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by

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Individual-Level Determinants of Religious Practice and Belief in Catholic Europe

CEPS WORKING PAPER

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Abstract

This paper examines individual-level determinants of religious belief and practice through a comparative study of Catholics in Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia. Drawing on the World Values Survey, three interrelated questions are examined: (1) to what extent do Belgian Catholics differ from the Irish and Slovenian Catholics? (2) to what extent is this pattern the same across different social categories? and, (3) what factors help account for variation between Catholics in these three countries? Civic engagement predicts Mass attendance but operates differently in Ireland and Slovenia than in Belgium. Social trust is also predictive of Mass attendance. National pride helps to account for higher levels of belief in God among Irish Catholics. These findings suggest that Catholic identity is expressed in nationally-specific forms.

Key Words: Roman Catholicism Mass Attendance Belief Comparative

Introduction

Within the sociology of religion literature, secularisation theory has achieved a totemic status and posits a strong association between large-scale social processes of modernisation (a bundle of 'isations' including urbanisation, industrialisation, technologisation, capitalisation, bureaucratisation, and so forth) and the decline of religious-based forms of meaning. In this account, religious sources of meaning based on faith and superstition are displaced by rational secular sources of meaning provided through material advancement, science, and technology. Western Europe tends to be put forward as the poster child for this sacred to secular shift. At the same time, even within Western Europe the nature, timing and pace of secularisation appears variable – some societies like Ireland, for example – on the face of it seem to have experienced a somewhat milder, slower or delayed process of secularisation compared to others such as France. When one confines the study of secularisation to Catholic Europe, it is by no means clear that the timing and trajectory of secularisation is a unilinear universal process. Instead of seeing secularisation as a process that unfolds in a "typical" pattern it is more useful to consider it as a contingent varied process across time and space (Gorski and Altinordu 2008). In the present study I use the Roman Catholicism as a frame of reference for evaluating expected variation in secularising patterns in three similar though different parts of Catholic Europe – Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia – and I do this specifically with respect to secularisation at the individual-level.

To be sure, sociological interest in the variable pathways of secularisation in different societies (Gorski and Altinordu 2008) is well established evidenced by attempts to construct typologies of secularisation 'regimes' distinguishing, for example, in denominational terms between Catholic countries, Protestant countries, and mixed countries (Lambert 1996; Knippenberg 2005; Casanova 2006) but systematic comparisons between different parts of Catholic Europe, paying special attention to variation within the Catholic cluster – what I call the 'varieties of Catholicism'[1] – and involving periphery, continental, and eastern country cases are difficult to find.

The paper is organised as follows. First, to provide some background to the study I briefly examine the socio-cultural contexts of each country. Following this I look at descriptive patterns in religious practice and belief in each. To provide a conceptual framework for the analysis I introduce and elaborate upon secularisation theory and, from the literature on determinants of religious behaviour, derive a number of hypotheses. To test these hypotheses I first carry out some bivariate analyses and then a multivariate analysis of micro-level factors that predict variation in religious belief and practice controlling for education, age, gender, income, marital status and education that previous research identifies as shaping religious identities (Cornwall 1989; Roth & Kroll 2007). I refer to these focal variables as the political ideology, civic engagement, national pride, social trust, and life satisfaction explanations of religiosity[1]. This is proceeded in the next

[1] Obviously, it may well be that these explanations of religious behaviour are also consequences of it though I do not empirically test this reverse causality in the present study. In the absence of longitudinal data we are not well positioned to address this causal order problem.

section by an account of salient similarities and differences between the three country cases.

Comparing the Three Catholic Countries

Comparative research on religion has usefully categorised wider Europe in denominational terms by distinguishing between Catholic, Protestant, and mixed countries. Within the Catholic cluster Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia were chosen as comparison countries based on expected variation on the two dependent variables - Mass attendance and belief in God. The three cases represent a fascinating 'similar-case comparison' (Spillman 1997: 12) and particularly with respect to my conceptual focus here, Catholic identity. This section of the paper is not intended to provide a detailed analysis of each case but rather to draw out the major characteristics of each in terms of their religious landscape.

Table 1 summarises the major sources of variation between the cases. Clearly, the three societies under consideration are characterised by important socio-cultural differences and similarities and this socio-cultural background provides an important context to understanding micro-level religious identities. By comparing these three specific countries, however, variability on some dimensions – political history, nature of secularisation, Catholic history for example – can be maximised while on other variables – such as Catholic population size, geographical size, and levels of economic modernization – variation can be minimised.

Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia are all small European societies and economies – Ireland is located at the periphery, Belgium at the core, and Slovenia at the eastern border. Importantly they are all countries with historically Catholic majorities and with a small proportion of their respective populations comprised by non-Catholics. In the 1990 wave of the World Values Survey, 96.65% of the Belgian sample, 96.87% of the Irish sample, and 94.20% of the Slovenian sample self-identified as Catholics. Despite these basic commonalities, these three societies are also characterised by striking differences in terms of their macro political traditions and histories of church-state relations.

Belgian, like Ireland, is an example of a stable democracy and its independence goes back to 1830 (Madeley 2003). Against the monopoly and suppression models represented by Ireland and Slovenia respectively – Belgium is an example of a 'Catholic pillar' model (Dobbelaere 1995: 5). By pillarization is meant the organisation of societal institutions (schools, hospitals, political parties, media etc.) based on (secular and religious) ideological interests. One consequence of this pillarisation is that Catholic social organisation has tended to be stronger in Belgium than the other two cases (Ertman 2000). It manifests, for example, in a Catholic political party in the national parliament though with declining support now[2] (Dobbelaere and Voyé, 1990) as compared to Ireland where the Catholic credentials of political parties are much more implicit. At the same time, Belgian Catholicism – like Irish Catholicism – was a conduit for the expression of national identity in the face of its powerful neighbour with a rival religious tradition –

[2] Recently the Belgian Catholic Party disavowed its religious roots by rechristening itself as a humanist democratic party (personal communication, Vincent Hildebrand, May 2009).

Calvinist Holland (Madeley 2003). Unlike Ireland though, Belgium has a strong Protestant minority.

From the 1960s, Belgian society – closely resembling the Irish experience – has moved in a more secular liberal direction though Mass attendance rates peaked at around 50 per cent of the Catholic population compared to over 90 per cent in the Irish case (Dobbelaere 1990). Generational experiences seem to exert a strong influence in Belgium (and Ireland) on religious belonging – the drop off in Mass attendance is more pronounced among young people than older generations. As in the Irish case, Belgium's Catholic Church has experienced a significant reduction in recruitment. Ordinations declined from 38 in 1978 to 12 in 2004. The peak year of vocations in Belgium – 1949 – was earlier than in Ireland and the decline was underway well before Vatican II (Fishman and Jones 2007). The Belgian hierarchy – and the hierarchy of then communist controlled countries of Eastern Europe – has tended to be more positively oriented to changes brought about by Vatican II than the Irish hierarchy (Wilde 2007).

The Belgian case is complicated by the fact of its regional division between a predominately Dutch or Flemish-speaking Flanders region in the north and a predominately French-speaking Walloon region in the south. This linguistic and regional nationalism cleavage is overlaid with other social divisions including religion and social class. The Flanders region is made up of a higher proportion of Roman Catholics than the Walloon region. To take account of this regional diversity, for the Belgian sample I distinguish between people who come from the Flanders region and people who come from the Walloon region. 72% of the Belgian Catholic sample comprises Flemish people and Walloons constitute the remaining 28%. Based on previous research (Dobbelaere & Voyé 1990), Flemish Catholics should be more likely to attend Mass and believe in God than Walloon Catholics.

Turning to the Irish case, a strong historical linkage developed between national and religious identity owing to a long history of religious persecution under English colonialization (Dillon 1996; Peillon 1982; Stark 1992). During this time, announcing one's Catholic identity became an important conduit through which opposition to British suppression was expressed. The 'golden age' of Irish Catholicism spanned the post-Famine period (1840s) up to the 1960s during which the Catholic Church emerged as a 'Catholic monopoly' model exerting a strong influence on state activity and on how ordinary people lived out their lives especially in the domain of sexual morality (Fahey 1999; Hornsby-Smith, 1992). The church's dominant position was solidified when Ireland became independent in 1921 – an example of 'democratic continuity' (Fishman and Jones 2007: 145) – and its interests were closely aligned with those of national political elites. Organisationally, the Catholic monopoly model was reflected in a vigorous church building programme since the mid-1800s and a steady stream of priestly vocations servicing the national church at home and a 'spiritual empire' abroad (Hornsby-Smith 1992; Inglis 1987; Peillon 1982). Thus, the Irish Catholics church has tended to be strongly allied with the state - in contrast to Catholicism in Slovenia - but also to have a relatively strong grassroots infrastructure up until the 1960s via associational entities like confraternities and sodalities and other devotional organisations. Vocations to the priesthood have been declining significantly since the late 1950s though – the peak year was 1959 (Fishman and Jones 2007: 141) – and are now well below replacement level. Since the 1970s the decline has been even more dramatic

and fell from 77 in 1978 to 13 in 2004. Owing to this weakened organisational strength and to internal church scandals in recent years, institutional Irish Catholicism seems less dominant than before. By contrast with Slovenian Catholicism or Belgian Catholicism, Irish Catholicism has tended to be more international in orientation and historically this was reflected in the training of priests in Irish colleges in continental Europe and in missionary activity in Africa (Inglis 1987).

Slovenia represents a case of a Catholic country in eastern Europe with a developed economy[3]. It has a long history as a Catholic country going back to its early Christianisation in the sixth century (Črnič and Lesjak 2003) and shares with Ireland (during its much earlier Penal law era) a historical experience of systematic Catholic Church suppression – under communism – during which a strong linkage was forged between religious identity and national identity. During this communist era (spanning the 1950s to the late 1980s), the Catholic Church, and in common with other Eastern European countries with a communist regime (Greeley 2003; Zrinscak 2004; Froese 2004; Črnič and Lesjak 2003), experienced strong state opposition via an attempt to drain its influence from Slovenia public and civic life (Gautier 1997; Rakar, 2005; Flere, 1999; Ivan, 2002; Stres 2000). This suppression – though somewhat milder than that experienced in other communist societies (Črnič and Lesjak 2003) – took different forms and included state appropriation of the church's property assets, restrictions on religious education, and the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Holy See (Zrinščak 2004). Internal decisions within the Slovenian Catholic Church particularly its policy of giving symbolic support to Nazi Germany worked against its public standing after World War II even further (Pollack 2001, 2003).

However, this official and systematic state suppression did not succeed in purging the social influence of the Catholic Church (Rakar 2005; Ivan, 2002; Lužny and Navrátilová 2001; Froese 2004) and demonstrated the Catholic Church's tenacity in a hostile national context (Froese 2004). The collapse of communism in 1989/1990 ended state suppression of the church resulting in an abrupt and sudden transition from religious persecution to religious freedom. This freedom to practice religion was underwritten by the 1991 constitution and helped to bring about improved legal and material conditions and diplomatic relations for the Slovenian Catholic Church (Črnič and Lesjak 2003). Because of this experience of recent abrupt and radical social change from one political system to another (Kohn et al 1997), Slovenia differs from the Belgian and Irish cases. Two important consequences of this bear upon this analysis. First, one might expect Catholicism to have experienced a 'bounce' or revival to some "natural" or "normal" level of belief and practice (Meulemann 2004) following the end of communism and its long-term suppression of religious belief and practice though how long this might last and whether it would only delay a longer term secularising trend is an open question. Second, because of its communist history, like other former communist societies, Slovenia tends to have a poorly developed civil society infrastructure (Howard 2003).

[3] For more detail on the post-1989 Slovenian economy and particularly its foreign direct investment (FDI) efforts see Bandelj 2009. Despite being one of the wealthiest post-communist countries, Slovenia has a comparatively – and surprisingly – low level of FDI (Bandelj 2009).

This discussion completes our analysis of the major dimensions along which the comparison countries vary. Next we move on to the theoretical framework guiding the analysis.

Table 1: Comparing the Three Catholic Countries

Variable	*Belgium*	*Ireland*	*Slovenia*
Catholic Model	Pillar	Monopoly	Suppression
Nature of Secularisation[4]	Spontaneous	Spontaneous	Enforced
Church-State Nexus	Co-operation	Co-operation	Antagonism
Macro Political History[5]	Continuous democracy	Continuous democracy	Regime change

Theoretical Orientations

The centre of gravity in the sociology of religion is provided by secularisation theory. Indeed, the 'secularisation debate' (Swatos & Olson 2000; Gorski 2003) constitutes this sub-field of the discipline and much research turns on it. The basic premise of this theory is that there is a kind of see-saw relationship between modernisation and secularisation, that is, as societies become more modernised people tend to give up their religious identities and religious institutions and discourses tend to lose their influence (Need and Evans, 2001). José Casanova neatly puts forward three meanings of the concept – differentiation, by which is meant that as societies become more modernised various social institutions become more and more differentiated from one another (Casanova 1994; Ebaugh, Lorence and Chafetz 1996), the decline of individual-level belief and practice, and privatisation by which is meant that religion tends to become exiled to the private sphere as its public role is vanquished. Casanova feels that stronger empirical support exists for the first two meanings than the third (Casanova 1994)

Anxieties about transposing this theory beyond its time and place of origin – Western Europe in the 1950s – and the accumulation of empirical evidence falsifying it, has prompted the putting forward of a competitor-theory under the title of rational choice theory. Proponents of this argue that secularisation theory does not have much analytical

[4] This differentiation comes from Meulemann (2004).

[5] This differentiation comes from Fishman and Jones (2007).

purchase in terms of explaining religiosity in America, a hyper-modernised society characterised by religious vitality in the context of a spiritual marketplace and little or no state regulation. These two factors – the presence or absence of state regulation and the degree of pluralism of the religious field – in this account help to explain the strength of religion in America and its apparent weakness in much of Western Europe (Verweij, Ester and Nauta, 1997). Against the bold 'God is dead' claim of some secularisation theorists (Bruce 2002), followers of this perspective remind us of the plurality of religious claims in the modern world (Berger, Davie and Fokas, 2008).

The substantive predictions, then, of secularisation theory are clear enough but it is far from clear that the timing or pace of the changes it predicts is universal or that the changes it predicts at a societal level occur at the same pace as changes at the individual and institutional levels. From prior research, there is good reason to think that secularisation at an individual-level or 'subjective secularisation' (Berger 1967) – the focus of this paper – has a variable pathway. Students of religion have spent considerable time 'grounding' secularisation theory by studying the antecedents of individuals' religious attitudes and behaviour and from this literature we know that such things as civic engagement (Casanova 1994; Lichterman 2008; Uslaner 2002), efficacy (Cornwall, 1989; Sherkat & Ellison 1999), life satisfaction (Sherkat & Ellison 1999; Clark & Lelkes 2005), social trust (Delhey & Newton 2005), and national pride and identity (Zubrzycki 2006; Smith & Kim 2006) all have important and complex influences on people's religious identities and so I test hypotheses about their influence on the micro-level.

Hypotheses

The sociological literature and the historical background of each country motivates a number of hypotheses which are tested in this present study controlling for the usual demographic background variables. These hypotheses are referred to as the social trust, national pride, efficacy, life satisfaction, civic engagement and political ideology hypotheses. Against the background of the different socio-political and institutional histories between the three countries described earlier one would predict variation between Belgian, Irish and Slovenian Catholics in terms of the expected influence of the explanatory variables on religious practice and belief.

Hypothesis 1 – Social Trust

Given the assumption that people with high levels of social trust are more likely to attend religious services and believe in God and given the long history of communism in Slovenia and its suppression of civil society activity and that trust is others can be created through social organisation, one would expect that Irish and Belgian Catholics would be more likely to attend religious services and have higher levels of religious belief than Slovenian Catholics.

Hypothesis 2 – National Pride

Given the assumption that people with high levels of national pride are more likely to attend religious services and have high levels of belief and given the historically strong connection between national identity and religion in Ireland, Irish Catholics should be more likely to attend religious services and have higher levels of religious belief than either Belgian or Slovenian Catholics.

Hypotheses 3 – Efficacy

Given the assumption that people who feel that their actions exert an influence over what happens to them are more likely to think that their actions in 'this-world' will influence their fate in the 'other-world' and given the weak civil society in Slovenia under communism, one would expect that Belgian and Irish Catholics would have higher levels of efficacy, attend religious services more often and have high levels of religious belief than Slovenian Catholics.

Hypothesis 4 – Life Satisfaction

Given the assumption that people who have high levels of satisfaction with 'this-world' would be less likely to be concerned about their salvation in the 'other-world' and given the suppressive nature of Slovenian society under communism, one would lower levels of life satisfaction among Slovenian Catholics and therefore that they would have higher levels of religious practice and belief than Belgian or Irish Catholics.

Hypothesis 5 – Civic Engagement

Given the assumption that people who are already engaged in secular kinds of civic organisations and have a general propensity to become involved in local associations and given the weak organisation of civil society in former communist countries such as Slovenia, one would expect that Slovenian Catholics would be less likely to also attend religious services and to have lower levels of religious belief than Belgian or Irish Catholics

Hypothesis 6 – Political Ideology

Given the assumption that people who are oriented towards the left wing of the political spectrum tend to be less likely to attend religious services and to have lower levels of belief and the historical importance of communism in Slovenia, one would expect Slovenian Catholics would be less likely to also attend religious services and to have high levels of religious belief than Belgian or Irish Catholics.

Data, Variables and Measures

Sample

The individual-level data for this analysis come from the World Values Survey (WVS). The WVS is a large-scale, multi-wave, global survey fielded in eighty societies

and spanning six continents. Because different respondents or samples are asked the same questions at different points in time it constitutes a repeated cross-sectional survey (Firebaugh 1997). It involves the collection of nationally representative samples in each society and attitudinal data on a wide range of items including family, religion, civic engagement, employment, national identity, political life, environment, social trust, and immigration via a face-to-face interview of respondents over 18 years of age. The sample design involved both random and quota sampling and the fielding of the survey was organised by a social research institute or university in each national context (the Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium), the Economic and Social Research Institute (Ireland), and the Centre for Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia)[6]. The WVS is particularly well suited to examining determinants of religious belief and practice because it comprises rich data about a wide range of individual-level attitudes and values and the repeated nature of it across different societies allows one to assess this at different points in time and in comparative perspective.

To date, four waves (1981, 1990, 1992 and 1999) of the WVS have been carried out though the participating countries were not uniform across all four waves. In this paper I employ questions from the "religious and morale" module. This module contains a set of attitudinal questions as well as questions about religious practice and the role of religious institutions. Within this I selected only respondents who self-identified as Roman Catholic when asked what religious denomination they belonged to. I dropped all other religious denominations from the sample. Slovenia was not included in the WVS until 1992. For only one year – 1999 – data for all three countries are available. In order to examine change over time one needs data for at least two different points in time (Firebaugh 1997). I chose 1990 and 1999 – separated by a lengthy period of nine years – as the sample years for comparing the three cases. Because of data constraints, I use the 1992 wave for Slovenia as the baseline year for this case and 1990 for the other two. The Catholic sample sizes were variable: 2,926 in Belgium, 1,828 in Ireland and 1,379 in Slovenia. My total sample is made up of 6,133 with a mean of 2,044 for each country. Table 2 summarises all the variables and their definitions used in the analysis.

Control Variables

In this study I investigate the influence of six sets of factors on religious practice and belief controlling for demographic/background factors: social trust, national pride, efficacy, life satisfaction, civic engagement, and political ideology. The demographic background variables or measures of "biographical availability" (Viterna 2006) are age, gender, income, marital status, number of children, and education. Age is a continuous variable measured in years. To make descriptive country comparisons more interpretable we recoded age as a categorical variable (solely for this part of the analysis) distinguishing between the following age categories: (1) less than 18 years of age (2) 18-35 years (3) 36-50 years (4) 51-64 years and, (5) people aged 65 and over. The sex of

[6] In each society a single national survey was carried out in each wave irrespective of regional diversity as manifested, for example, in Belgium's Flanders and Wallonia regions though the inclusion of a region variable in the study allows us to distinguish between different regions within each country sample.

respondents is a binary variable and men are scored as 1. The marital status variable originally consisted of five response categories – married, cohabiting, separated, divorced, widowed. I recoded this variable into a binary variable with living together and not married as the response categories. Married and cohabiting were collapsed into the living together category and the remaining categories were collapsed into a non-married category.

The income variable comes from a question that asked respondents about their income range. Income for each country was expressed in national currencies (franc for Belgium, punt for Ireland, and tolars for Slovenia). Some variation between the countries in the income variable response categories is noteworthy. Respondents from Belgium and Ireland were asked to express their income in terms of a yearly range, and Slovenian respondents were asked to express their income in terms of 1-9 steps ranging from first step to ninth step or in terms of a monthly range. Each of the country income variables was recoded. For both the Belgian and Irish income variables I substituted the income range with the mid-point of each range. Missing values were substituted by the mean income for each country. I recoded the Slovenian income variable in three steps. First I substituted each income range with the mid-point. Second, I multiplied the monthly income by twelve in order to express this in terms of yearly income and establish a common temporal metric for each country. For respondents who gave one of the steps as their income (as an alternative to selecting an income range) I substituted this with the equivalent monthly income range multiplied by twelve – the first step corresponded to the first income range and so on. Third, mean substitution was used to deal with missing values.

I also control for the presence of children which is measured as the number of children the respondent has. An education variable was constructed from a question that asked respondents about their years of education.

Explanatory Variables

A question asking respondents about whether most people could be trusted or whether one needs to be very careful in dealing with people was used as a proxy for social trust. This is a binary variable with 1 indicating 'most people can be trusted' and 0 that one 'can't be too careful'.

From a question that asked respondents about how proud they were of their nationality, a measure of national pride was derived. Responses to this question were very proud, quite proud, not very proud and not at all proud. I reverse coded this variable so that low levels on it represented a low level of national pride and high levels a high level of national pride.

The study's efficacy measure comes from a question that asked respondents how much freedom and control they felt they had in their lives. The responses to this question took the form of a scale ranging from 1-10 with 1 indicating 'none at all' and 10 indicating 'a great deal' and respondents were asked to place themselves on this scale.

A measure of life satisfaction was derived from a question that asked respondents 'all things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?' Respondents were invited to respond to this question on a scale ranging from 0-10 with 0 indicating 'dissatisfied' and 10 indicating 'satisfied'.

From a question that asked respondents about whether they belonged to a civic organisation I constructed a measure of civic engagement. Respondents were presented with a listing of voluntary organisations and were asked to indicate whether they belonged to any or not.

A political ideology variable was constructed from a question in which respondents were asked to position themselves on a left-right political scale with 1 indicating 'left' and 10 indicating 'right'.

Dependent Variables

This study consists of two dependent variables. First, I use religious service attendance as a measure of religious practice. This ordinal variable comes from a question that asked respondents 'apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?.' The response categories to this question were: (1) more than once a week, (2) once a week, (3) once a month, (4) only on special holy days/Christmas/Easter days, (5) other specific holy days, (6) once a year, (7) less often, (8) never practically never. I reverse coded the Mass attendance variable from the original 1-8 scale to a 0-7 scale so that low values on it represented low levels of attendance thus making interpretation of mean differences across countries more intuitive[7].

Second, I use belief in God as the religious belief dependent variable. The belief in God variable is part of a battery of belief questions asking about belief in life after death, hell, heaven, sin, and reincarnation. Belief in God is coded as a binary variable with 1 representing belief and 0 non-belief.

The statistical analysis proceeds in two steps. First, I present descriptive statistics (Tables 3-5) and bivariate correlations (Tables 6-11) for the data. Second, I carry out a multivariate analysis to estimate the determinative effect of the explanatory variables. The multivariate analysis is conducted in a number of steps. I estimate ordered probit models[8] for each country separately for the Mass attendance dependent variable (Tables 12-13). Because the religious belief dependent variable is a dichotomous variable, I estimate a binary logistic regression model (Tables 14-15) for this variable. I do this for two different points in time for each country – 1990 (1992 for Slovenia) and 1999. All the descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were carried out using the statistical software package STATA.

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[7] Previous research leads one to be cautious about the validity of data about church attendance (Hadaway, Marler and Chaves 1993) but in the absence of alternative data sources such as Catholic Church head-counts to cross-check self-reported Mass attendance, we must rely on the latter. Based on American data for select dioceses, Hadaway, Marler and Chaves (1993) found that Mass attendance among Catholics may be overestimated by half. For more on church counts of attendance see Iannaccone and Everton (2004). See Ammerman (2007) for discussion of the limits of survey data in understanding the full range of religious experience and Smith (1998) for a strong defence of the social survey approach.

[8] For a synthetic overview of the ordered probit model see Daykin and Moffatt (2002).

Descriptive Patterns of Religious Practice and Belief

This section of the paper presents basic descriptive data for the country samples with respect to Mass attendance and belief in God[9]. This preliminary analysis helps in providing some initial evidence to test our hypotheses and provides tentative answers to some important questions guiding this paper: how do Irish, Belgian, and Slovenian Catholics vary in terms of belief and practice? To what extent do beliefs and practice hang together or converge? Is secularisation taking hold more among some social categories – defined by age, gender, education, income and so forth – than others? To help address these questions I present the descriptive data in graphical format (see Figures 1-17).

Sociologist Grace Davie's influential concept of 'believing without belonging' which she has applied to contemporary British society (Davie 2007a) – but which also has some purchase in Scandanavian societies (Halman & Draulans 2004) – reminds us there is no simple relationship between belief and practice (Davie 2007b). People may practice their religion without believing or people may believe but not act on those beliefs. And people's lack of beliefs may have different sources – sheer lack of knowledge, disenchantment with authority, or simply disinterest (Yamane, 2007) – and belonging can be considered in ways other than the standard emphasis on attending religious services such as alms-giving and helping the needy. When we consider the 'Catholic countries' of Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia, what can we say about the relationship between belief and belonging? Are people who are 'high' on belief 'high' on practice as well? Stated differently, are Mass goers in these three societies more likely to believe in God than those who do not attend Mass? Or are those who do not believe in God more likely to go to Mass than those who do?

Tables 3-5 present the descriptive statistics for each country. As these tables make clear, the Belgian sample is somewhat older than the Irish and Slovenian samples with a mean age of 47 and 51 years in the 1990 and 1999 sample years. In all three countries, females represent a higher proportion of the sample than males and being married is the predominant marital status. In line with expectations, Irish Catholics have more children than either Belgian or Slovenian Catholics with a mean number of children of 2.60 in the sample year 1999 compared to 1.94 for Belgian Catholics and 1.64 for Slovenian Catholics. Tables 3-5 also report the mean for each of the explanatory predictor variables in the analysis. Overall, the distributions of the sample countries are broadly similar in terms of age, gender, marital status, number of children, and years of education.

The three samples differ on the dependent variables. Irish Catholics tend to have significantly higher levels attendance at Mass than Belgian and Slovenian Catholics. In 1999, 45.6% of Irish respondents reported that they attended Mass once a week and while a much smaller proportion, 15 per cent, of Slovenians did so. Significantly, a higher proportion of Slovenian Catholics, 11 per cent in 1999, who never attend religious services compared to Irish Catholics. Figures 1-3 make clear that there has been a clear decline in Mass attendance over time in Belgium and Ireland but not in Slovenia. When

[9] With respect to religious beliefs one can make a distinction between doctrinal beliefs – beliefs about such things as God, heaven, and hell – and socio-political beliefs or beliefs having to do with the role of religion in the public square (Yamane, 2007).

age is considered in terms of Mass attendance older cohorts born before Vatican II in both Belgium and Ireland are more religious than younger cohorts born after Vatican II but this is not true of Slovenia. Whether the apparently lower level of religious activity and belief among younger Irish and Belgian Catholics is due to age, cohort or period effects is difficult to gauge. It is likely that all three are operative. Longitudinal rather than the cross-sectional data used here is better suited to understanding their relative importance[10]. Across all age categories (see Figure 4), Irish Catholics tend to go to Mass more often than Belgian and Slovenian Catholics.

With respect to religious beliefs, Irish Catholics are also more likely to believe in God than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics. Almost all Irish Catholics (98.5%) reported that they believed in God in 1999 compared to 84.82% of Slovenian Catholics. The proportion of Belgian Catholics who believe in God – 91.4% – is lower than the proportion of Irish Catholics who do so but higher than the proportion of Slovenians. When belief in God is examined in terms of age, Irish Catholics across all age categories tend to have higher levels of belief in God than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics. Cohort differences in belief in God also exist (see Figures 5-7) with respect to belief in God but the difference between pre-Vatican II cohorts and post-Vatican II cohorts are slight. In all three countries younger Catholics are less likely to believe in God.

In relation to other belief items (see Figure 8), Irish Catholics also report higher levels of belief than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics. Consider, for example, that just over half of Irish Catholics believe in the existence of Hell (a *decrease* of less than one per cent on nine years previously) while 27.8% of Slovenia Catholics do so, an *increase* of slightly more than five per cent as compared to 1992, and just under 22% of Belgian Catholics believe in Hell. Irish Catholics are also more likely (results not shown) to believe in such things as life after death and heaven than either Belgian or Slovenian Catholics.

Being a "good" Catholic is not restricted to believing in these items. It also means following church teachings (see Figure 9). Irish Catholics are also more likely to follow church teaching and obey church authority on socio-moral issues such as abortion and sex outside marriage than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics. Slightly more than half (53.6%) of Irish Catholics in 1999 felt that abortion is never justifiable while 22.3% of Slovenian Catholics and 35.6% of Belgian Catholics did so. Irish Catholics are less approving of divorce - almost 27% (1999 data) regard it as "never justifiable", compared to 15.8% of Slovenian Catholics and 16.3% of Belgian Catholics. In terms of sexual morality, Irish Catholics adopt a more legalistic attitude than Slovenian Catholics. In 1999, 57.5% of Irish Catholics believed that casual sex was "never justifiable" compared to 42.9% of Slovenian Catholics. Looking at changes over time in attitudes towards socio-moral issues, there is a trend towards more 'liberal' opinion across all three cases with the exception of attitudes towards abortion among the Slovenian sample.

With respect to other religious behaviours such as prayer (see Figure 10), Irish Catholics report higher levels of prayer outside of religious services than Slovenian Catholics and Belgian Catholics. 51% of Irish Catholics "often" pray to God (1990 data) while 16.2% of Slovenian Catholics do so (1992 data) and 13.5% of Belgian Catholics often pray.

[10] For more on disentangling these effects see Crockett and Voas (2006).

On church-state relations, Slovenian Catholics are more likely than Irish Catholics to disapprove of church involvement in political affairs. In the 1999 WVS, 27.9% of Slovenian Catholics "strongly agree" that religious leaders should not influence government while the corresponding figure for Irish Catholics was 20%. This finding is supported by patterns in relation to confidence in churches. Slovenian Catholics tend to have a good deal less confidence in the Catholic Church than Irish or Belgian Catholics. Slovenian Catholics are more likely to express disapproval of Catholic Church involvement in the political sphere than Irish Catholics – but not Belgian Catholics – and this may owe something to the Slovenian church's strong anti-communist position in the past. It may well be that people differentiate between church intervention in politics and church intervention relating to the socio-moral/religious sphere and are more approving of the latter than the former (Zubrzycki, 2006: 198).

Turning to the question of the relationship between 'believing' and 'belonging', to what extent is being churched associated with belief? Figure 11 presents the differences across the three societies in Mass attendance by belief in God. From this table it is clear that the relationship between believing and belonging is not simple or straightforward and that 'belonging without believing' – the reverse of Davie's concept – is higher among Irish Catholics than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics.

Tables 6-11 present the correlation matrices for the three sample countries and for each of the dependent variables. In the Belgian sample (1990 wave), Mass attendance is positively correlated with age, income, living together, number of children, social trust, national pride, and life satisfaction and negatively correlated with gender, years of education, efficacy, civic engagement, and political ideology. The correlation is low in size for each of these positively correlated variables (r = .25 for age; r = .006 for income, r = .01 for living together, r = .14 for number of children, r = .14 for social trust, r = .03 for national pride and r = .04 for life satisfaction). For the negatively correlated variables the r values are also low in size (r = -.009 for gender; r = -.01 for years of education; r = -.03 for efficacy; r = -.14 for civic engagement; r = -.06 for political ideology).

For the Irish sample, there are statistically significant correlations between Mass attendance and age, income, gender, living together, number of children, years of education, and social trust. The correlation between Mass attendance and age, living together, number of children, and social trust is positive but small in size (r = .20 for age; r = .06 for living together; r = .11 for number of children; and r = .14 for social trust). Mass attendance is negatively correlated with income (r = .11), gender (r = -.11), years of education (r = -.07), civic engagement (r = -.004) and political ideology (r = -.01).

Table 8 presents the correlation matrix for the Slovenian sample. As this table makes clear, there is a statistically significant positive correlation between Mass attendance and number of children though the correlation is low in size (r = .09). There is a negative correlation between Mass attendance and years of education (r = -.08) and income (r = -.07) but both correlations are low.

Turning to the correlation matrices for belief in God for each country separately, there is a positive correlation in the Belgian sample between belief in God and age (r = .13), living together (r = .06), not married (r = .06) and number of children (r = .08) and the correlations are small in size. There is a negative but small correlation between belief in God and gender (r = -.10) and years of education (r = -.07). In the Irish sample there is a small positive correlation between belief in God and age (r = .07) and national pride (r

= .08). A small positive correlation exists between belief in God and number of children (r = .10) in the Slovenian sample. There is a negative correlation between gender (r = -.10), income (r = -.16), years of education (r = -.19), social trust (r = -.02) and belief in God among Slovenian Catholics but the correlation is small in size.

With respect to the explanatory variables, levels of social trust are highest in Ireland and lowest in Slovenia. National pride is highest in Ireland and lowest in Belgium. Over time there was an increase in levels of efficacy across the three countries and the largest increase - in line with expectations - was in Slovenia. Life satisfaction is high in all three countries and increased between the two waves in Ireland and Slovenia but decreased in Belgium. Civic engagement also decreased over time in the three countries and the largest decline in civic activism occurred in Slovenia. Between 1990-99, civic engagement in Belgium decline by .7, in Ireland by .9, and in Slovenia by .17. A shift towards a left-wing political orientation took place in the three countries during the 1990-99 time period and the largest shift took place in Belgium. Belgian Catholics have a higher right-wing political orientation than Irish or Slovenian Catholics. In the sample year 1999, for example, the mean on the political ideology scale (with values close to 0 representing a left-wing orientation) was 2.08 for Belgian Catholics and 1.89 for both Irish and Slovenian Catholics. By contrast and consistent with theoretical expectations, in Slovenia a drift towards the left was less marked than in either Belgium or Ireland.

From this brief preliminary analysis, it is clear that when one talks about "Belgian Catholics", "Irish Catholics" and "Slovenian Catholics" one is talking about three different ways of being Catholic in the universal Catholic Church. In general, Irish Catholics tend to be 'better' Catholics than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics in the sense that they are more likely to follow church teaching on important socio-moral issues and to 'believe' and 'belong' more than either Belgian or Slovenian Catholics. Belgian and Slovenian Catholics could be said then to be more secularised than Irish Catholics and Slovenian Catholics appear more secularised than Belgian Catholics.

Taken as a whole, the data point to a higher level of alienation from the institutional church among Belgian and Slovenia Catholics than Irish Catholics and a stronger Protestantisation – by this is meant a trend towards a greater emphasis on a more individualised understanding of Catholic faith and one contrary to official church teaching – of Catholicism in these countries than in Ireland. At the same time, it is clear that in all three countries there is a decline in frequent participation in the Catholic church's major ritual. Notably, across the three societies there is a good deal more stability in religious beliefs than in religious practice indexed by Mass attendance.

Determinants of Religious Belief and Practice

The proceeding preliminary analysis suggested that Irish Catholics tend be "better Catholics" – or put differently "more Catholic" – than either Belgian or Slovenian Catholics. But what is it about being Catholic in Ireland as compared to Belgium and Slovenia that accounts for this? What individual-level factors help explain higher levels of belief and practice among Irish Catholics? To help answer this question I carried out a multivariate analysis in which I estimate the influence of a set of explanatory variables on two dependent variables – Mass attendance and belief in God. I ran an ordered probit

model for the Mass attendance dependent variable (Tables 12-13) and a binary logistic regression for the belief in God dependent variable (tables 14-15) for each country and for each wave.. In each model I control for age, income, gender, marital status, number of children, and education. I also ran a separate model (results not shown) predicting the influence of the control variables on each of the dependent variables. Tables 12-15 report the fully specified models for each country separately, for each dependent variable separately, and for each wave separately.

The results show that age has positive and strongly statistically significant effects on Mass attendance in all three countries. Only in the 1999 wave does this effect disappear for the Slovenian sample. Gender is strongly significant in the Irish sample only pointing to the fact that women are more likely to attend Mass than men. Number of children has a positive and statistically significant effect on Mass attendance in the Belgian sample (for the 1990 wave only) and the Slovenian sample (for the 1999 wave only). Living together either as a married or cohabiting couple and not being married have positive and strongly statistically significant effects on Mass attendance in the Belgian sample only (and only in the 1990 wave). Years of education is highly significant only in the Belgian sample and only in the 1999 wave.

Three findings are particularly noteworthy. First, the co-efficient for social trust in large and positive for Belgium and Ireland (for the 1990 wave). The statistically significant effect of social trust on Mass attendance in these two countries is in keeping with our hypothesis and suggests that people who are more trusting of others are also more likely to trust social institutions such as churches than people who are less trusting of others. One way of registering one's trust in a religious institution is to attend its major rituals. This interesting finding of a linkage between social trust and religious practice goes against some previous research. Empirical studies of Scandinavian societies, for example, suggest little or no connection between trust and religiosity - Denmark and Sweden report high levels of social trust alongside very low levels of religious belief and practice (Zuckerman 2008; Delhey & Newton 2005). Second, civic engagement has statistically significant effects but its influence varies by country. In Belgium, civic engagement has a large and significant positive effect on Mass attendance but in the case of Ireland and Slovenia the civic engagement co-efficient has a negative sign. The positive effect in Belgium suggests that people who are active in local civic organisations also tend to be Mass attenders. They are 'participatory' kinds of people and for them going to meetings of voluntary associations and turning up at Mass may well be functional equivalents. Mass attendance can thus be considered as an another vehicle through which people develop a sense of identification with and belonging to others that is a happy consequence of civic activism in general.

In the cases of Ireland and Slovenia, civic engagement appears to operate in a different way. Civic engagement involves a large commitment of voluntary time and effort to attend meetings and meet the other demands that activism entails and this means that people who participate in many different kinds of civic activities have less time available to do other things such as attend Mass. In this account, owing to time poverty, civic engagement substitutes for Mass attendance.

The third noteworthy finding about predictors of Mass attendance has to do with life satisfaction. Curiously, life satisfaction has a positive and statistically significant on Mass attendance in Slovenia (only in the 1999 wave) but not in Belgium or Ireland.

Slovenian Catholics who are happy with their overall life conditions tend to be more likely to go to Mass than those who are not. Going to Mass is one way through which people can offer their gratitude and appreciation to God for a happy and satisfied life in this world. At the same time one might expect that people who are already well satisfied with their life circumstances would be unlikely to go to Mass to seek the compensations for suffering and distress in this life that it might have to offer but this does not appear to be true for Slovenian Catholics. None of the other explanatory variables in the models reached statistical significance.

Turning to the findings in relation to determinants of belief in God, Tables 14-15 report the results of the logistic regression analysis. The results show that in Belgium age and gender have statistically significant effects on belief in God in both waves and income and marital status in the 1999 wave. In Ireland age has a strong and statistically significant effect on belief in God (in the 1990 wave only) and in Slovenia income has statistically significant effects in the 1990 wave only and gender and years of education in the 1999 wave only. Of the explanatory variables, only national pride reaches statistical significance in the case of Ireland. This finding is in line with our expectations and suggests some association among Irish Catholics between belief in God and their sense of pride in national belonging - perhaps owing to a long history of religious persecution based on national ethnic categories mentioned earlier - that does not appear to exist among Belgian or Slovenian Catholics.

Conclusion

This paper examined different pathways of secularisation in three Catholic countries and contributes to our sociological understanding of Roman Catholicism in two important ways. First, it identifies cross-national variation in Catholic beliefs and practices in three different parts of wider Europe. Second, it attempts to explain this variation in terms of a number of individual-level determinants and thereby challenge secularisation theories positing a universal unfolding - and in a typical pattern - of the apparent declining influence of religiosity in shaping individual religious worldviews and actions.

The first question posed in this paper asked "to what extent do Belgian Catholics differ from the Irish and Slovenian Catholics?" A complex picture emerges from this study with respect to the similarities and differences between Belgian, Irish and Slovenian Catholics. Clearly, there are interesting differences between Catholics in the three countries. Taken together, Irish Catholics come closer to being "good Catholics" compared to Belgian and Slovenian Catholics if this is measured in terms of adherence to church teaching and the requirement to regularly receive the sacraments of the Catholic church. At the same time, compared to 1990 Irish Catholics at the end of the 1990s were 'less' Catholic - during the 1990s there was a noticeable decline in Mass attendance among Irish Catholics although patterns in relation to belief were much less variable. And as is clear from the earlier analyses, there is no simple or straightforward relationship between Mass attendance on the onehand and beliefs on the other in the three countries considered here. Quite a number of Catholics in each country fall into the 'believing without belonging' category and a small minority could be characterised as 'belonging without believing', that is, attend Mass on a regular basis but do not have believe in the

major tenets of the Catholic faith. Why people express their Catholic identities in this way is for future research to explore.

The second question asked whether this is variation within each country sample by social category. Again, a complex story emerges. Across all three countries there are clear age, cohort and gender differences with respect to Catholic practice and belief. Consider, for example, that older cohorts tend to attend Mass more frequently and to have higher levels of belief in God. Older age categories across all three cases tend to attend Mass more often than younger age categories. Irish Catholic men are more likely to attend Mass than Belgian and Slovenian Catholic men and Irish Catholic women are more likely to attend Mass than their Belgian or Slovenian counterparts. Irish Catholics are more likely to have larger families than either Belgian or Slovenian Catholics and this suggests higher approval of pro-natalist church teachings by Irish Catholics than Belgian or Slovenian Catholics.

Our answer to the third question about "what factors help account for variation between individuals in these three Catholic countries?" is intriguing but nonetheless must be treated with some caution. In this study, different variables have different effects in different national settings. Of the five explanatory variables considered here, social trust and civic engagement are the most important in terms of accounting for variation in Mass attendance in the three countries but as mentioned earlier they operated differently across them. Only national pride appears to exert an influence on belief in God and only among Irish Catholics. Against expectations we found non statistically significant effects for the other predictor variables.

These empirical findings carry an interesting theoretical implication. Secularisation theory, as mentioned earlier, posits a strong relationship between modernisation and secularisation and assumes that this takes a typical pattern in disparate national settings. This paper lends support to the 'varieties of Catholicism' position that individuals in different Catholic countries with variable histories, polities, and cultures will be differently influenced by secularisation forces and influences. It also suggests that the sociology of religion literature differentiating between Catholic, Protestant and mixed-religion clusters tends to sidestep important variation within at least one of these clusters.

Although this study adds to our understanding of cross-national variation in Roman Catholicism, it leaves a number of issues and questions unexplored. It has focused on assessing the influence of different individual-level variables on religious practice and belief but tells us little about people's religious socialisation and how this varies from one Catholic country to another. By collecting data about this we would be better positioned to get at 'why' questions – why do people believe in one thing rather than another? Why is there variation in people's beliefs across different socio-moral issues? Survey investigators tend to assume the 'equality of meaning' (Moors and Wennekers 2003, p. 156) of survey questions across different waves and societies though there are good reasons for thinking that it may vary. Asking people about whether they self-identify as Catholic or not reduces Roman Catholicism to an identity badge or category (Leege and Welch 1989) and veils the fact that Belgian Catholics may well interpret the meaning of what it means to be Catholic in everyday situations in ways different from Irish or Slovenian Catholics.

Not all possible individual-level explanations of religious belief and practice were tested in this study either. Some of the observed differences in Mass attendance between the country samples may have to do with variables not included in our models such as time availability. In complex modern consumer societies Mass attendance on a Saturday evening or Sunday morning competes with a wide range of other activities such as shopping, playing sports, socialising with friends and so forth and this may well play an important role in individual-level decision-making processes about whether to attend Mass or not. Clearly, going to religious services involves opportunity costs and some people may well forego it to become involved in other enjoyable secular pursuits. Spatial considerations such as physical distance from or proximity to a Catholic church may also exert an influence on choices about how to spend one's limited time.

Moving from the individual-level to the group-level of analysis, survey research tends to abstract beliefs and practices from their social context. Qualitative data gathering techniques are better suited to getting at such variable interpretations and contextual understandings. Consider, for example, that Catholic religious identity is chiefly organised, expressed and affirmed through local Catholic parishes (Leege and Welch 1989) and that Mass attendance takes place in group settings (Hadaway, Marler and Chaves, 1993). It is also clear that being Catholic cannot be reduced to going to Mass or believing in God and also encompasses visiting pilgrimage sites, attending prayer group meetings, participating in service projects helping the poor and needy, and so forth. By combining the large-scale social survey data of the present study with qualitative data gathered via in-depth interviews and participant observation about such things as local Catholic parish life, Catholic material culture, and how this interacts or not with more institutional manifestations of Catholicism, we would be better equipped to understand the shifting contours of Catholic Europe.

And clearly how individuals practice and give meaning to their religious identities is influenced by the societal context in which they are embedded (Chaves and Hagaman 2002). The Catholic Church is a transnational religious institution (Hehir 2006) but it takes specific forms in particular national contexts. Each of the Catholic cases examined here were shaped in important and complex ways by their particular histories, cultures and economies and these may well help explain – beyond the factors considered here – some of the variation between them. Examining variation within each of these cases also has the potential to teach us about how Catholicism is patterned in terms of regional differences. Our understanding of the dynamics of secularisation in wider Catholic Europe could be further enhanced by the inclusion of a larger pool of big Catholic countries including Poland, Hungary, Italy, and Spain. We hope that future researchers of religion will take up some or all of these under studied questions and challenges.

Appendix

Table 2: Variables and Definitions Used in the Analyses

Variables	Definition
Demographic Background Variables	
Age	In years
Gender	Men = 1
Income	In national currencies
Marital Status	Living Together = 1, Not married = 2
Children	Number of
Education	In years
Explanatory Variables	
Social Trust	"Most people can be trusted" 1 = most people can be trusted, 2 = can't be too careful
National Pride	"How proud are you to be (nationality)" 0 = not at all proud, 4 = very proud
Efficacy	"How much freedom of choice and control" Measured on scale: 1 = none at all, 10 = a great deal
Life Satisfaction	"How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" Measured on a scale: 1 = dissatisfied, 10 = satisfied
Civic Engagement	"List of voluntary organizations and activities and say...which, if any, do you belong to?" 1 = belong, 0 = not mentioned
Political Ideology	"How would you place your views on this scale" Measured on scale: 1 = left, 10 = right
Dependent Variables	
Mass Attendance	"Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, how often do you attend religious services these days?" Measured on scale: 1 = never practically never, 8 = more than once a week
Belief in God	"Which, if any, of the following (God) do you believe in?" 1 = Yes, 0 = No

Table 6: Correlation Coefficients for Variables Used in the Analysis of Mass Attendance (Belgium, 1990)

Variable		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Dependent Variable														
(1)	Mass Attendance	1.000												
Demographic Variables														
(2)	Age	.255*	1.000											
(3)	Gender (Male=1)	-.0093	-.0606*	1.000										
(4)	Income	.0066	-.1907*	.0293	1.000									
(5)	Living together	.0171	..0799*	.0512*	.1800*	1.000								
(6)	Number of Children	.1465*	.4158*	-.0965*	-.0150*	.2842*	1.000							
(7)	Years of Education	-.0109	-.3183*	.0867*	.2275*	-.0899*	-.1988*	1.000						
Explanatory Variables														
(8)	Social Trust	.1417*	-.0505*	.0147	.0768*	-.0456	-.0382	.1100*	1.000					
(9)	National Pride	.0312	.0684*	-.1019*	-.0538*	-.0033	.0274	-.1495*	-.0035	1.000				
(10)	Efficacy	-.0382	-.0450	.0651*	.0845*	.0052	-.0471*	.0266	.0443	-.0092	1.000			
(11)	Life Satisfaction	.0482*	-.0750*	.0305	.0730*	.0982*	.0106	.0457	.0933*	.0508*	.2437*	1.000		
(12)	Civic Engagement	-.1432*	.0907*	-.0816*	-.0867*	-.0283	-.0341	-.1372*	-.0868*	.0319	-.0403	-.1107*	1.000	
(13)	Political Ideology	-.0678*	-.1163*	-.0085	.0498*	-.0119	-.0188	.0619*	.0480*	-.0475	.0484*	.0341	-.0245	1.000

*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001

Table 7: Correlation Coefficients for Variables Used in the Analysis of Mass Attendance (Ireland, 1990)

Variable		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Dependent Variable														
(1)	Mass Attendance	1.000												
Demographic Variables														
(2)	Age	.2054*	1.000											
(3)	Gender (Male =1)	-.1179*	.0200	1.000										
(4)	Income	-.1085*	-.3528*	-.0027	1.000									
(5)	Living together	.0648*	.1808*	.0024	.0257	1.000								
(6)	Number of Children	.1106*	.4614*	-.0672*	-.1073*	.5654	1.000							
(7)	Years of Education	-.0271	-.4029*	-.0533	.4278*	-.1461*	-.3064*	1.000						
Explanatory Variables														
(8)	Social Trust	.1458*	.0548	-.0144	.1315*	.0314	-.0166	.1116*	1.000					
(9)	National Pride	.0588	-.0903*	.0108	.0441	.0500	-.0228	-.0001	.0102	1.000				
(10)	Efficacy	.0049	-.1193*	.0234	.1227*	.0427	-.0149	.1003*	.0639	.0569	1.000			
(11)	Life Satisfaction	.0349	.0233*	-.0248	.1232*	.1417*	.0444	.0654	.1337*	.0892*	.4115*	1.000		
(12)	Civic Engagement	-.0048	.1780*	-.1024*	-.3257*	.0420	.0723*	-.2595*	-.1154*	-.0476	-.0830*	-.0580	1.000	
(13)	Political Ideology	-.0192	-.0371	-.0512	-.0153	-.0276	.0066	.0065	.0634	-.0028	-.0544	.0032	.0317	1.000

*p <.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 8: Correlation Coefficients for Variables Used in the Analysis of Mass Attendance (Slovenia, 1992)

Variable		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Dependent Variable														
(1)	Mass Attendance	1.000												
Demographic Variables														
(2)	Age	-.0446	1.000											
(3)	Gender	-.0464	-.1154*	1.000										
(4)	Income	-.0785*	-.1854*	.0465	1.000									
(5)	Living together	-.0607	.1755*	.0080	.0259	1.000								
(6)	Number of Children	.0996*	.4531*	-.1113*	-.1510*	.4302*	1.000							
(7)	Years of Education	-.0840*	-.0433	.1147	.1899	.0045	-.1447*	1.000						
Explanatory Variables														
(8)	Social Trust	.0132	-.0434	.1039*	.1196*	-.1138*	.0590	.2134*	1.000					
(9)	National Pride	.0257	.0012	.0231	-.0286	.0490	.0695	-.0189	-.0809*	1.000				
(10)	Efficacy	-.0439	-.1076*	.0557	.1363	-.0654	.1036*	.1252*	.1193*	.0395	1.000			
(11)	Life Satisfaction	.0663	-.0990*	.0377	.2828*	.0650	.0489	.0889*	.0703	.0459	.3642*	1.000		
(12)	Civic Engagement	-.0276	.2051*	-.1501*	-.1860*	-.0571	.1055*	-.1589*	-.0793*	.0107	-.0789*	-.0566	1.000	
(13)	Political Ideology	-.0202	-.0720	-.0153	.0598	-.0658	.0264	.0199	-.0347	-.0012	-.0436	-.0951*	-.0318	1.000

*p <.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 9: Correlation Coefficients for Variables Used in the Analysis of Belief in God (Belgium, 1990)

Variable		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Dependent Variable														
(1)	Belief in God	1.000												
Demographic Variables														
(2)	Age	.1379*	1.000											
(3)	Gender (Male=1)	-.1064*	-.0606*	1.000										
(4)	Income	.0198	-.1907*	.0293	1.000									
(5)	Living together	.0628*	.0799*	.0512*	.1800*	1.000								
(6)	Number of Children	.0875*	.4158*	-.0965*	-.0150	.2842*	1.000							
(7)	Years of Education	-.0779*	-.3183*	.0867*	.2275*	-.0899*	-.1988*	1.000						
Explanatory Variables														
(8)	Social Trust	.0142	-.0505*	.0147	.0768*	-.0456	-.0382	.1100*	1.000					
(9)	National Pride	.0207	.0684*	-.1019*	-.0538*	-.0033	.0274	-.1495*	-.0035	1.000				
(10)	Efficacy	-.0295	-.0450	.0651*	.0845*	.0052	-.0471*	.0266	.0443	-.0092	1.000			
(11)	Life Satisfaction	-.0057	-.0750*	.0305	.0730*	.0982*	.0106	.0457	.0933*	.0508*	.2437*	1.000		
(12)	Civic Engagement	.0039	.0907*	-.0816*	-.0867*	-.0283	-.0341	-.1372	-.0868*	.0319	-.0402	-.1107*	1.000	
(13)	Political Ideology	-.0050	-.1163*	-.0085	.0498*	-.0119	-.01888	.0619*	.0480*	-.0475	-.0484*	.0341	-.0245	1.000

*p <.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 10: Correlation Coefficients for Variables Used in the Analysis of Belief in God (Ireland, 1990)

Variable		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Dependent Variable														
(1)	Belief in God	1.000												
Demographic Variables														
(2)	Age	.0761*	1.000											
(3)	Gender (Male=1)	-.0528	.0200	1.000										
(4)	Income	.0313	-.3528*	-.0027	1.000									
(5)	Living together	.0479	.1808	.0024	.0257	1.000								
(6)	Number of Children	.0498	.4614*	-.0672*	-.1073*	.5654*	1.000							
(7)	Years of Education	-.0085	-.4029*	-.0533	.4278*	-.1461*	-.3064	1.000						
Explanatory Variables														
(8)	Social Trust	.0650	.0548	.0144	.1315*	.0314	-.0106	.1116*	1.000					
(9)	National Pride	.0879*	-.0903*	.0108	.0441	.0500	-.0228	-.0001	.0102	1.000				
(10)	Efficacy	.0211	-.1198*	.0234	.1227*	.0427	-.0149	.1003*	.0639	.0569	1.000			
(11)	Life Satisfaction	.0442	.0233	-.0248	.1232*	.1417*	.0444	.0654*	.1337*	.0892*	.4115*	1.000		
(12)	Civic Engagement	-.0190	.1788*	-.1024*	-.3257*	.0420	.0723*	-.2595*	-.1154*	-.0476	-.0830*	-.0580	1.000	
(13)	Political Ideology	.0547	-.0371	-.0512	-.0153	-.0276	.0066	.0065	-.0634	-.0028	.0544	.0032	.0317	1.000

*p <.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 11: Correlation Coefficients for Variables Used in the Analysis of Belief in God (Slovenia, 1992)

Variable		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Dependent Variable														
(1)	Belief in God	1.000												
Demographic Variables														
(2)	Age	.0657	1.000											
(3)	Gender (Male=1)	-.1009*	-.1154*	1.000										
(4)	Income	-.1656*	-.1854	.0465	1.000									
(5)	Living together	.0041	.1755*	.0080	.0259	1.000								
(6)	Number of Children	.1094*	.4531*	-.1113*	-.1510*	.4302*	1.000							
(7)	Years of Education	-.1933*	-.0433	.1147*	.1899	.0045	-.1447*	1.000						
Explanatory Variables														
(8)	Social Trust	-.0281	-.0434	.1039*	.1196*	-.1138*	-.0590	.2134*	1.000					
(9)	National Pride	-.0000	.0012	.0231	-.0286	.0490	.0695	-.0189	-.809*	1.000				
(10)	Efficacy	-.0499	-.0176*	.0557	.1363*	-.0654	-.1036*	.1252*	.1193*	.0395	1.000			
(11)	Life Satisfaction	-.0296	-.0990*	.0377	.2828*	.0650	.0489	.0889*	.0703	.0459	.3642*	1.000		
(12)	Civic Engagement	.0484	.2051*	-.1501*	-.1860*	-.0571	.1055*	-.1589*	-.0793*	.0107	-.0789*	-.0566	1.000	
(13)	Political Ideology	-.0014	-.0720	-.0153	-.0598	-.0658	-.0264	.0199	-.0347	-.0012	-.0436	-.0951*	-.0318	1.000

*p <.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 12: Ordered Logit Regression Analysis of Individual-Level Determinants of Mass Attendance (Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia separately, 1990 (1992) wave)

Variable	Belgium	Ireland	Slovenia
Age	.01***	.02***	-.01***
	(.002)	(.002)	(.00)
Gender (Male=1)	-.18**	-.43***	-.02
	(.05)	(.07)	(.09)
Income	1.94	-.000**	-1.52
	(1.34)	(6.53)	(6.78)
Living Together	-.10	-.03	-.31**
	(.06)	(.09)	(.11)
Number of Children	.03	-.00	.22***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.04)
Years of Education	.01	.03*	-.01
	(.008)	(.01)	(.08)
Social Trust	.34***	.35***	.09
	(.05)	(.07)	(.13)
National Pride	-.01	.70*	-.07
	(.08)	(.30)	(.17)
Efficacy	-.02	.02	-.04
	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
Life Satisfaction	-.03	-.00	.07**
	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
Civic Engagement	.33***	-.17*	-.19**
	(.05)	(.08)	(.09)
Political Ideology	-.03	-.03	-.04
	(.02)	(.03)	(.04)
N	1423	903	555
R^2	.03	.07	.02

Note: Table figures are regression co-efficients with standard errors in parentheses. Reference categories are female for gender and not married for marital status. The dependent variable is the frequency of Mass attendance among individuals in each country. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; *Source*: Data come from the WVS (1990-1999).

Table 13: Ordered Logit Regression Analysis of Individual-Level Determinants of Mass Attendance (Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia separately, 1999 wave)

Variable	Belgium	Ireland	Slovenia
Age	.01***	.03***	.004
	(.002)	(.00)	(.003)
Gender (Male=1)	-.10	-.39***	-.16
	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)
Income	-7.12	-2.71	1.46**
	(1.88)	(4.99)	(4.74)
Living Together	.05	.15	-.007
	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)
Number of Children	.01	.01	.17***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.04)
Years of Education	.03**	.03*	-.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Social Trust	.20*	.14	-.14
	(.08)	(.08)	(.10)
National Pride	.18*	.87*	.06
	(.09)	(.39)	(.16)
Efficacy	-.00	-.01	-.01
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Life Satisfaction	.02	.04	.06**
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Civic Engagement	.47***	-.29***	-.28**
	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)
Political Ideology	-.01	-.00	-.09
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)
N	805	771	610
R^2	.03	.1	.02

Note: Table figures are regression co-efficients with standard errors in parentheses. Reference categories are female for gender and not married for marital status. The dependent variable is the frequency of Mass attendance among individuals in each country. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; *Source*: Data come from the WVS (1990-1999).

Table 14: Logistic Regression Analysis of Individual-Level Determinants of Belief in God (Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia separately, 1990 (1992) wave)

Variable	Belgium	Ireland	Slovenia
Age	.03***	.09**	-.003
	(.00)	(.04)	(.009)
Gender	-.68**	-1.7	-.31
	(.23)	(.92)	(.24)
Income	5.56	.00	-.5.76**
	(5.68)	(.00)	(1.86)
Marital Status	.07	.46	-.10
	(.27)	(1.2)	(.32)
Number of Children	.15	-.18	.26
	(.10)	(.35)	(.13)
Years of Education	-.03	-.05	.06**
	(.03)	(.19)	(.01)
Social Trust	.40	1.56	.45
	(.25)	(1.12)	(.37)
National Pride	.09	2.92*	-.15
	(.31)	(1.36)	(.51)
Efficacy	-.06	.09	-.02
	(.05)	(.20)	(.06)
Life Satisfaction	.05	.04	.04
	(.06)	(.18)	(.06)
Civic Engagement	.03	-.62	-.20
	(.24)	(.81)	(.26)
Political Ideology	-.04	.92	-.01
	(.10)	(.50)	(.13)
N	1323	893	484
R^2	.08	.26	.08

Note: Table figures are regression co-efficients with standard errors in parentheses. Reference categories are female for gender and not married for marital status. The dependent variable is whether individual in each country believes in God or not. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; *Source*: Data come from the WVS (1990-1999).

Table 15: Logistic Regression Analysis of Individual-Level Determinants of Belief in God (Belgium, Ireland and Slovenia separately, 1999 wave)

Variable	Belgium	Ireland	Slovenia
Age	.03**	.01	-.002
	(.01)	(.02)	(.009)
Gender	-.58*	-1.01	-.57*
	(.27)	(.75)	(.24)
Income	-1.43*	-.00	-2.20
	(6.52)	(.00)	(1.24)
Marital Status	.63	1.72	.17
	(.32)	(1.06)	(.30)
Number of Children	.01	.14	.06
	(.10)	(.30)	(.14)
Years of Education	.04	-.09	-.06**
	(.04)	(.09)	(.20)
Social Trust	-.32	-.66	.002
	(.29)	(.69)	(.29)
National Pride	-.16	2.29	.21
	(.34)	(1.31)	(.43)
Efficacy	.008	.13	-.17
	(.07)	(.17)	(.07)
Life Satisfaction	-.06	.18	.11
	(.08)	(.16)	(.06)
Civic Engagement	-.27	-.45	-.34
	(.29)	(.71)	(.24)
Political Ideology	.11	.04	.06
	(.12)	(.38)	(.11)
N	766	762	588
R^2	.06	.20	.06

Note: Table figures are regression co-efficients with standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether individual in each country believes in God or not. Reference categories are not married for marital status and female for gender. * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; *Source*: Data come from the WVS (1990-1999).

Figure 1

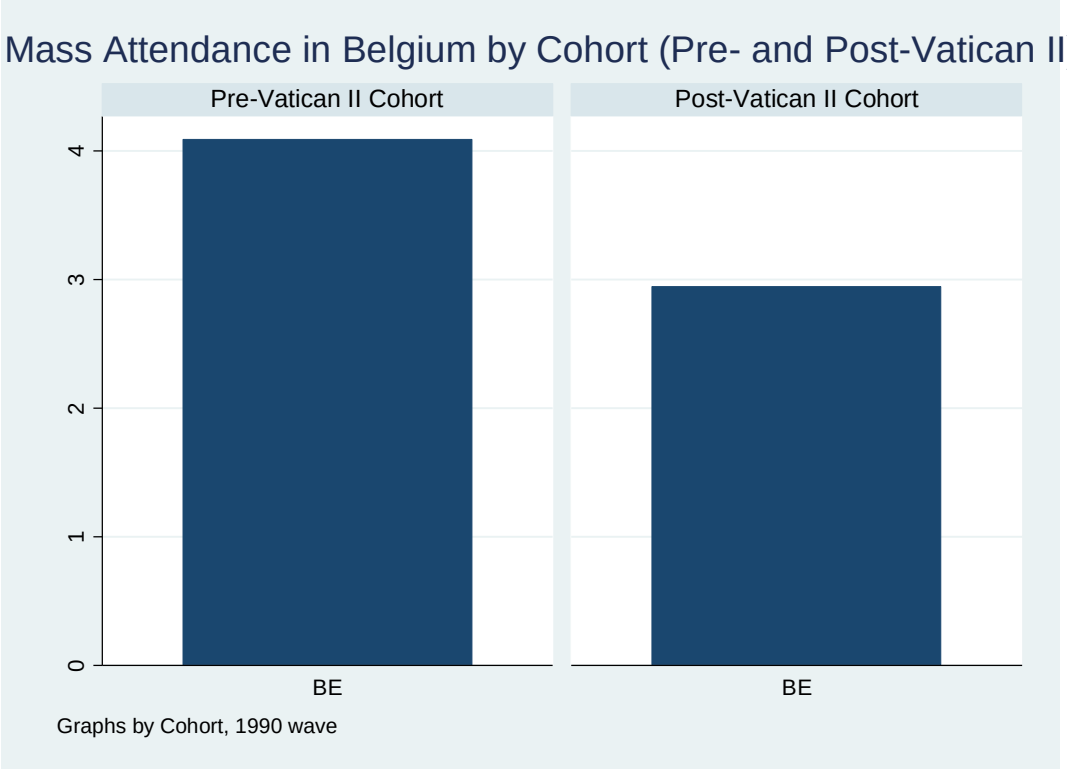

Mass Attendance in Belgium by Cohort (Pre- and Post-Vatican II)
Pre-Vatican II Cohort
Post-Vatican II Cohort
0
1
2
3
4
BE
BE
Graphs by Cohort, 1990 wave

Figure 2

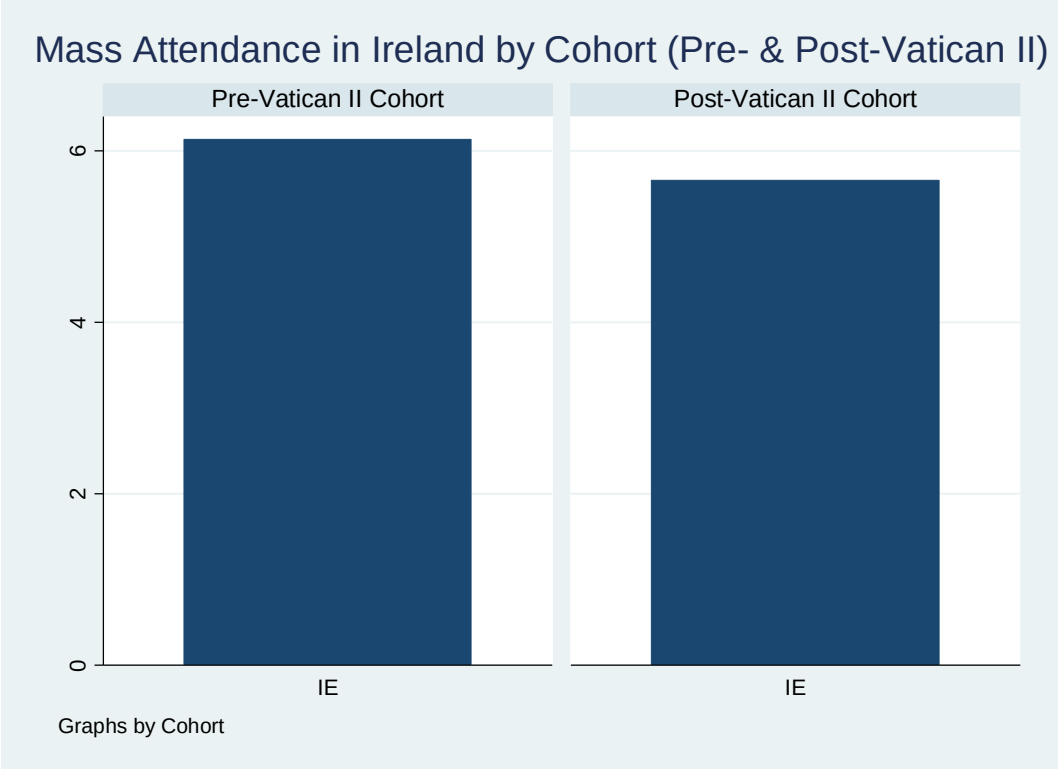

Mass Attendance in Ireland by Cohort (Pre- & Post-Vatican II)
Pre-Vatican II Cohort
Post-Vatican II Cohort
0
2
4
6
IE
IE
Graphs by Cohort

Figure 3

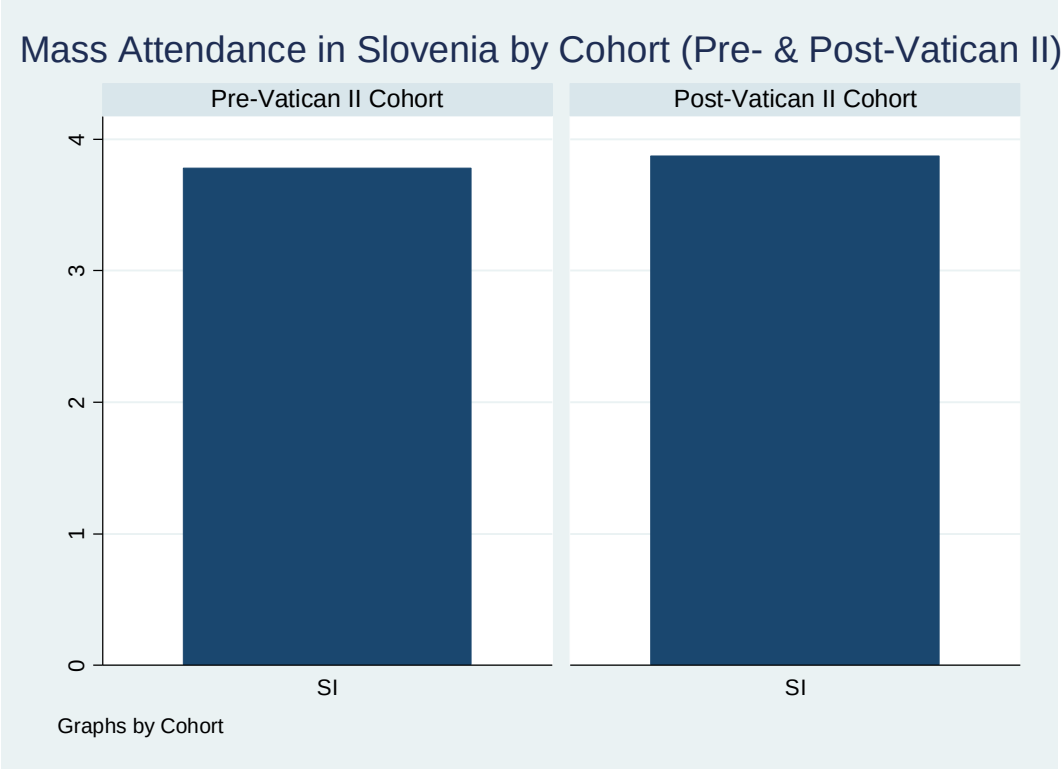

Mass Attendance in Slovenia by Cohort (Pre- & Post-Vatican II)
Pre-Vatican II Cohort
Post-Vatican II Cohort
0
1
2
3
4
SI
SI
Graphs by Cohort

Figure 4

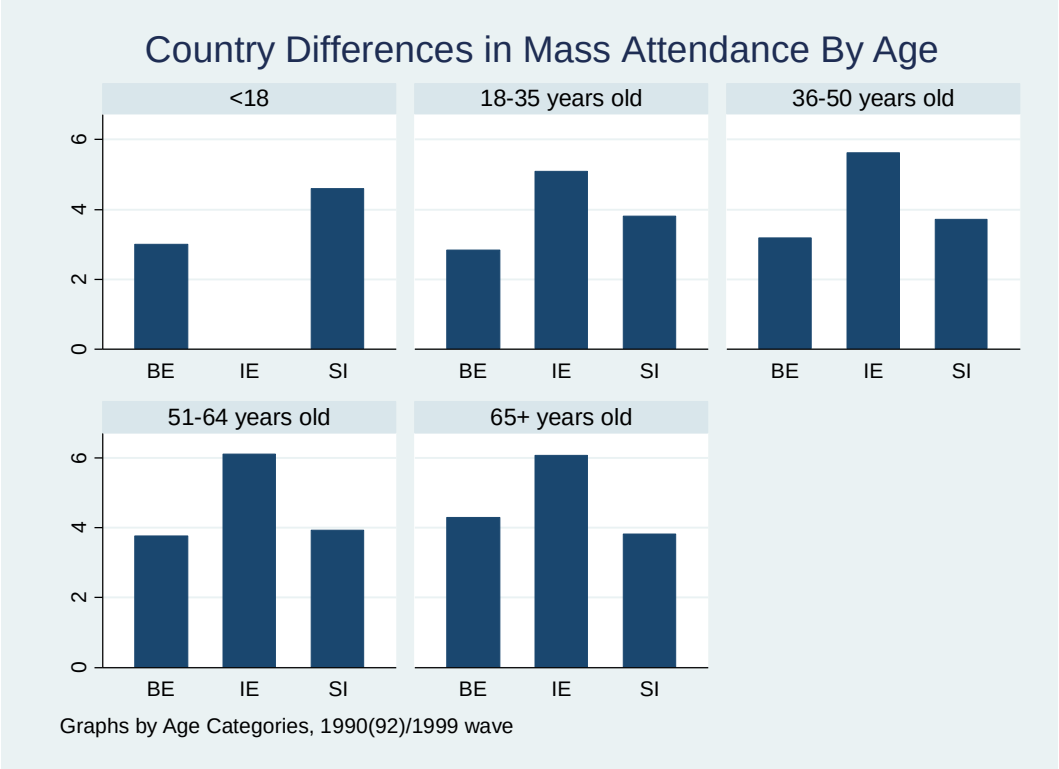

Country Differences in Mass Attendance By Age
<18
18-35 years old
36-50 years old
51-64 years old
65+ years old
0
2
4
6
BE
IE
SI
Graphs by Age Categories, 1990(92)/1999 wave

Figure 5

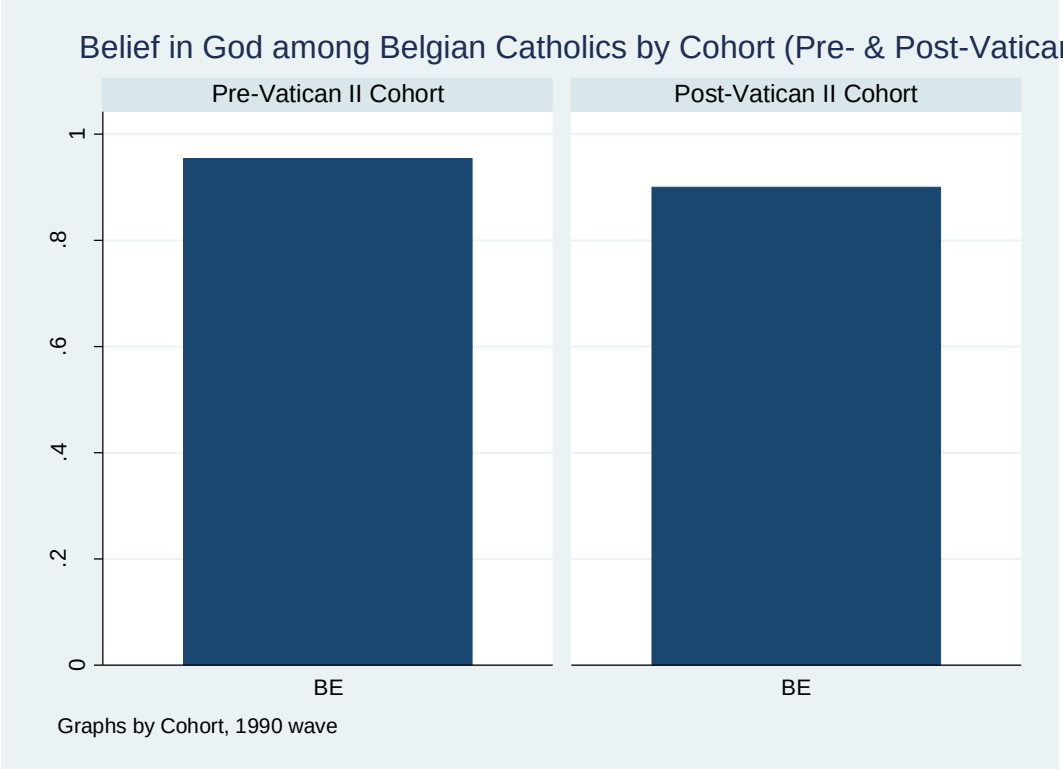

Belief in God among Belgian Catholics by Cohort (Pre- & Post-Vatican II)
Pre-Vatican II Cohort
Post-Vatican II Cohort
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
BE
BE
Graphs by Cohort, 1990 wave

Figure 6

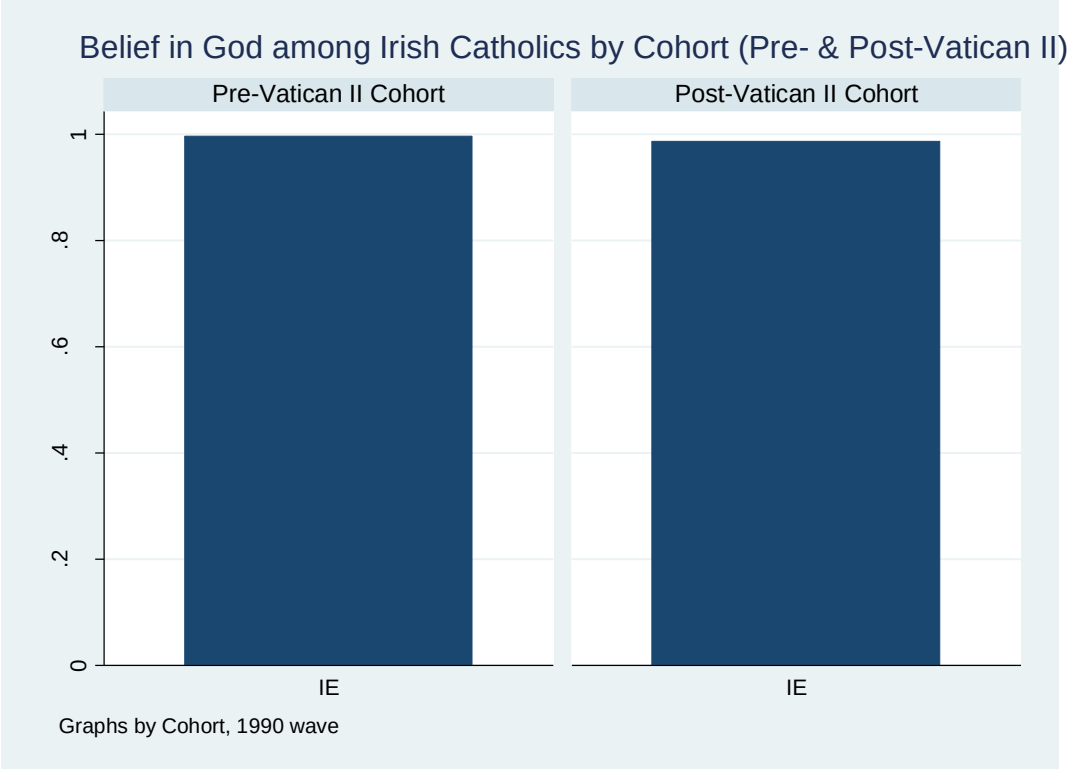

Belief in God among Irish Catholics by Cohort (Pre- & Post-Vatican II)
Pre-Vatican II Cohort
Post-Vatican II Cohort
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
IE
IE
Graphs by Cohort, 1990 wave

Figure 7

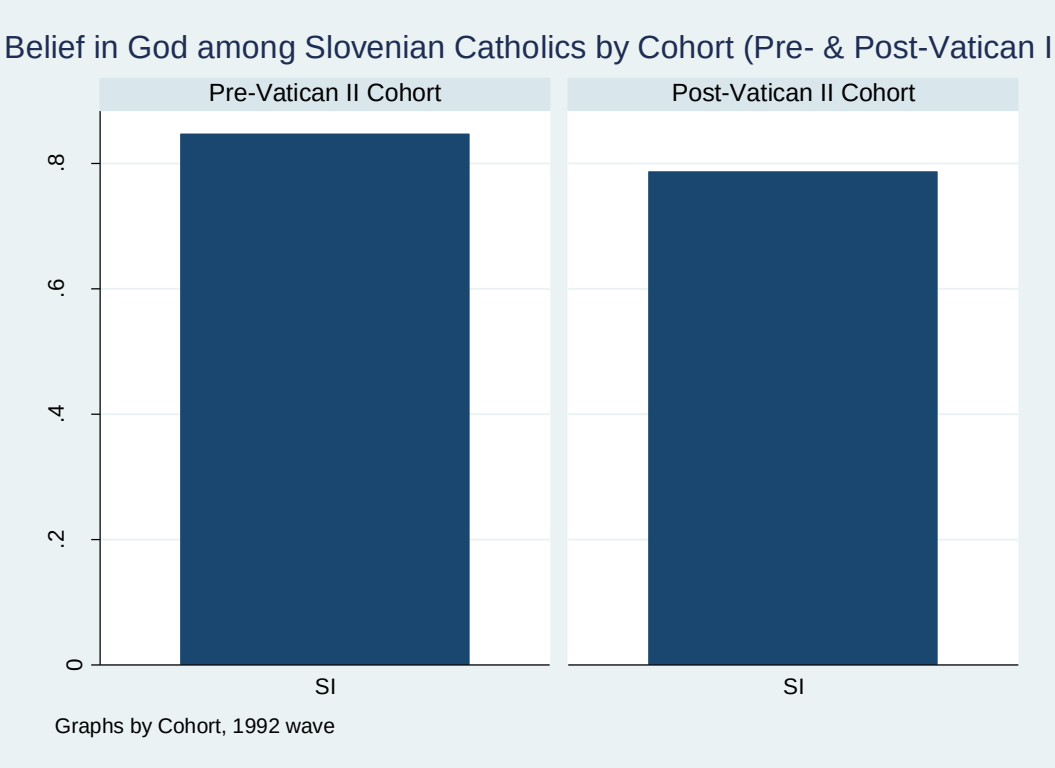

Belief in God among Slovenian Catholics by Cohort (Pre- & Post-Vatican II)
Pre-Vatican II Cohort
Post-Vatican II Cohort
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
SI
SI
Graphs by Cohort, 1992 wave

Figure 8

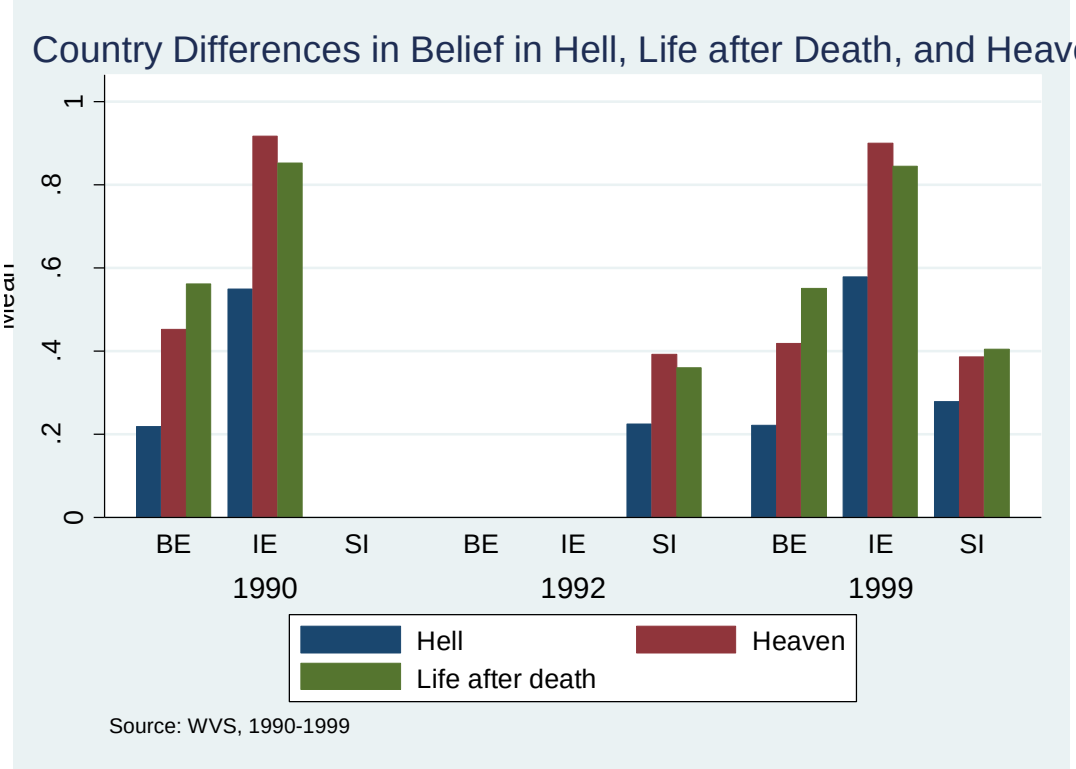

Country Differences in Belief in Hell, Life after Death, and Heaven
Mean
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
BE
IE
SI
BE
IE
SI
BE
IE
SI
1990
1992
1999
Hell
Heaven
Life after death
Source: WVS, 1990-1999

Figure 9

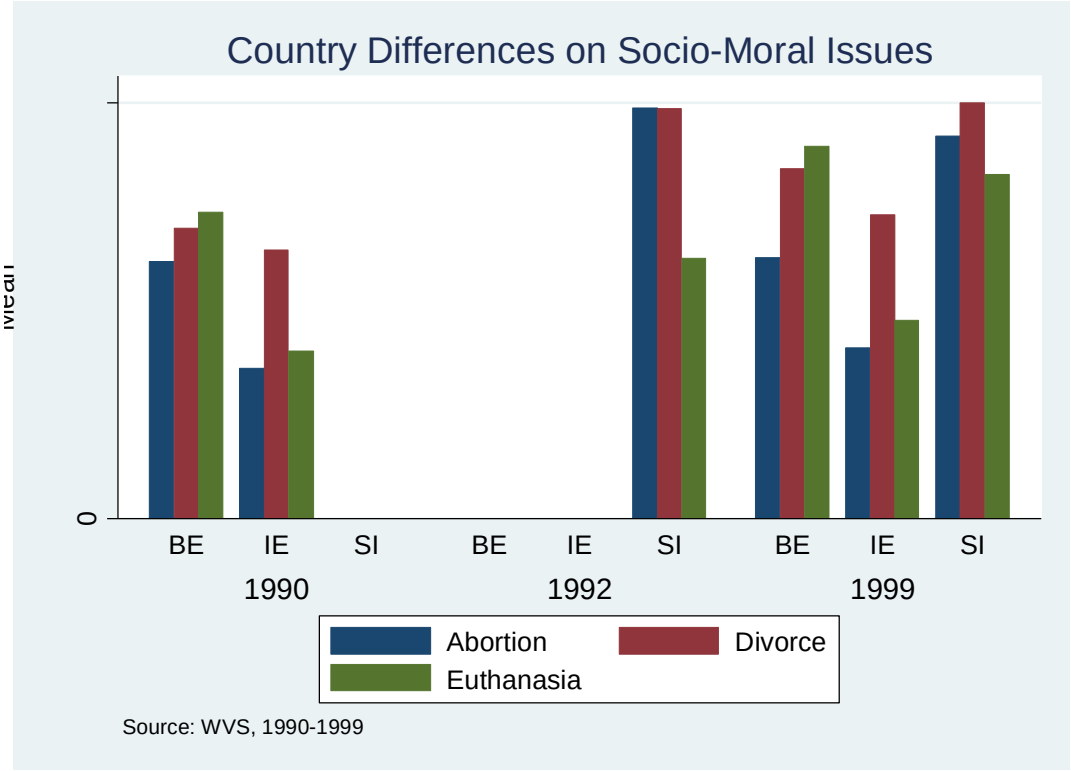

Country Differences on Socio-Moral Issues
Mean
0
BE
IE
SI
BE
IE
SI
BE
IE
SI
1990
1992
1999
Abortion
Divorce
Euthanasia
Source: WVS, 1990-1999

Figure 10

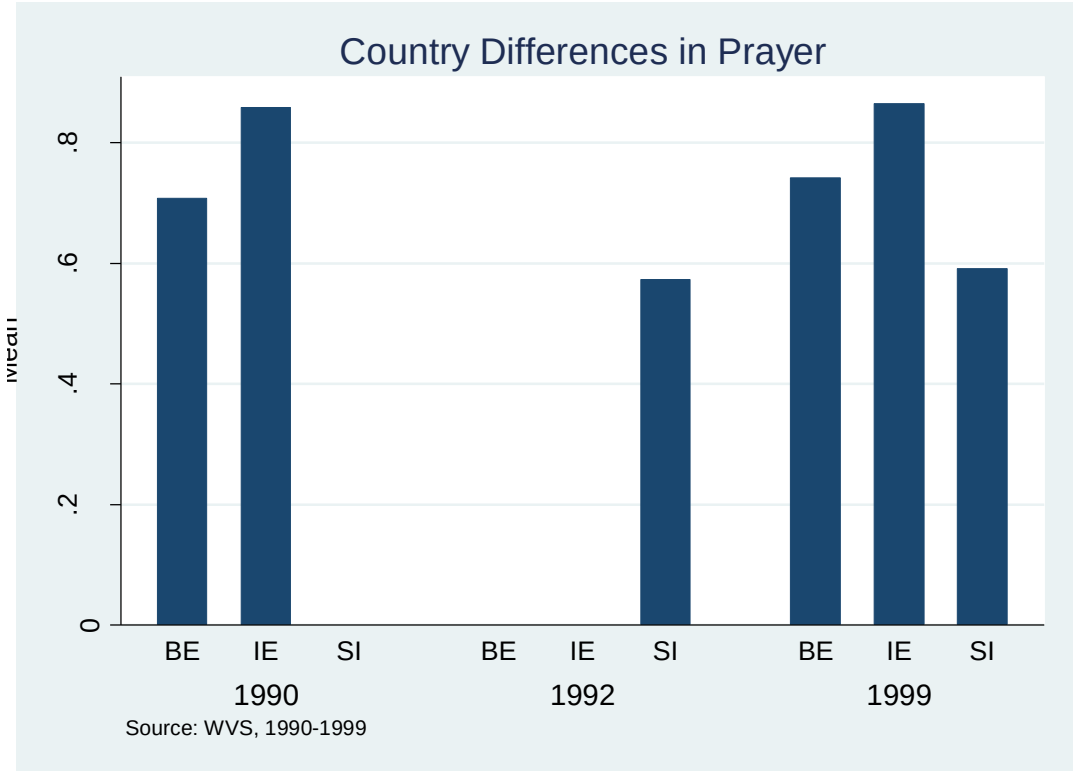
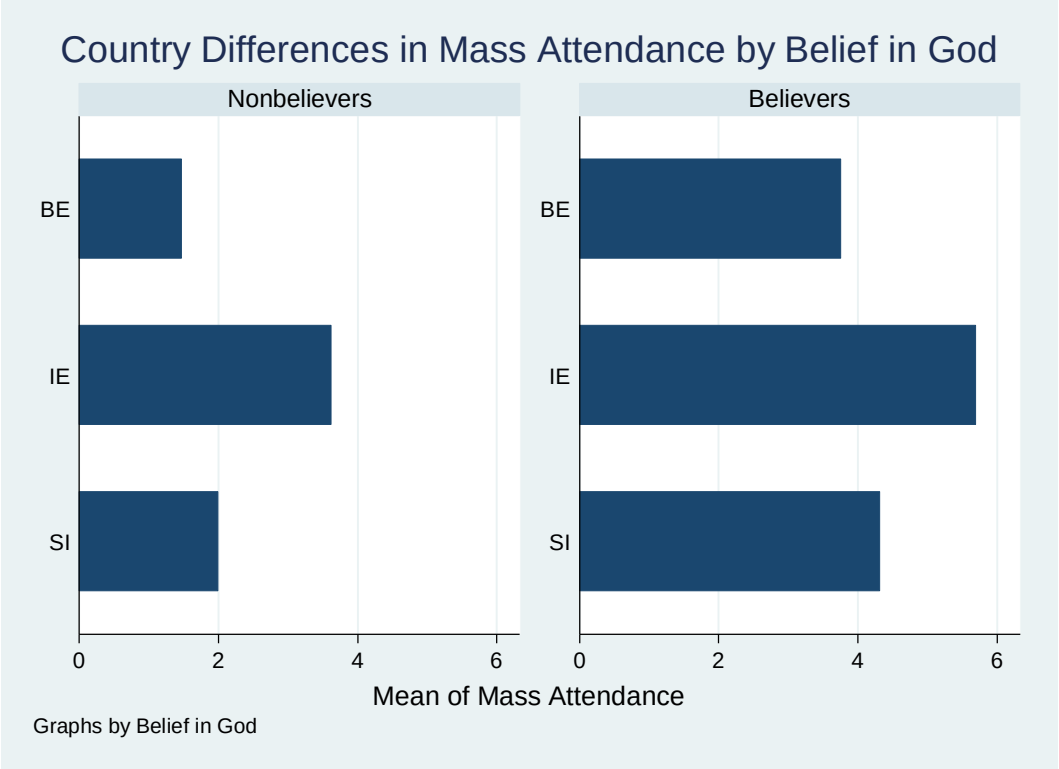

Country Differences in Prayer
Mean
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
BE
IE
SI
BE
IE
SI
BE
IE
SI
1990
1992
1999
Source: WVS, 1990-1999

Figure 11


Country Differences in Mass Attendance by Belief in God
Nonbelievers
Believers
BE
IE
SI
0
2
4
6
Mean of Mass Attendance
Graphs by Belief in God

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