.7	30.2	.000
Wonder				
Spirituality	25.4	25.5	34.3	.000
Religion	21.3	22.8	15.7	.000

	More Religious than Spiritual	Equally Relig. and Spiritual	More Spiritual than Religious	Prob.
Transformation				
Spirituality	21.5	22.1	29.5	.000
Religion	26.8	23.1	14.3	.000
Clarity				
Spirituality	28.5	31.8	39.7	.000
Religion	35.3	30.7	19.0	.000
Transcendence				
Spirituality	16.3	20.9	31.6	.000
Religion	14.6	16.4	14.5	.286
None Chosen				
Spirituality	9.1	12.6	4.6	.000
Religion	5.3	15.0	27.5	.000

What words best describe what spirituality offers for you, personally?

What words best describe what religion offers for you, personally?

Source: Fetzer Study of Spirituality in the United States, 2020

Table 18. Cross-national Differences on Being Religious or Spiritual

Countries	Follow a Religion & a Spiritual Person + Don't Follow Religion, But Is Spiritual	Don't Follow Religion, But Is Spiritual - Follow a Religion, But Is Not Spiritual
Algeria	26.6	-67.1
Austria	35.8	-16.4
Bulgaria	17.7	-39.4
Cambodia	35.6	-62.1
Chile	57.2	+ 5.0
Croatia	43.2	-26.5
Czech Republic	33.8	+ 2.1
Denmark	31.4	-15.4
Finland	40.9	+ 6.7
France	34.0	- 3.9
Georgia	82.8	+ 6.0
Germany	31.2	- 7.8
Ghana	71.8	-21.9
Hungary	25.6	-27.9
Iceland	38.3	- 9.3
Indonesia	66.7	-31.2
Israel	43.3	-14.6
Italy	42.4	-26.0
Japan	38.7	+11.7
Jordan	48.1	-50.7
Kenya	74.4	-15.2
Korea (South)	23.2	-28.8
Lithuania	31.0	-45.7
Malawi	89.6	- 2.8
Malaysia	39.0	-51.4
Mongolia	44.0	-13.1
Nepal	74.2	-23.9
New Zealand	53.1	+19.7
Nigeria	65.1	-23.2
Norway	31.4	- 5.1

Countries	Follow a Religion & a Spiritual Person + Don't Follow Religion, But Is Spiritual	Don't Follow Religion, But Is Spiritual - Follow a Religion, But Is Not Spiritual
The Philippines	70.4	-21.9
Russia	30.9	-19.5
Singapore	39.5	-37.0
Slovakia	29.6	-26.8
Slovenia	43.6	- 1.9
South Africa	56.3	-22.7
Spain	34.1	-16.9
Sri Lanka	57.1	-41.3
Suriname	60.0	-11.8
Sweden	26.4	- 8.8
Switzerland	38.5	-10.8
Taiwan	49.2	-15.2
Thailand	36.6	-55.0
Tunisia	38.3	-55.0
Turkey	63.3	- 6.9
United Kingdom	35.8	- 1.1
United States	66.2	+ 0.1
Vietnam	63.2	+27.2

Question Wording:

What best describes you?

1. I follow a religion and consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
2. I follow a religion, but don't consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
3. I don't follow a religion, but consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
4. I don't follow a religion and don't consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.

Source: ISSP/Templeton Religion Trust Religion IV, 2018-20

Table 19. Agreeing that “I have my own way of connecting with God without churches or religious services.”

Countries	% Strongly Agree + Agree
Algeria	33.8
Austria	50.3
Bulgaria	33.3
Cambodia	25.3
Chile	65.9
Croatia	48.7
Czech Republic	36.0
Denmark	36.8
Finland	43.0
France	48.5
Georgia	39.9
Germany	48.1
Ghana	60.1
Hungary	37.4
Iceland	50.7
Indonesia	16.3
Israel	65.9
Italy	56.7
Japan	26.3
Jordan	75.8
Kenya	62.4
Korea (South)	10.5
Lithuania	40.6
Malawi	68.9
Malaysia	53.4
Mongolia	26.0
Nepal	82.2
New Zealand	43.1
Nigeria	61.9
Norway	30.3
The Philippines	70.5

Countries	% Strongly Agree + Agree
Russia	44.3
Singapore	43.3
Slovakia	31.3
Slovenia	60.0
South Africa	68.1
Spain	58.1
Sri Lanka	31.3
Suriname	71.0
Sweden	29.4
Switzerland	54.9
Taiwan	35.8
Thailand	33.6
Tunisia	72.5
Turkey	79.4
United Kingdom	40.0
United States	64.8
Vietnam	13.9

Question Wording:

Do you agree or disagree with the following:

I have my own way of connecting with God without churches or religious services.

1. Strongly agree, 2. Agree, 3. Neither agree nor disagree, 4. Disagree, 5. Strongly disagree

Source: ISSP/Templeton Religion Trust Religion IV, 2018-20

Appendix Tables

Table A1: Religious and/or Spiritual

Which of these terms best describes you?

	I follow a religion, I am a spiritual person	I follow a religion, I am not a spiritual person	I don't follow a religion, I am a spiritual person	I don't follow a religion, I am not a spiritual person	Total
Algeria	24.3%	69.4%	2.3%	4.0%	100.0%
Austria	19.3%	32.9%	16.5%	31.3%	100.0%
Bulgaria	8.2%	48.9%	9.5%	33.4%	100.0%
Cambodia	34.2%	63.5%	1.4%	0.9%	100.0%
Chile	25.8%	26.4%	31.4%	16.4%	100.0%
Croatia	29.7%	40.0%	13.5%	16.8%	100.0%
Czech Republic	13.6%	18.1%	20.2%	48.1%	100.0%
Denmark	13.3%	33.5%	18.1%	35.1%	100.0%
Finland	13.1%	21.1%	27.8%	38.0%	100.0%
France	13.0%	24.9%	21.0%	41.1%	100.0%
Georgia	62.6%	14.2%	20.2%	3.0%	100.0%
Germany	14.2%	24.8%	17.0%	44.0%	100.0%
Ghana	68.6%	25.1%	3.2%	3.2%	100.0%
Hungary	15.2%	38.3%	10.4%	36.2%	100.0%
Iceland	18.0%	29.6%	20.3%	32.1%	100.0%
Indonesia	65.6%	32.3%	1.1%	1.0%	100.0%
Israel	26.2%	31.7%	17.1%	25.0%	100.0%
Italy	28.6%	39.8%	13.8%	17.8%	100.0%
Japan	8.1%	18.9%	30.6%	42.4%	100.0%
Jordan	47.4%	51.4%	0.7%	0.5%	100.0%
Kenya	66.2%	23.4%	8.2%	2.2%	100.0%
Korea (South)	14.3%	37.7%	8.9%	39.1%	100.0%
Lithuania	25.4%	51.3%	5.6%	17.7%	100.0%
Malawi	84.6%	7.8%	5.0%	2.6%	100.0%
Malaysia	34.4%	56.0%	4.6%	4.9%	100.0%
Mongolia	22.1%	35.0%	21.9%	21.0%	100.0%
Nepal	73.2%	24.9%	1.0%	0.9%	100.0%
New Zealand	19.7%	13.7%	33.4%	33.2%	100.0%
Nigeria	56.5%	31.8%	8.6%	3.0%	100.0%

	I follow a religion, I am a spiritual person	I follow a religion, I am not a spiritual person	I don't follow a religion, I am a spiritual person	I don't follow a religion, I am not a spiritual person	Total
Norway	13.5%	23.0%	17.9%	45.6%	100.0%
Russia	13.4%	37.0%	17.5%	32.1%	100.0%
Singapore	30.9%	45.6%	8.6%	14.8%	100.0%
Slovakia	15.5%	40.9%	14.1%	29.4%	100.0%
Slovenia	18.7%	26.8%	24.9%	29.6%	100.0%
South Africa	47.5%	31.5%	8.8%	12.3%	100.0%
Spain	16.6%	34.4%	17.5%	31.5%	100.0%
Sri Lanka	56.0%	42.4%	1.1%	0.4%	100.0%
Suriname	42.1%	29.7%	17.9%	10.4%	100.0%
Sweden	9.4%	25.8%	17.0%	47.8%	100.0%
Switzerland	15.8%	33.5%	22.7%	28.0%	100.0%
Taiwan	29.8%	34.6%	19.4%	16.2%	100.0%
Thailand	31.1%	60.5%	5.5%	2.9%	100.0%
The Philippines	65.0%	27.3%	5.4%	2.3%	100.0%
Tunisia	33.1%	60.2%	5.2%	1.5%	100.0%
Turkey	39.6%	30.6%	23.7%	6.1%	100.0%
United Kingdom	15.0%	21.9%	20.8%	42.3%	100.0%
United States	45.1%	21.0%	21.1%	12.8%	100.0%
Vietnam	24.9%	11.1%	38.3%	25.7%	100.0%

Source: ISSP/Templeton Religion Trust Religion IV, 2018-20

Questions Wording:

What best describes you?

1. I follow a religion and consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
2. I follow a religion, but don't consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
3. I don't follow a religion, but consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.
4. I don't follow a religion and don't consider myself to be a spiritual person interested in the sacred or the supernatural.

Table A2: Own Way Connecting with God

Do you agree or disagree with the following:

I have my own way of connecting with God without churches or religious services.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Algeria	14.6%	19.2%	14.6%	26.5%	25.0%	100.0%
Austria	19.2%	31.1%	15.7%	13.5%	20.5%	100.0%
Bulgaria	7.1%	26.2%	24.4%	26.6%	15.8%	100.0%
Cambodia	6.6%	18.7%	10.8%	28.5%	35.4%	100.0%
Chile	23.7%	42.2%	19.5%	9.9%	4.7%	100.0%
Croatia	18.9%	29.8%	24.5%	13.5%	13.2%	100.0%
Czech Republic	14.0%	22.0%	19.1%	19.8%	25.1%	100.0%
Denmark	15.7%	21.1%	20.0%	6.4%	36.8%	100.0%
Finland	13.4%	29.6%	21.3%	13.2%	22.4%	100.0%
France	22.4%	26.1%	16.0%	13.8%	21.7%	100.0%
Georgia	10.6%	29.3%	16.9%	27.4%	15.9%	100.0%
Germany	17.2%	30.9%	15.3%	10.9%	25.7%	100.0%
Ghana	38.2%	21.9%	5.8%	11.9%	22.3%	100.0%
Hungary	13.0%	24.4%	19.5%	14.6%	28.5%	100.0%
Iceland	19.0%	31.7%	22.3%	8.8%	18.3%	100.0%
Indonesia	1.4%	14.9%	8.4%	50.6%	24.7%	100.0%
Israel	31.5%	34.4%	18.4%	7.4%	8.3%	100.0%
Italy	17.3%	39.4%	18.6%	14.9%	9.8%	100.0%
Japan	9.8%	16.5%	26.7%	8.4%	38.5%	100.0%
Jordan	47.4%	28.4%	4.7%	8.2%	11.2%	100.0%
Kenya	43.0%	19.4%	3.5%	14.3%	19.8%	100.0%
Korea (South)	4.1%	6.4%	16.3%	18.8%	54.4%	100.0%
Lithuania	8.0%	32.6%	35.6%	17.7%	6.1%	100.0%
Malawi	57.9%	11.0%	1.4%	4.9%	24.8%	100.0%
Malaysia	20.7%	32.7%	7.2%	26.6%	12.8%	100.0%
Mongolia	10.6%	15.4%	18.4%	20.6%	35.1%	100.0%

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Nepal	24.2%	58.0%	2.9%	12.1%	2.8%	100.0%
New Zealand	14.9%	28.2%	23.1%	13.3%	20.6%	100.0%
Nigeria	22.0%	39.9%	16.8%	14.9%	6.3%	100.0%
Norway	7.5%	22.8%	21.8%	15.4%	32.5%	100.0%
Russia	26.9%	43.6%	11.9%	12.8%	4.8%	100.0%
Singapore	14.2%	30.1%	24.9%	16.6%	14.2%	100.0%
Slovakia	9.9%	33.4%	26.4%	22.9%	7.5%	100.0%
Slovenia	10.2%	21.1%	32.4%	18.3%	18.0%	100.0%
South Africa	20.5%	39.5%	13.1%	12.4%	14.4%	100.0%
Spain	23.3%	44.8%	19.3%	8.5%	4.0%	100.0%
Sri Lanka	21.3%	36.8%	13.1%	12.1%	16.7%	100.0%
Suriname	16.3%	15.0%	7.1%	43.5%	18.0%	100.0%
Sweden	38.6%	32.4%	9.9%	12.1%	6.9%	100.0%
Switzerland	8.7%	20.7%	25.0%	14.3%	31.2%	100.0%
Taiwan	19.2%	35.7%	23.4%	11.6%	10.2%	100.0%
Thailand	4.7%	31.1%	15.9%	40.4%	8.0%	100.0%
The Philippines	9.8%	23.8%	31.4%	24.3%	10.6%	100.0%
Tunisia	41.9%	30.6%	9.3%	7.3%	10.8%	100.0%
Turkey	51.1%	28.3%	9.6%	5.5%	5.6%	100.0%
United Kingdom	10.2%	29.8%	21.8%	16.1%	22.1%	100.0%
United States	26.2%	38.6%	12.0%	13.6%	9.5%	100.0%
Vietnam	4.6%	9.3%	8.8%	34.5%	42.8%	100.0%

Table A3: Sample Sizes

Algeria	1642
Austria	1200
Bulgaria	1019
Cambodia	1400
Chile	1402
Croatia	1000
Czech Republic	1407
Denmark	1631
Finland	1229
France	953
Georgia	1440
Germany	1724
Ghana	1433
Hungary	1017
Iceland	1210
Indonesia	1418
Israel	1267
Italy	1215
Japan	1466
Jordan	1539
Kenya	1400
Korea (South)	1031
Lithuania	1028
Malawi	1598
Malaysia	1422
Mongolia	1280
Nepal	1469
New Zealand	1334
Nigeria	1480
Norway	1252
Russia	1583
Singapore	1800
Slovakia	1325

Slovenia	1079
South Africa	2736
Spain	1733
Sri Lanka	1431
Suriname	1044
Sweden	1777
Switzerland	2350
Taiwan	1842
Thailand	1535
The Philippines	1200
Tunisia	1218
Turkey	1511
United Kingdom	1552
United States	1175
Vietnam	1400