

Mapping Religious Nones in 112 Countries: An Overview of European Values Study and World Values Survey Data (1981-2020)

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Index

1. The ‘no religion’ at Bruno Kessler Foundation	5
2. Religious nones and the rise of non-religious studies	6
3. Methodological note	10
4. Mapping religious nones	13
4.1. 1981-1984.....	13
4.2. 1989-1994.....	15
4.3. 1999-2004.....	18
4.4. 2017-2020.....	20
5. Religious nones and religiosity	23
6. Final considerations	27
Acknowledgements	28
Reference list	29
 Appendix	
A. Participant countries	35
B. Non-religion in 112 countries between 1981 and 2020	39
C. Religiosity and non-affiliation prior to 2017	43

1. THE ‘NO RELIGION’ AT BRUNO KESSLER FOUNDATION

Following recent developments of scientific debate about religious and non-religious beliefs, in 2020 Bruno Kessler Foundation started to investigate religious nones and the changes of their belief systems over time. This project, co-developed in collaboration between the Foundation’s Center in Information and Communication Technology (FBK-ICT) and the Center for Religious Studies (FBK-ISR), places itself at the intersection of three pre-existing projects pursued by ISR with its newly adopted Strategic Plan (see FBK-ISR, 2020a: 41-42):

- *Arguing Religion* – to the extent that it builds on past ISR research on secularity and post-secularity, and recognizes no religion as a peculiar form of religious discourse;
- *Freedom of Religion or Belief* – to the extent that it shares its cross-national comparative perspective and recognizes secular beliefs as part of its general framework;
- *Spirituality and Lifestyles* – to the extent that it focuses on religious and/or spiritual beliefs held by certain sub-categories of religious nones, conceptualizing these forms of no religion as one of today’s social practices of religious life.

In doing so, the project adopts ISR’s triangular model of religion and innovation that identifies three analytical dimensions: innovation in religion, religion in innovation and religion of innovation (see FBK-ISR, 2019: 7-10). Specifically, this report focuses on the first of these dimensions. “Innovation in religion” is concerned with internal changes and transformations of religious traditions and communities. By re-directing the attention of the scientific community toward the category of religious nones, stressing their internal differences and highlighting their similarities with affiliated religionists, the project intends to challenge diffused misconceptualizations of this increasingly relevant category. In this sense, the relocation and the transformation of the sacred call for an innovation in theorizing about, and conceptualizing of, contemporary forms of religion.

2. RELIGIOUS NONES AND THE RISE OF NON-RELIGIOUS STUDIES

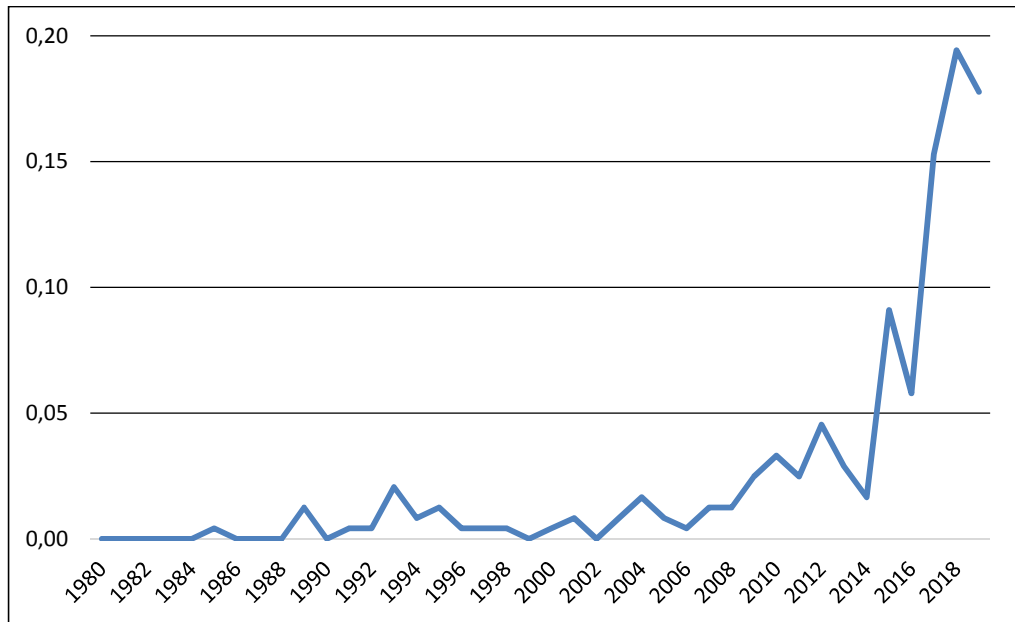
In 1968, Glenn Vernon defined religious nones – *i.e.* those respondents who do not belong to a religious denomination – as a “neglected category” claiming that “there are similarities between the religious beliefs of “nones” and those of affiliated religionists which need to be explored” (Vernon, 1968: 223). So what do we know? Survey data collected over past decades provides a relatively clear picture of socio-demographic characteristics that are more frequently associated with no religion. Nones are, in fact, usually young men who live in urban areas (Voas & McAndrew, 2012; Taira, 2018). The role of education is slightly more discussed. While Lewis (2015) argued that nones are, on average, better educated, Voas (2015) showed that in Great Britain this trend is reversing among younger cohorts causing a progressive reduction of the long established positive correlation between education and non-religiosity. However, as far as religious and/or non-religious beliefs of nones are concerned, the general picture remained rather blurry. A recent research about cognitive profiles of believers and non-believers classified respondents on the base of their answers to the Supernatural Belief Scale¹ finding that 25% of subjects with a high level of religiosity were actually nones (Lindeman & Lipsanen, 2016). Using data from the General Social Survey, Faith Matters Study and American National Election Study, Lim *et al.* (2010) and Hout (2017) showed significant differences among nones in terms of religious beliefs and of their stability over time. More recently, a comparative study of Brazil, China, Denmark, Japan, United Kingdom and United States highlighted internal diversity, persistence of religious and supernatural beliefs, and centrality of “family” and “freedom” as professed values among religious nones (Bullivant *et al.*, 2019). Despite these findings provided a safe ground for Vernon’s assertions, 50 years after his pioneering work it was Nikitaki’s (2018) turn to claim that studies focusing on religious nones are still “virtually nonexistent” among theologians and religious studies scholars.

After Vernon’s call the scientific debate about nones remained substantially stagnant for several decades (see Fig.1²). A first, although very moderate, increase of attention to nones was recorded between 2004 and 2013, but it is starting from 2015 that the discussion entered a more dynamic phase marked by the diffusion of research centers and programmes specifically focused on the scientific study of non-religion – *e.g.* *Understanding Unbelief* programme at Kent University or the *Programme for the study of religion and non-religion* at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

¹ For a detailed overview of the scale see Jong *et al.* (2013).

² The query considers title, abstract, author keywords and keywords plus of papers available as of 5 July 2020 in Web of Science’s: Science Citation Index Expanded; Social Sciences Citation Index; Arts & Humanities Citation Index; Conference Proceedings Citation Index-Science; Conference Proceedings Citation Index-Social Science & Humanities; Emerging Sources Citation Index. The search was performed for the following expressions: “non religious studies”, “non-religious studies”, “irreligion”, “religious nones”, “nonreligion” and “non-religion”.

Fig. 1. Number of scientific papers about non-religion (expressed as proportion of total), Web of Science 1980-2019



What is it that led to a change in perspective and to the emergence of non-religious studies as an independent field of study? Arguably, there are at least four reasons that contributed to this new development.

The first reason behind the increasing relevance of nones is the progressive growth of the category. When the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS) were conducted for the first time between 1981 and 1984, nones were only 11.3% of world’s population. At the time, with 10.5% of nones, Europe was still far from being the “exceptional case” later described by Grace Davie (2006). However, in less than four decades nones doubled at a global level reaching 25.9% – 21.7% in non-European countries – and triplicated in Europe with 30.2%.³

The second reason is an increased awareness of the multiplicity of positions that the label “religious nones” hides. Atheists, new atheists, agnostics, humanists, spiritual seekers, unchurched believers and more (Ammerman, 2013; Keller *et al.*, 2016; Lee, 2014; Lee & Bullivant, 2016): a variety of theistic, extra-theistic and religiously-indifferent discourses are blended together undermining the presumed exhaustivity of current

³ Estimates are based on the integrated WVS/EVS dataset. Continental boundaries of Europe include all countries typically listed by the Encyclopædia Britannica. Russian cases were split and subjects from Ural, Siberian and Far Eastern Federal Districts are not considered in European totals. Turkey, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Cyprus are not considered either.

international classifications. In the wake of the renewed interest for nones, the adequacy of the “religious nones” label (Day, 2013) as well as of the current measurement methods (Field, 2013; Pasquale, 2007) were thus put into question by the emerging field of non-religious studies.

The third reason, partially grounded on the previous two, is the emergence and the diffusion of the “Freedom of Religion or Belief” formula in political, legal and social scenarios of the European Union (see Ventura, 2020). By redirecting the attention not only to theistic creeds, but also to extra-theistic and atheistic beliefs, the Western political world improved the visibility and created the basis for the legal recognition of nones.

The fourth reason is the centrality of nones in the ongoing secularization debate (see Costa, 2019). While seemingly clear, as Casanova (2006) pointed out, the usage of the term “secularization” in the literature is multiplex and at least three alternative definitions can be analytically isolated: secularization as religious decline; secularization as privatization or individualization of religion; and secularization as emancipation of secular spheres from religion. The latter meaning is usually transversal to the other two definitions, which recognize a reciprocal emancipation of sacred and secular spheres of life but focus on structural changes of meaning systems. Framing nones as intrinsically non-religious, and focusing on disaffiliation and on the shortage of intergenerational transmission of religious beliefs, the progressive growth of nones was frequently interpreted as a proof of religious decline (Bruce, 2006; Thiessen & Wilkins-Laflamme, 2017; Voas, 2015). On the other side, stressing the persistence of religiosity and/or spirituality that accompanied the decline in practice at an individual level, other scholars interpreted the same phenomenon as a form of religious change (Berger, 2012; Davie, 2006; Luckmann, 1990; Hout, 2017). Recent research suggests that both interpretations might be correct and that religiosity is declining and changing at the same time (Tromp *et al.*, 2020). Such a conclusion spotlights religious nones and calls for a reconsideration of theoretical and social implications of the relocation of the sacred.

While detailed reports about nones were produced in recent years for United States (Kosmin *et al.*, 2009; Pew Research Center, 2015) and Western Europe (Pew Research Center, 2018), an equally fine-grained global perspective is hard to find. In 2012 the Pew Research Center published a report titled *The Global Religious Landscape* that dedicated four pages to aggregated statistics about nones in six macro areas: North America, Latin America/Caribbean, Europe, Asia/Pacific, Middle East/North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2017, the same institute published *The Changing Global Religious Landscape* offering a brief analysis of changes occurred in these macro areas between 2010 and 2015 and an interesting prospective analysis of religious nones predicting a further increase of no religion due to intergenerational transmission. Despite their

strengths, both reports lack detailed information at country level, data about the situation prior to 2010 and a comparative analysis of religious beliefs of nones in the world⁴. This report thus intends to:

- offer an updated overview of the current situation with newly available data about more than 70 countries collected between 2017 and 2020 by EVS and WVS;
- further extend the current perspective by adding a temporal dimension that covers almost four decades of change in no religion between 1981 and 2020;
- provide available country level information for 112 countries that participated in EVS and/or WVS during the considered period;
- and examine the religiosity (attendance of religious services, beliefs, etc.) of nones with recent EVS/WVS data.

⁴ For a specific focus on atheism, see Zuckerman (2007) and WIN-Gallup International (2012).

3. METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

European Values Study (EVS) and World Values Survey (WVS) are repeated cross-sectional surveys relying on representative multi-stage or stratified random samples of adult population with 18+ years of age. EVS and WVS are global networks of scientists, respectively headquartered at Tilburg University and University of Vienna. The research is centralized, while fieldwork and funding are local⁵. Over four decades, together they covered 114 countries or regions all around the globe. Following the Memorandum of Understandings, EVS and WVS joined forces to collect data of the 5th EVS wave. This agreement, together with EVS' participation in *Synergies for Europe's Research Infrastructures in the Social Sciences* (SERISS), is part of a collective effort to improve harmonization and comparability of cross-national social science research.

At the moment, data about all five EVS waves are publicly available: 1981-1984, 1990-1993, 1999-2001, 2008-2010 and 2017-2019. The third pre-release of the latest EVS wave was published on 27 May 2020 while the release of full data is scheduled for October of the same year. There are currently data about six WVS waves: 1981-1984, 1990-1994, 1995-1998, 1999-2004, 2005-2009 and 2010-2014. While the end of the fieldwork of the current wave is planned for May 2021, with the release of the final version of the dataset listed for July of the same year, the first pre-release of the 7th wave (2017-2021) is scheduled for 20 July 2020⁶. For a detailed overview of countries participating in EVS and WVS waves as of June 2020, see Appendix A.

With reference to their participation, five cases require further clarifications. First, in 1981 Germany participated in EVS as Federal Republic of Germany. For this reason the sample does not include the population of the former German Democratic Republic. Second, Soviet Union (WVS2 in 1990) and Czechoslovakia (WVS2 in 1990-91 and EVS2 in 1991) participated in the second wave. In these cases, country-pooled data are available. Third, WVS' international classifications list United Kingdom among countries that participated in 1998 and in 2005. However, the sampling procedure excluded Northern Ireland focusing on the territory of Great Britain. Great Britain and Northern Ireland traditionally participate in EVS as separate units since 1981, this division was therefore retained and WVS data were properly re-labeled after the confirmation by World Values Survey Association. Fourth, Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on one side, and Republica Srpska on the other, are two territorial units that compose Bosnia and Herzegovina since the end of Bosnian war in December 1995. In 1998, WVS3 conducted two separate fieldworks in these regions that were afterwards aggregated. Fifth, in

⁵ For a detailed overview of principal investigators, sampling procedures, methodological reports, codebooks and funding, visit <https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/> and <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>.

⁶ An extract of the dataset, containing religion-related and basic socio-demographic variables, was made available to FBK-ISR by the World Values Survey Association.

2008 Cyprus and Northern Cyprus conducted their fieldworks separately during the 4th EVS wave. As in the Bosnian case, these samples were aggregated.

In three instances a country participated in both surveys collecting data in the same year – Czech Republic in 1991, Spain in 1990 and Turkey in 2001 – resulting in two distinct national samples. In these cases the results reported here are based on an average of EVS and WVS data. Following the signature of the Memorandum, EVS and WVS cooperated in Europe. In Germany, Romania and Russia this collaboration took the form of split samples. WVS's funds for the research in Serbia and Greece were secured before the agreement with EVS, in these countries the fieldwork was therefore conducted separately.

A total of ten national samples were excluded from the analysis for either lack of relevant information or violation of methodological standards. In eight cases, WVS' national questionnaires did not ask about respondents' religious affiliation: Australia in WVS1, Belarus and Poland in WVS2, China and Great Britain in WVS3, Kuwait, Qatar and Egypt in WVS6. The remaining two countries were omitted for problems with their sample designs: Azerbaijan in EVS4 (2008) and Greece in EVS5 (2018).

Of special concern are restrictions to the religious freedom that can involve both nones and affiliated respondents. According to the latest *Report on International Religious Freedom* (U.S. Department of State, 2020), there are 14 countries of “particular concern” – Burma, China, Eritrea, Iran, India, Nigeria, North Korea, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Vietnam – while other 15 countries are on the so-called “Special Watch List” – Afghanistan, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Central African Republic, Cuba, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Sudan, Turkey and Uzbekistan. In at least 13 countries apostasy and/or blasphemy are punishable by death (see Humanists International, 2019): Afghanistan, Iran, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. In these countries, low spread of self-assessed non-affiliation and high levels of religiosity (when restrictions involve atheism or humanism), or high spread of non-affiliation and low levels of religiosity (when restrictions involve religious creeds), are thus not necessarily indicative of the national religious landscape.

The Chinese situation is further complicated by coverage errors in list-based samples and considerable internal migration that constitute a problem in assessing the reliability of estimates. In recent years, this issue was addressed through corrective use of GPS technology to provide substantive improvements (see Landry and Shen, 2005).

Despite the recent collaboration between these two surveys, that increased the comparability of latest EVS and WVS questionnaires to roughly 70%, religion related items comparable across all 12 master questionnaires remain significantly limited. Comparable items provide the following information: whether respondents belong or not to a

religious denomination; to which religious denomination they belong⁷; how often they attend religious services outside of weddings, funerals and christenings⁸; whether they consider themselves a religious person, not a religious person or a convinced atheist; how important is God in their everyday life⁹; and finally, how much confidence do they have in church¹⁰.

⁷ While EVS provide, since its second wave, additional information about the past affiliation of religious nones to a religious denomination, in WVS this information is missing.

⁸ This variable is measured at an ordinal level with the following answer options: “more than once a week”, “once a week”, “once a month”, “only on specific holy days”, “once a year”, “less often” and “never, practically never”.

⁹ This is measured as a continuous variable where respondents are asked to express the importance of God in their everyday life on a scale that ranges from 1 to 10, where 1 means “not at all important” and 10 means “very important”. The variable was then re-scaled and normalized to range between 0 and 1.

¹⁰ The confidence in church is assessed with a 4-point scale with the following answer options: “a great deal”, “quite a lot”, “not very much” and “none at all”.

4. MAPPING RELIGIOUS NONES

The following sections will provide an overview of the distribution of nones and of their socio-demographic characteristics over time. To do so, four periods were selected: 1981-1984, which correspond to the first wave of European Values Study (EVS) and World Values Survey (WVS); 1989-1994, second wave and first expansion of the research in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America; 1999-2004, the first fieldwork after the stabilization of the socio-political situation in Europe with the unification of Western and Eastern Germany, resolution of the conflicts in the Balkan Peninsula and dis-aggregation of URSS; finally, 2017-2020 constitute the most recent photography of the general situation currently available. For detailed country-level information about percentage of nones in participating countries by wave, see Appendix B.

4.1. 1981-1984

Between 1981 and 1984 the considered surveys covered mainly countries from Western and Northern Europe as well as from North America. The only exceptions were Argentina, Japan, South Africa and South Korea. South America, Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Oceania were therefore severely underrepresented during the first EVS/WVS wave.

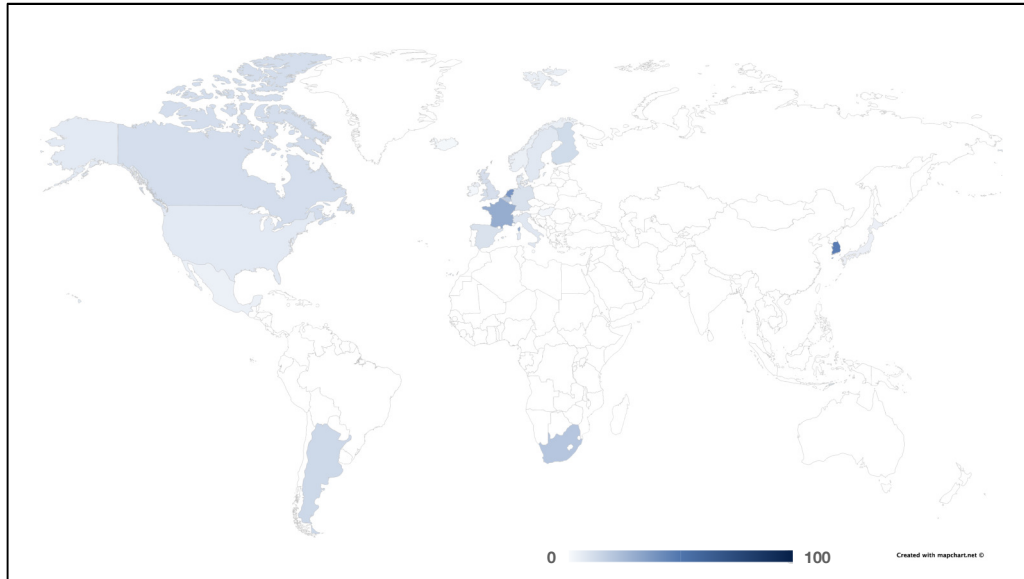
Roughly one respondent every ten do not belong to a religious denomination. In early '80s self-declared non-affiliation was more common among males than females. While in Europe 12.2% of males were nones, only 8.8% of females claimed not to be a member of a religious denomination. With 17.2% of male and 11.1% of female nones, gender differences in non-European countries were even more accentuated. Furthermore, no religion was more common among younger respondents (in particular those with less than 50 years of age) and among subjects with higher levels of education. With the exception of a slightly higher concentration of nones among young (+5.4%) and highly educated (+2.5%) respondents in Europe, European data does not deviate from the general trend. At this point, Europe was still anything but "exceptional" in terms of spread of non-affiliation or in terms of socio-demographic characteristics of nones. However, as section 5 will show, the specificity of European non-religion was already in a significantly lower level of nones' church attendance, religious beliefs and importance attributed to God in everyday life.

Tab. 1. *Percentage of nones by gender, age, education and size of town in Europe and in the rest of the world, EVS/WVS 1981-1984*

	Europe		Rest of the world		Total	
	Nones	N	Nones	N	Nones	N
Gender:						
<i>Male</i>	12.2	8,135	17.2	2,970	13.5	11,105
<i>Female</i>	8.8	8,889	11.1	3,291	9.4	12,180
Age:						
<i>29 or younger</i>	15.8	5,358	10.4	3,435	13.7	8,793
<i>30-49</i>	11.2	5,153	10.0	2,880	10.8	8,033
<i>50-64</i>	6.4	2,973	6.7	1,381	6.5	4,354
<i>65 or older</i>	5.8	2,132	4.4	802	5.4	2,934
Education:						
<i>Low</i>	8.3	4,844	13.0	2,149	9.7	6,993
<i>Mid-low</i>	11.7	2,742	10.3	816	11.4	3,558
<i>Mid-high</i>	11.5	4,800	12.9	4,390	12.1	9,190
<i>High</i>	14.8	3,158	12.3	1,696	13.9	4,854
Size of town:						
<i>Under 5,000</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>5,000-20,000</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>20,000-100,000</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>100,000-500,000</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Above 500,000</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total	10.5	18,035	12.9	9,520	11.3	27,555

As of 1984, in Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Malta, Mexico, Norway and Northern Ireland nones were less than 5% of the population. The situation in other countries was not that much different either. In fact, in 18 out of 23 participating countries, the percentage of religious nones was generally stable below 13%. At this early stage of EVS and WVS, only five countries displayed consistently higher rates of non-affiliation: Belgium (17.3%), France (28.8%), Netherlands (38.1%), South Africa (19.5%) and South Korea (46.7%).

Fig. 2. Percentage of religious nones in 23 countries as of 1984, EVS/WVS



That these five countries were home to above average numbers of religious nones is of no surprise. In Belgium associations offering secular ceremonies – in the sense of *laïcité organisée* – as an alternative to religious ones exist since late '60s. France has a long history of secularism and humanism that dates back to the French Revolution and to the law of 1905 on the separation of the Churches and the State that guarantees “freedom of conscience”. Netherlands, where both individual and organized religion were rapidly declining since '50s, was long known as one of the European strongholds of secularism. In South Africa, the religious justification of the apartheid operated by the Dutch Reformed Church contributed to social tensions. Similarly, in South Korea the relationship between religious communities and the political leaders of the newly established Fifth Republic was tense. After the arrest of father Choi Ki Shik and 10 other members of the Wonju Diocese under false accusation of assassination of Park Chung Hee, former president of the fourth republic, local media – under the control of the military government established in 1979 with the *coup d'état* – finally found their scapegoat in the Catholic Farmers' Association.

4.2. 1989-1994

With the arrival of the second wave of EVS and WVS the number of participating countries increased from 23 to 43. Between 1989 and 1994 the coverage of these two surveys improved mostly in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia while it remained limited and/or absent in Africa and Oceania. With the exception of Romania (1993), Slovenia (1992) and Taiwan (1994), the fieldwork was conducted between 1989 and 1991

– prior to the fall of Soviet Union. Since 1984 the situation in Iceland and Finland remained substantially unchanged. In South Korea, with the transition to a stable liberal democracy in 1987 that replaced the military rule of the Fifth Republic, and in South Africa, with the official announcement of plans to end the apartheid and liberation of political prisoners like Nelson Mandela, the overall socio-political context changed considerably since 1981-84. While in South Korea and South Africa the percentage of nones consistently decreased in ten years, all other countries registered a positive trend.

Tab.2. *Percentage of nones by gender, age, education and size of town in Europe and in the rest of the world, EVS/WVS 1989-1994*

	Europe		Rest of the world		Total	
	Nones	N	Nones	N	Nones	N
Gender:						
<i>Male</i>	33.2	18,850	24.8	10,156	30.3	29,006
<i>Female</i>	26.0	21,294	19.5	9,961	23.9	31,255
Age:						
<i>29 or younger</i>	36.5	10,011	22.9	6,521	31.2	16,532
<i>30-49</i>	33.4	15,599	23.4	8,624	29.8	24,223
<i>50-64</i>	22.5	8,843	19.3	3,543	21.6	12,386
<i>65 or older</i>	16.7	5,612	18.1	1,458	17.0	7,070
Education:						
<i>Low</i>	19.9	8,657	11.7	2,226	18.2	10,883
<i>Mid-low</i>	28.0	6,390	14.9	961	26.2	7,351
<i>Mid-high</i>	30.9	13,699	13.7	5,918	25.7	19,617
<i>High</i>	33.6	6,275	15.6	3,983	26.7	10,258
Size of town:						
<i>Under 5,000</i>	23.0	10,843	24.5	1,712	23.2	12,555
<i>5,000-20,000</i>	26.8	7,418	15.1	1,312	25.1	8,730
<i>20,000-100,000</i>	31.7	8,503	14.9	3,076	27.3	11,579
<i>100,000-500,000</i>	33.7	6,106	20.4	2,983	29.3	9,089
<i>Above 500,000</i>	42.2	4,763	23.0	5,449	32.0	10,212
Total	29.4	40,170	22.2	20,158	27.0	60,328

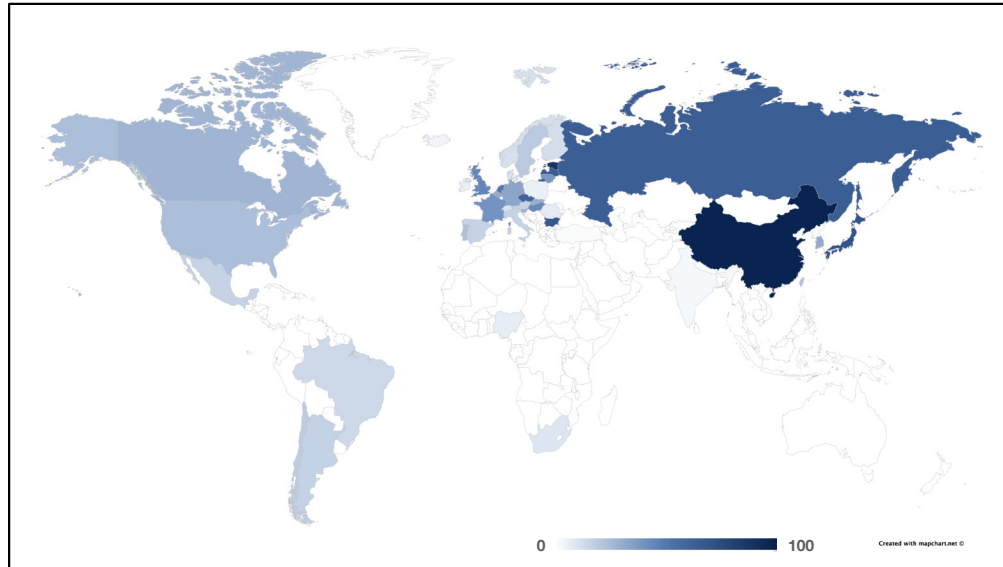
As of 1994 almost three respondents every ten fall under the religious none label. The differences between 1989-1994 on one side and 1981-1984 on the other, both in Europe and not, are striking. In part, this is explained by EVS' improved reach in East. In fact, with the exception of Poland, countries from the Eastern Bloc are characterized

by high percentages of non-affiliation. In Bulgaria (65.9%), Czech Republic (58.9%), Estonia (87.2%), Latvia (63.5%) and Russia (62.7%) non-affiliated respondents are the majority. However, the higher percentage of nones in Europe in 1994 cannot be entirely ascribed to the participation of highly secularized countries ruled by Marxist-Leninist regimes with constitutions based on the principle of State atheism. A quick glance at national trends in Western Europe is sufficient to confirm this point: in Belgium (+12.3%), Denmark (+2.7%), France (+9.7%), Germany (+22.7%), Great Britain (+33.1%), Ireland (+2.6%), Italy (+8.3%), Netherlands (+11.2%), Northern Ireland (+6.3%), Norway (+5.7%), Spain (+5.2%) and Sweden (+11.3%) the numbers of nones increased since the first wave in 1981-84 by an average of 10.9 percentage points. A similar argument is valid for WVS' expansion in Asia – in particular with reference to Russian territories, China and Taiwan – and for the growth of nones in Canada (+15.3%), Japan (+62.9%), Mexico (+11.3%) and United States (+16.5%). However, at a general level, the growth of non-affiliation in extra-European territories was hampered by a relative stability of Latin America, by the decrease of nones in both South Africa (-11.7%) and South Korea (-18.4%), and by the involvement of new countries like India, Nigeria or Turkey where non-affiliation remain a widely minoritarian phenomenon.

Since the first wave, the number of nones increased significantly. This might be because of an effective growth of no religion in the world, because of greater social acceptance of non-traditional positions in the society or both things together. Confirming previously observed trends, as of 1994 non-affiliation is more common among males than females, as well as among younger and more educated respondents. Starting from the second wave, data about the size of town are available. While in towns with less than 5,000 residents nones reach 23.2%, in cities with a population of 100,000 or more nones reach roughly 30%. This aspect is even more accentuated in Europe, where cities with 500,000 or more residents reach 42.2% of nones. Most importantly, with the exception of older respondents and smaller towns, the European data are above the average values observed elsewhere. While in 1984 Europe blended in perfectly with the rest of the observed countries, merely ten years later, and after the demolition of the Berlin wall, the Continent has begun to assume its peculiar traits.

The geographical distribution of the data reveals a higher concentration of nones in East Asia and in Europe. In 1984 almost 80% of participating countries had less than 13% of nones at a national level. In 1994, only a minority of countries display such a low level of non-affiliation. In fact, as of 1994 only 35% of countries still fall under the 13% threshold, while 49% of them already have more than 20% of nones.

Fig. 3. *Percentage of religious nones in 43 countries as of 1994, EVS/WVS*



4.3. 1999-2004

Between 1995 and 2004 EVS and WVS managed to cover Europe almost completely, with the sole exception of Kosovo and small territorial units like Principality of Monaco, Andorra or Lichtenstein. The surveys also improved their coverage in Oceania, Latin America, Middle East and Africa collecting data in 74 countries between 1999 and 2004. A total of 11 countries from previous waves did not participate to the research between 1999 and 2004: Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Georgia, Norway, Switzerland, Taiwan and Uruguay. In the above mentioned cases, the following map is based on WVS3 data collected between 1995 and 1998.

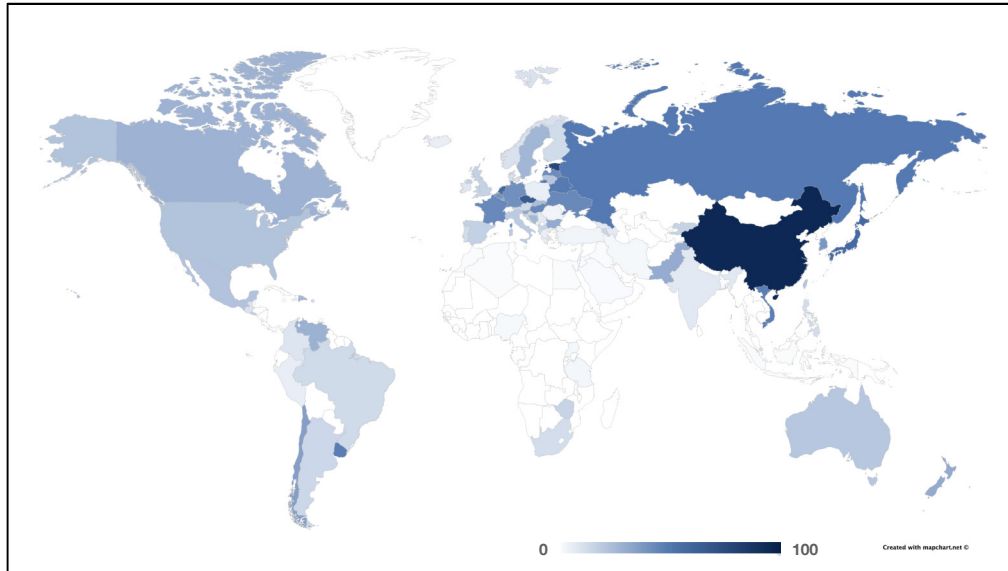
The end of the Soviet Union – which pursued the goal of state atheism – had profound socio-political and religious consequences at a global level, but mostly in Eastern Europe and in other filo-soviet countries. In these cases the non-affiliation decreased on average by 10.2 percentage points, with peaks in Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia. Furthermore, between 1999 and 2004 the research was extended to numerous countries in the Middle East and in Africa where non-affiliation is typically very low. Despite the overall reduction of nones both in Europe and in the rest of the world, the category kept actually steadily growing mostly in Western Europe and in other non-European countries like Chile, India, Mexico or Turkey where the average non-affiliation increased by 5.3 percentage points since 1994. After an initial reduction of non-affiliation in South Africa and South Korea between 1981-84 and 1989-94, the number of nones in both countries resumed slowly growing.

Tab. 3. *Percentage of nones by gender, age, education and size of town in Europe and in the rest of the world, EVS/WVS 1999-2004*

	Europe		Rest of the world		Total	
	Nones	N	Nones	N	Nones	N
Gender:						
<i>Male</i>	28.8	21,673	14.5	27,473	20.8	49,146
<i>Female</i>	22.0	25,115	11.8	28,335	16.6	53,450
Age:						
<i>29 or younger</i>	28.9	10,463	12.0	19,823	17.9	30,286
<i>30-49</i>	27.9	18,155	14.3	23,681	20.2	41,836
<i>50-64</i>	22.3	10,373	13.6	8,544	18.3	18,917
<i>65 or older</i>	17.6	7,661	10.7	3,709	15.4	11,370
Education:						
<i>Low</i>	17.5	11,163	10.8	12,706	13.9	23,869
<i>Mid-low</i>	25.2	5,511	12.4	3,572	20.2	9,083
<i>Mid-high</i>	28.3	20,339	15.4	22,784	21.5	43,123
<i>High</i>	27.8	9,363	15.0	11,415	20.8	20,778
Size of town:						
<i>Under 5,000</i>	19.8	13,539	11.1	6,272	17.1	19,811
<i>5,000-20,000</i>	22.2	8,466	10.0	5,427	17.5	13,893
<i>20,000-100,000</i>	26.9	10,093	7.7	5,260	20.3	15,353
<i>100,000-500,000</i>	32.3	7,194	15.3	4,427	25.8	11,621
<i>Above 500,000</i>	29.6	6,677	16.2	8,602	22.0	15,279
Total	25.2	46,809	13.1	55,844	18.6	102,653

While the concentration of no religion remain considerably high mostly in East Asia and Europe, quite the opposite is valid in African, Middle East and – with the exception of Australia and New Zealand – Oceanian territories where the overall percentage of non-affiliation is way below the 5% threshold. As of 2004, 47.1% of observed countries have less than 13% of nones, while 35.3% of them are above 20%.

Fig. 4. *Percentage of religious nones in 85 countries as of 2004, EVS/WVS*



4.4. 2017-2020

As of June 2020, updated information covers about 76 countries. Most recent data currently available about Algeria, Ghana, Haiti, India, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Rwanda, Singapore, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukraine, Uruguay, Uzbekistan and Yemen were collected between 2010 and 2014. The most recent participation of other 14 countries dates back to 2005-2010: Belgium, Burkina Faso, Canada, Iran, Ireland, Kosovo, Latvia, Luxembourg, Mali, Malta, Moldova, Northern Ireland, Portugal and Zambia. Finally, Dominican Republic (1996), El Salvador (1999), Israel (2001), Saudi Arabia (2003), Tanzania (2001), Uganda (2001) and Venezuela (2000) did not participate since 1996-2003. The World Values Survey Association is currently still raising funds for WVS7. The fieldwork in Algeria, Canada, India, Libya, Mongolia, Morocco, Portugal, South Africa, Venezuela, Ukraine, Uruguay and Uzbekistan is currently planned for fall 2020/spring 2021.

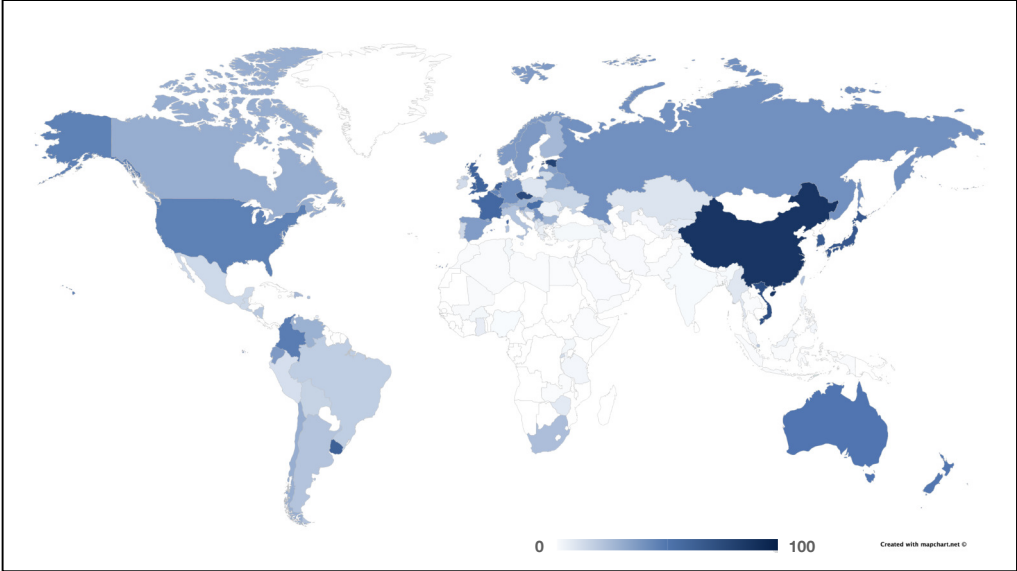
After an initial decline between 1989-1994 and 1999-2004, in the following years non-affiliation resumed to grow quickly returning to levels observed in 1989-94 and surpassing them in several countries. In Europe nones reached 30.2% tripling since the first wave and settled on 21.7% in the rest of the world. The general trends in terms of gender, age, education and size of town persist in Europe. However, age and gender differences are less accentuated and substantially irrelevant in extra-European countries. On the other side, educational and geographical differences remain consistent.

Tab.4. *Percentage of nones by gender, age, education and size of town in Europe and in the rest of the world, EVS/WVS 2017-2020*

	Europe		Rest of the world		Total	
	Nones	N	Nones	N	Nones	N
Gender:						
<i>Male</i>	33.6	29,606	22.9	31,155	28.1	60,761
<i>Female</i>	27.4	35,604	20.6	34,839	24.0	70,443
Age:						
<i>29 or younger</i>	34.6	10,034	20.9	17,377	25.9	27,411
<i>30-49</i>	34.1	19,912	21.4	26,457	26.9	46,369
<i>50-64</i>	30.4	16,234	21.6	14,898	26.2	31,132
<i>65 or older</i>	26.5	14,892	23.2	7,022	25.5	21,914
Education:						
<i>Low</i>	21.7	3,675	12.0	11,874	14.4	15,551
<i>Mid-low</i>	24.6	10,130	18.5	10,297	21.7	20,429
<i>Mid-high</i>	29.8	28,512	21.8	23,016	26.5	51,531
<i>High</i>	34.5	22,248	26.7	18,857	31.6	41,106
Size of town:						
<i>Under 5,000</i>	22.4	16,541	5.6	13,588	14.8	30,129
<i>5,000-20,000</i>	25.6	12,646	7.7	9,737	17.8	22,383
<i>20,000-100,000</i>	29.0	13,269	24.5	12,752	26.8	26,021
<i>100,000-500,000</i>	34.3	9,971	30.4	10,862	32.2	20,833
<i>Above 500,000</i>	38.1	6,531	33.4	15,224	34.8	21,755
Total	30.2	65,277	21.7	66,033	25.9	131,310

Religious nones represent the majority in 12 out of the 76 countries that participated between 2017 and 2020, in descending order: China (86.8%), Estonia (78.9%), Czech Republic (74.7%), Vietnam (72.1%), Hong Kong (70.0%), Macau (67.9%), Japan (66.1%), South Korea (64.0%), Netherlands (61.3%), Great Britain (59.3%), France (57.1%) and Hungary (54.1%). Other countries like Australia (49.5%), Colombia (46.5%), New Zealand (48.8%) or United States (45.3%) are slowly approaching this threshold. While nones remain mostly concentrated in Europe and East Asia, with Americas and Australasia progressively growing, the situation in Africa, Middle East, Central Asia and South East Asia appear rather different.

Fig. 5. Percentage of religious nones in 112 countries as of 2020, EVS/WVS

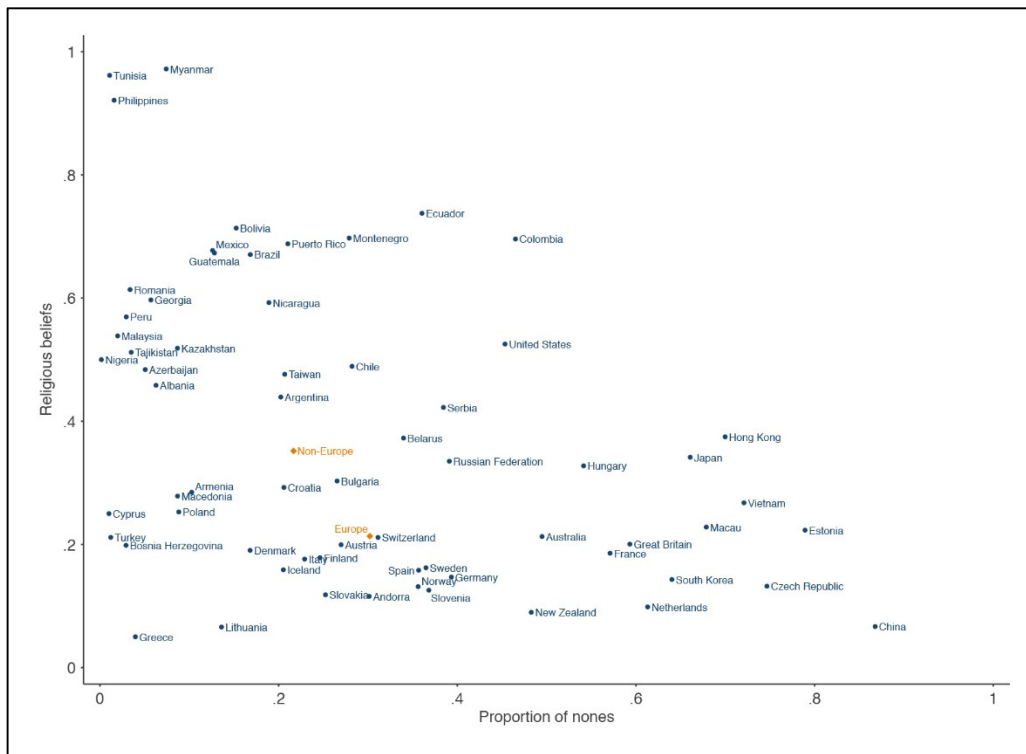


5. RELIGIOUS NONES AND RELIGIOSITY

The sheer growth of religious nones as a category between 1981 and 2020 is an undeniable fact. Nonetheless, as highlighted by Vernon (1968), non-affiliation is not always and not only about irreligion. In this section the focus will shift to the religiosity of nones in 2017-2020, for additional figures for 1981-84, 1989-94 and 1999-04 see Appendix C. Following Cornwall and colleagues (1986), religiosity will be distinguished in three components or dimensions: beliefs in God and in hell that form the cognitive dimension, practices – specifically the attendance of religious services outside of christenings, weddings and funerals – that form the behavioral dimension and the importance of God in respondent’s everyday life that form the affective dimension. All three components were normalized to range between a minimum of 0 and a maximum of 1.

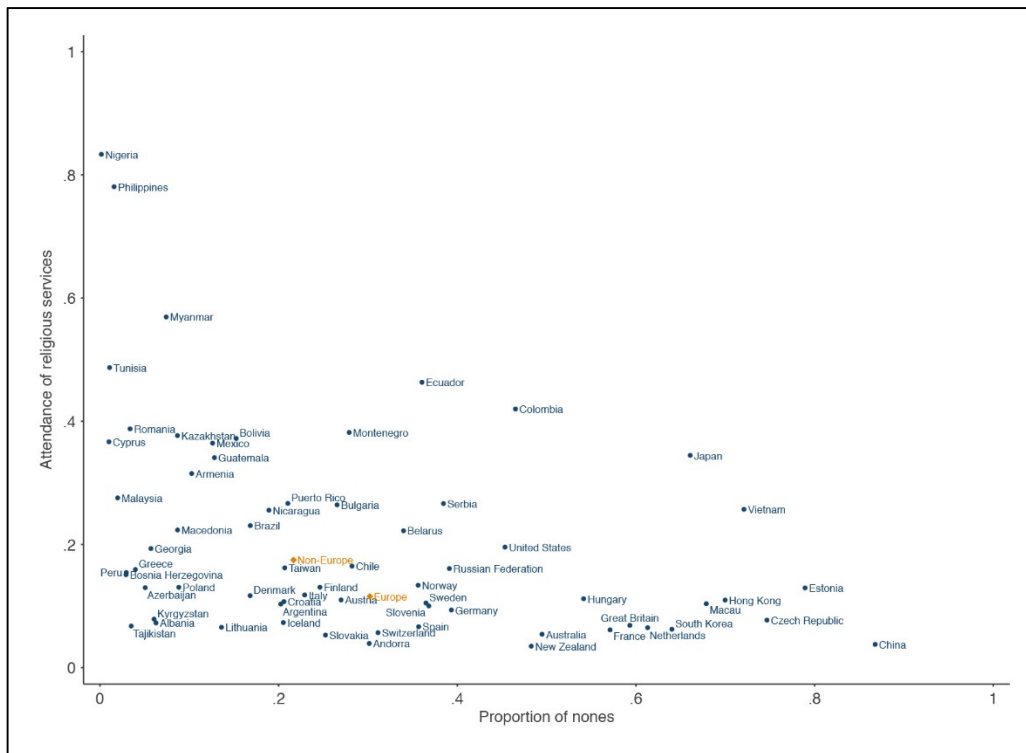
In national samples collected in Bangladesh, Egypt, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Thailand and Zimbabwe none of the 2017-2020 respondents claimed to be religious nones. This does not necessarily mean that non-affiliation does not exist in these countries, but it indicates that its spread – or at least its public manifestation – is very limited.

Fig. 6. *Nones’ average religious beliefs by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 2017-2020*



As of 2020, the average score on the cognitive dimension achieved by affiliated respondents is 0.65 in Europe and 0.84 in the rest of the world. Unsurprisingly their respective means are considerably higher than those of nones shown in Fig. 6. Nonetheless, the average values of affiliated respondents highlight surprisingly high levels of religious beliefs (in God and hell) among nones in certain countries. In Myanmar (0.97), Philippines (0.92) and Tunisia (0.96) nones' average is above 0.8 and a considerable number of countries – like Bolivia (0.71), Brazil (0.67), Colombia (0.70), Ecuador (0.74), Guatemala (0.67), Mexico (0.68), Montenegro (0.70), Puerto Rico (0.69) or Romania (0.61) – score between 0.6 and 0.8. While in Myanmar, Philippines and Tunisia nones remain under 10%, in countries like Colombia (46.5%), Ecuador (36.1%) or Montenegro (27.9%) non-affiliation is far from being just a minoritarian phenomenon.

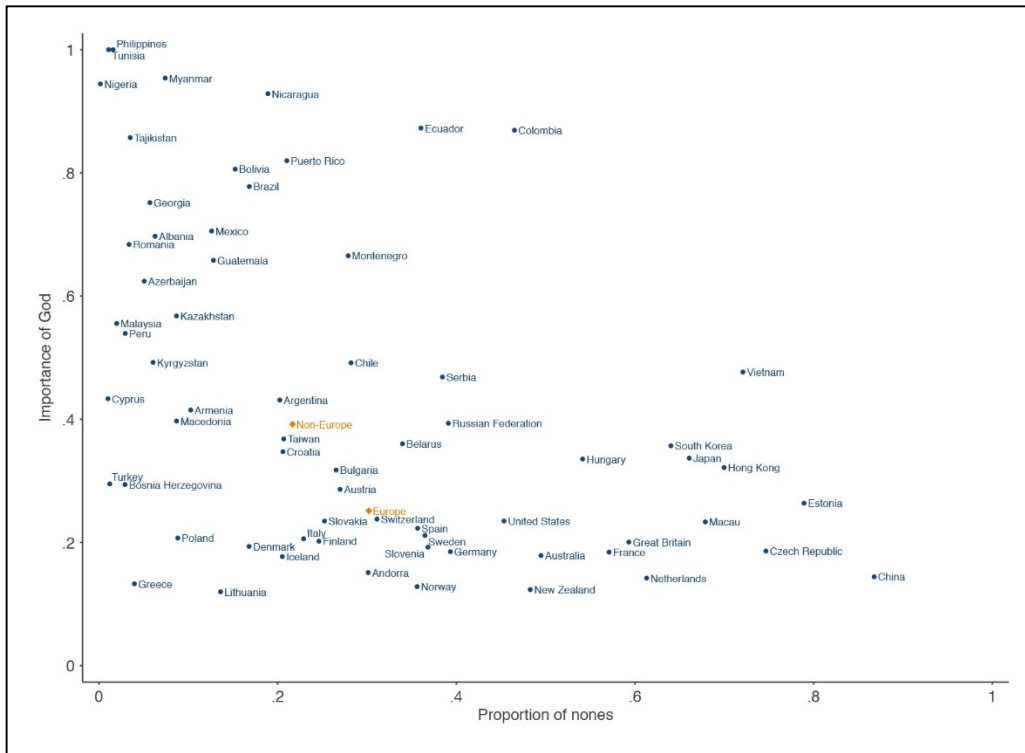
Fig. 7. *Nones' average attendance of religious services by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 2017-2020*



At a first glance the situation in terms of attendance of religious services is quite different, with only two countries scoring above 0.6 and the rest of them occupying the bottom half of the figure. However, this indicator is significantly lower also among affiliated respondents: 0.45 in Europe and 0.58 in the rest of the world. Therefore, on aver-

age, affiliated religionists attend religious services roughly once a month. In comparison to these values it becomes evident that the 0.83 registered in Nigeria and the 0.78 registered in Philippines are really high for religious nones. Also other countries like Colombia (0.42), Ecuador (0.46), Myanmar (0.57) or Tunisia (0.49) display national means that can easily match average values observed among affiliated respondents.

Fig. 8. Average importance of God in nones' everyday life by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 2017-2020



The distribution of countries in the space when considering the importance of God is very similar to the one observed for religious beliefs. Average values of affiliated respondents are 0.67 in Europe and 0.85 in the remaining countries. With overall scores between 0.8 and maximum (where 0 means “not at all important” and 1 “very important”), as of 2020, in several Latin American, African and Asian countries like Bolivia (0.81), Colombia (0.87), Ecuador (0.87), Myanmar (0.95), Nicaragua (0.93), Nigeria (0.94), Philippines (1.00), Puerto Rico (0.82), Tajikistan (0.86) and Tunisia (1.00) religious nones attribute an extremely high importance to God in their everyday life reaching levels analogous to those achieved by affiliated respondents. Albania (0.70), Azerbaijan (0.72), Brazil (0.78), Georgia (0.75), Guatemala (0.66), Mexico (0.71), Montenegro (0.67) and Romania (0.68) follow shortly after.

Generally speaking, the data evidence a clear negative correlation between each of the considered indicators of religiosity and the spread of non-affiliation. In 1981-84 Europe was not that much different from non-European countries in terms of diffusion of non-affiliation. Nonetheless, the figures in Appendix C show that at the time European nones were considerably more secularized than their non-European counterparts in terms of attendance, beliefs and importance attributed to God. Over time this difference between Europe and the rest of the world decreased in all three dimensions of religiosity. While religiosity of European nones remained substantially stable in time, it decreased in the remaining countries resulting in a reduction of the gap. While differences in attendance became almost negligible at a substantive level – only in Nigeria and Philippines the average attendance of nones is above 0.6 – European nones remain significantly more secularized when it comes to religious beliefs and importance of God in their life.

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Non-affiliation is progressively becoming a widespread phenomenon with Europe, East Asia, North America and Australasia being the leading geographical areas in its diffusion. 25.9% of 2017-2020 respondents do not belong to any religious denomination – with 30.2% in Europe and 21.7% in non-European territories. In several countries nones already constitute a solid majority, with others slowly approaching a similar scenario. Europe is characterized by higher numbers of non-affiliation and by a significantly lower level of religiosity of nones when compared with the remaining countries. There are consistent between-country differences and similarities with affiliated respondents that require further research.

Religious nones cannot be considered a homogeneous residual category for much longer. Future research should focus on intra-group differences in an attempt to unravel the skein of non-affiliation and develop alternative classification strategies without necessarily neglecting religiosity of certain sub-categories of nones. In doing so, more attention should be dedicated to the emergence of humanist organizations aiming at representing religious nones. To further improve our understanding of this peculiar category it will also be necessary to extend the range of considered beliefs and positions in order to allow respondents to better express various supernatural, antireligious and secular worldviews. Furthermore, in order to evaluate the effective extent and the characteristics of religious bricolage among nones, it would be advisable to include more indicators capable of capturing beliefs and values specific to different religious denominations.

The focus on unaffiliated respondents is not just a matter of empirical and theoretical interest internal to sociology of religion. Following the public consultation opened by the European Commission in matter of a sustainable human-centric Artificial Intelligence, FBK-ISR (2020b) answered the call underlying the importance of the role that religious and non-religious belief minorities can play in the making of an “ecosystem of excellence” and an “ecosystem of trust”. To pursue value alignment in the development of AI, a deeper knowledge of values and attitudes of various belief organizations will be of crucial importance. In this sense, a fundamental question is: alignment to what? Recent studies showed that algorithms can incorporate biases based on gender or ethnicity. And what about religion? The idea of value alignment in a context of conflicting values is troublesome and poses challenges of its own when it comes to potential discriminations in the Petabyte Age (see Balazka and Rodighiero, 2020). Critical questions in sociology of religion thus overlap with upcoming issues faced by policy-makers in the rapidly evolving field of AI and Big Data. This convergence underline the importance of a multidisciplinary and critical approach to religion and innovation for social, political and technological development of trustworthy AI.

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APPENDIX

A. Participant countries

Tab. A. Countries by their participation in EVS and/or WVS waves as of June 2020

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Albania					X		X	X			X	
Algeria							X			X		
Andorra									X			X
Argentina		X ^a		X	X		X		X	X		X
Armenia					X			X		X	X	
Australia		X			X				X	X		X
Austria			X			X		X			X	
Azerbaijan					X			X ^b		X	X	
Bangladesh					X		X					X
Belarus				X ^a	X	X		X		X	X	
Belgium	X		X			X		X				
Bolivia												X
Bosnia and Herzegovina					X		X	X			X	
Brazil				X	X				X	X		X
Bulgaria			X		X	X		X	X		X	
Burkina Faso									X			
Canada	X		X				X		X			
Chile				X	X		X		X	X		X
China				X	X ^a		X		X	X		X
Colombia					X				X	X		X
Croatia					X	X		X			X	
Cyprus								X	X	X		X
Czech Rep.			X	X	X	X		X			X	
Denmark	X		X			X		X			X	
Dominican Rep.					X							
Ecuador										X		X
Egypt							X		X	X ^a		X
El Salvador					X							
Estonia			X		X	X		X		X	X	
Ethiopia									X			X
Finland		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	

^a Data about religious affiliation not available.

^b Excluded from the analysis for violations of methodological standards.

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
France	x		x			x		x	x		x	
Georgia					x			x	x	x	x	
Germany	x ^c		x		x	x		x	x	x		x ^d
Ghana									x	x		
Great Britain	x		x		x ^a	x		x	x		x	
Greece						x		x			x ^b	x
Guatemala									x			x
Haiti										x		
Hong Kong									x	x		x
Hungary		x	x		x	x		x	x		x	
Iceland	x		x			x		x			x	
India				x	x		x		x	x		
Indonesia							x		x			x
Iran							x		x			
Iraq							x		x	x		x
Ireland	x		x			x		x				
Israel							x					
Italy	x		x			x		x	x		x	
Japan		x		x	x		x		x	x		x
Jordan							x		x	x		x
Kazakhstan										x		x
Kosovo								x				
Kuwait										x ^a		
Kyrgyzstan							x			x		x
Latvia			x		x	x		x				
Lebanon										x		x
Libya										x		
Lithuania			x		x	x		x			x	
Luxembourg						x		x				
Macau												x
Macedonia					x		x	x			x	
Malaysia									x	x		x
Mali									x			
Malta	x		x			x		x				
Mexico		x		x	x		x		x	x		x

^a Data about religious affiliation not available.

^b Excluded from the analysis for violations of methodological standards.

^c West Germany in EVS 1981-84.

^d Split sample following the Memorandum of Understandings signed by EVS and WVS.

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Moldova					X		X	X	X			
Montenegro					X		X	X			X	
Morocco							X		X	X		
Myanmar												X
Netherlands	X		X			X		X	X	X	X	
New Zealand					X				X	X		X
Nicaragua												X
Nigeria				X	X		X			X		X
Northern Ireland	X		X			X		X				
Norway	X		X		X			X	X		X	
Pakistan					X		X			X		X
Palestine										X		
Peru					X		X		X	X		X
Philippines					X		X			X		X
Poland			X	X ^a	X	X		X	X	X	X	
Portugal			X			X		X				
Puerto Rico					X		X					X
Qatar										X ^a		
Romania			X		X	X		X	X	X		X ^d
Russia				X	X	X		X	X	X		X ^d
Rwanda									X	X		
Saudi Arabia							X					
Serbia					X		X	X	X		X	X
Singapore							X			X		
Slovak Rep.			X	X	X	X		X			X	
Slovenia			X		X	X		X	X	X	X	
South Africa		X		X	X		X		X	X		
South Korea		X		X	X		X		X	X		X
Spain	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Sweden	X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	
Switzerland				X	X			X	X		X	
Taiwan					X				X	X		X
Tajikistan												X
Tanzania							X					
Thailand									X	X		X

^a Data about religious affiliation not available.

^d Split sample following the Memorandum of Understandings signed by EVS and WVS.

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Trinidad and Tobago									X	X		
Tunisia										X		X
Turkey			X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Uganda							X					
Ukraine					X	X		X	X	X		
United States	X		X		X		X		X	X		X
Uruguay					X				X	X		
Uzbekistan										X		
Venezuela					X		X					
Vietnam							X		X			X
Yemen										X		
Zambia									X			
Zimbabwe							X			X		X

B. Non-religion in 112 countries between 1981 and 2020

Tab. B. *Percentage of religious nones in 112 countries by wave, EVS/WVS 1981-2020*

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Albania					1.2		13.0	30.3				6.3
Algeria							0.0			0.0		
Andorra									41.2			30.1
Argentina		12.8		15.6	13.8		13.1		15.9	21.7		20.2
Armenia					13.5			5.3		6.1	10.3	
Australia		.			19.2				38.1	42.5		49.5
Austria			14.5			12.4		17.0				27.0
Azerbaijan					6.0			.		1.5	5.1	
Bangladesh					0.1		0.1					0.0
Belarus				.	35.3	47.8		28.5		13.4	34.0	
Belgium	17.3		29.6			35.4		43.3				
Bolivia												15.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina					29.4		24.7	22.9				2.7
Brazil				11.7	11.9				12.2	14.3		16.8
Bulgaria			65.9		33.4	29.8		25.4	14.4			26.6
Burkina Faso									1.1			
Canada	10.8		26.1				26.6		28.5			
Chile				18.0	12.2		33.9		21.9	23.5		28.2
China				96.5	.		93.9		89.0	85.2		86.8
Colombia					8.3				13.2	21.4		46.5
Croatia					12.5	13.2		15.8				20.6
Cyprus								1.5	4.0	6.6		1.0
Czech Rep.			60.3	55.8	55.8	64.5		69.4				74.7
Denmark	5.8		8.5			10.0		12.0				16.8
Dominican Rep.					24.0							
Ecuador										23.5		36.1
Egypt							0.0		0.0	.		0.0
El Salvador					16.0							
Estonia			87.2		72.7	75.7		66.1		64.9	78.9	
Ethiopia									0.5			0.0
Finland		11.6	11.1		11.8	11.7		23.6	13.8			24.6
France	28.8		38.5			42.5		48.8	50.0			57.1
Georgia					6.3			1.5	1.5	0.8		5.7
Germany	9.3		32.0		48.8	39.6		46.1	42.8	46.4		39.3

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Ghana									0.0	4.6		
Great Britain	10.2		43.3		.	15.0		41.9	49.0		59.3	
Greece						4.0		3.1			.	4.0
Guatemala									9.1			12.8
Haiti										0.0		
Hong Kong									72.9	68.6		70.0
Hungary		1.9	41.8		21.8	42.1		46.5	29.7		54.1	
Iceland	1.1		2.1			4.4		8.0			20.5	
India			1.0	3.4		6.7		3.0	0.4			
Indonesia						0.0		0.4				0.0
Iran						1.1		0.6				
Iraq						0.0		0.0	0.0			0.0
Ireland	1.3		3.9			6.9		11.4				
Israel						0.0						
Italy	7.1		15.4			17.8		19.4	12.0		22.9	
Japan		3.6	66.5	61.0		55.6		61.5	56.8		66.1	
Jordan						0.0		0.0	0.0		0.0	
Kazakhstan										20.3		8.7
Kosovo								8.2				
Kuwait										.		
Kyrgyzstan						14.9				2.3		6.1
Latvia			63.5	39.7	40.7			33.7				
Lebanon										0.0		0.0
Libya										0.0		
Lithuania			36.7	13.5	19.4			13.9			13.6	
Luxembourg						29.9		29.6				
Macau												67.9
Macedonia					27.9		14.1	6.9			8.2	
Malaysia									1.5	1.5		2.0
Mali									0.3			
Malta	0.0		2.5			1.3		2.1				
Mexico		3.9	15.2	23.0		20.6		17.2	18.0			12.6
Moldova				15.3		0.0	6.4	2.2				
Montenegro				5.5		2.9	41.2				28.0	
Morocco						0.0		0.0	0.0			
Myanmar												7.4
Netherlands	38.1		49.3			55.0		47.4	43.1	63.9	61.3	
New Zealand				16.8					29.5	33.2		48.8
Nicaragua												18.9

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Nigeria			5.3		1.7		0.7			10.4		0.2
Northern Ireland	3.2		9.5			15.6		19.3				
Norway	4.1		9.8		9.3			21.0	32.1		35.6	
Pakistan					2.5		29.2			0.0		0.0
Palestine										0.0		
Peru					7.1		4.7		11.4	10.4		2.9
Philippines					0.1		11.0			10.2		1.6
Poland			3.7		3.2	4.6		4.5	2.1	5.0	8.8	
Portugal			21.4			11.4		13.0				
Puerto Rico					18.7		11.3					21.0
Qatar												
Romania			5.9		0.0	2.4		2.0	0.4	1.3	3.4	
Russia			62.7		45.6	48.1		36.0	36.7	27.0	39.1	
Rwanda									2.0	11.2		
Saudi Arabia							0.2					
Serbia					18.6		6.0	30.4	3.7		38.5	6.9
Singapore							11.2			19.0		
Slovak Rep.			28.2	20.8	13.2	23.1		19.7			25.3	
Slovenia			26.4		23.3	30.0		28.5	27.3	29.4	36.8	
South Africa		19.5		7.8	10.4		11.0		14.9	18.6		
South Korea		46.7		28.3	39.1		36.8		28.8	41.1		64.0
Spain	9.4		13.9	16.0	13.8	18.0	15.8	24.2	18.3	23.6	35.7	
Sweden	6.9		18.2		7.8	25.3		32.0	25.0	34.8	36.5	
Switzerland			8.6		0.0			26.8	19.5		31.1	
Taiwan					20.9				27.9	22.8		20.7
Tajikistan												3.5
Tanzania							1.7					
Thailand									0.1	0.4		0.0
Trinidad and Tobago									5.7	7.1		
Tunisia										0.0		1.1
Turkey			0.0		21.8	2.3	2.5	1.1	1.0	1.0		1.2
Uganda							1.1					
Ukraine					33.9	42.1		22.6	27.9	14.3		
United States	6.2		22.7		19.4		20.9		26.2	31.0		45.3
Uruguay					46.7				55.0	61.1		
Uzbekistan										0.6		
Venezuela					7.7		27.1					

	1981-84		1990-94		1995-98	1999-04		2005-10		2010-14	2017-20	
	EVS1	WVS1	EVS2	WVS2	WVS3	EVS3	WVS4	EVS4	WVS5	WVS6	EVS5	WVS7
Vietnam						46.3			20.6			72.1
Yemen										0.0		
Zambia									5.5			
Zimbabwe						15.0				6.2		0.0

C. Religiosity and non-affiliation prior to 2017

Fig. C1. *Nones' average religious beliefs by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1981-1984*

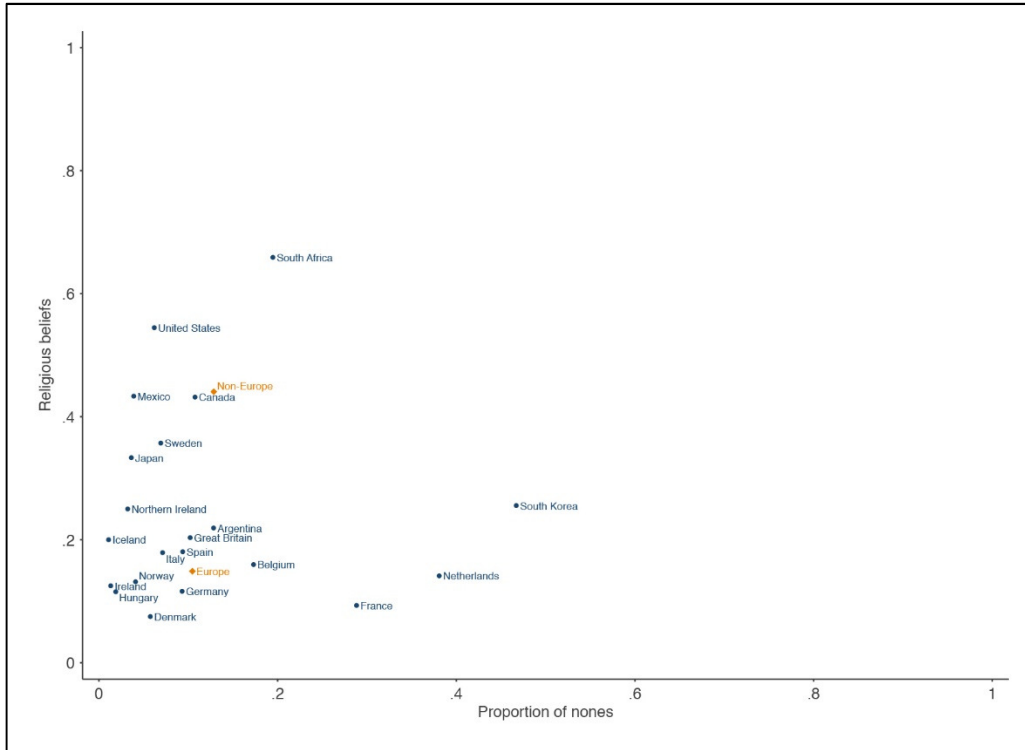


Fig. C2. *Nones' average religious beliefs by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1989-1994*

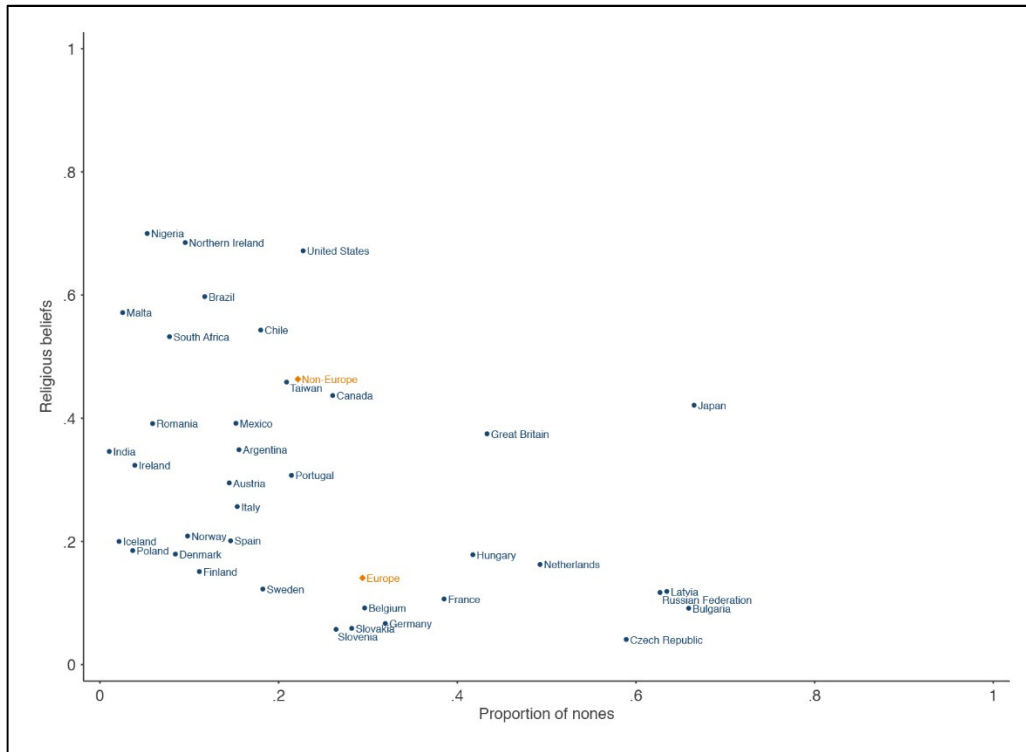


Fig. C3. *Nones' average religious beliefs by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1999-2004*

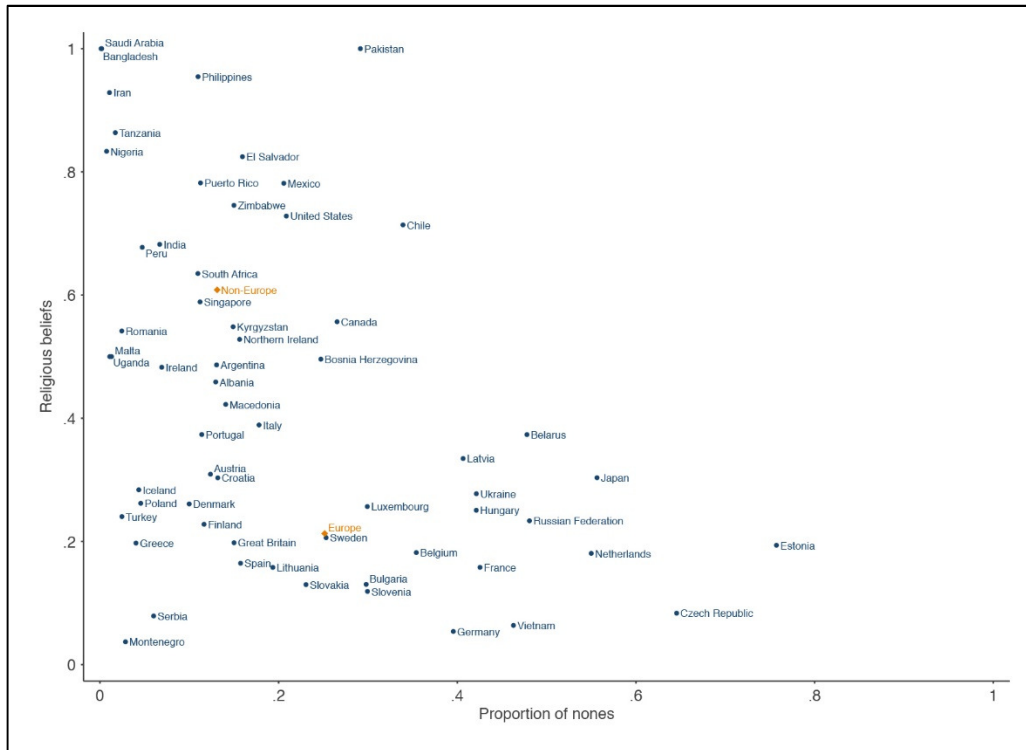


Fig. C4. *Nones' average attendance of religious services by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1981-1984*

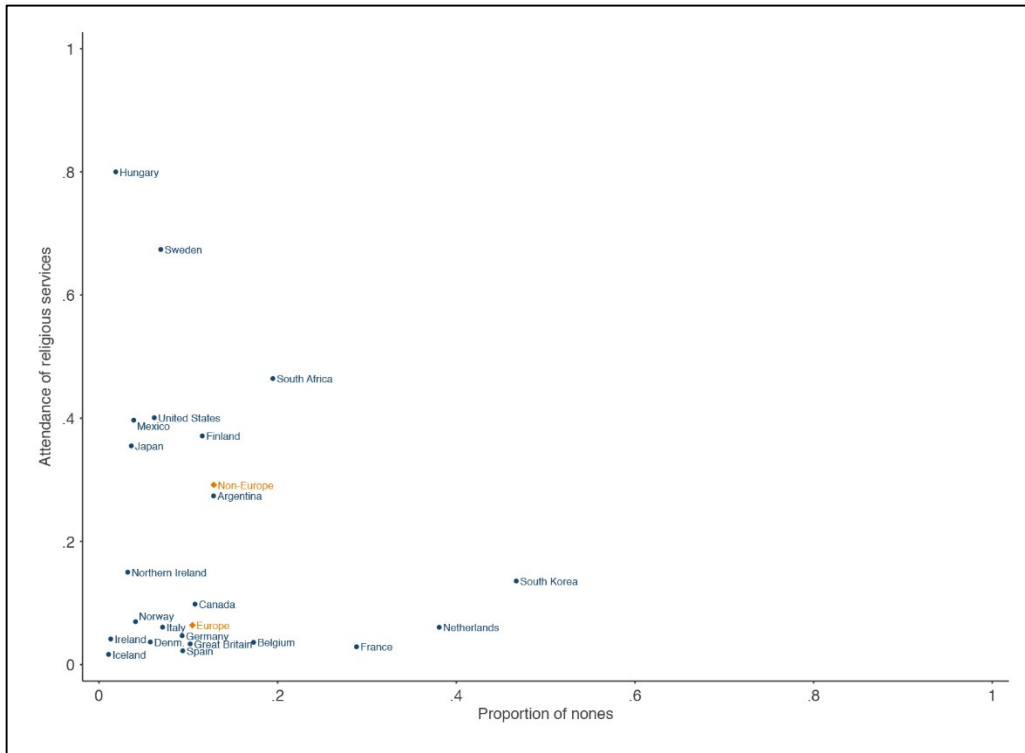


Fig. C5. *Nones' average attendance of religious services by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1989-1994*

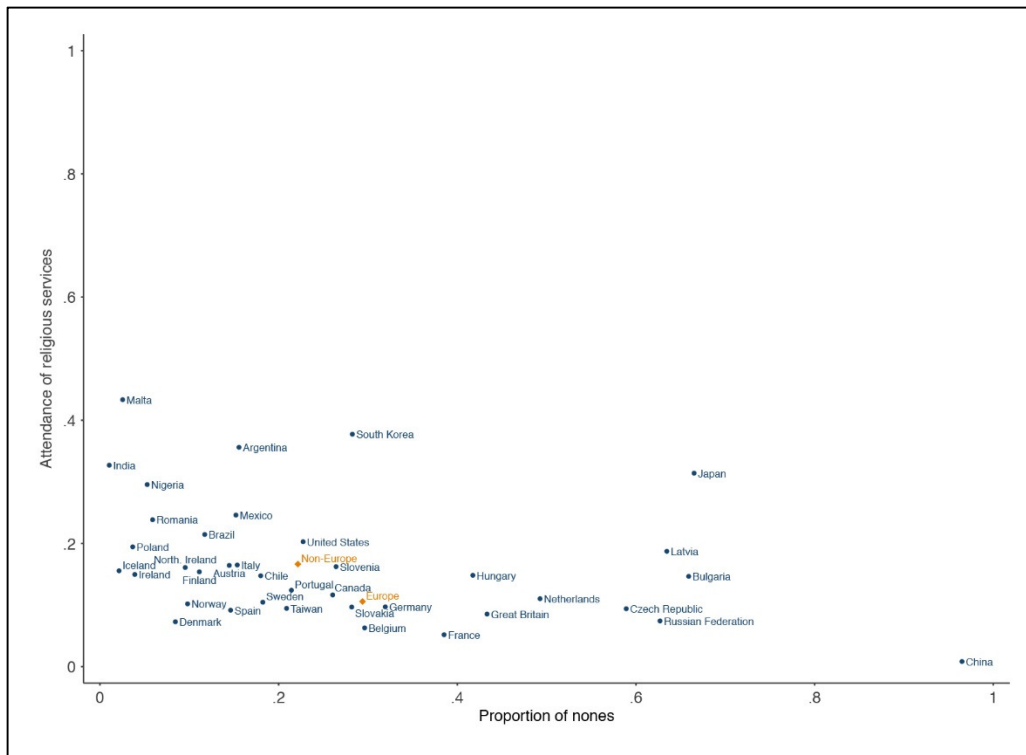


Fig. C6. *Nones' average attendance of religious services by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1999-2004*

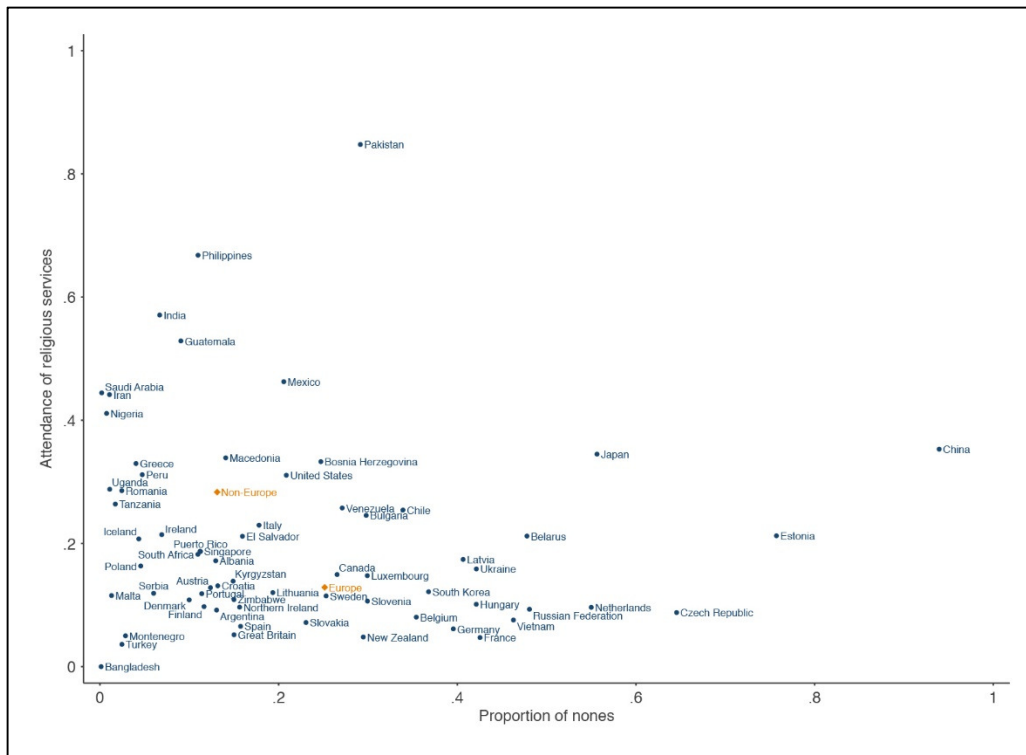


Fig. C7. Average importance of God in nones' everyday life by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1981-1984

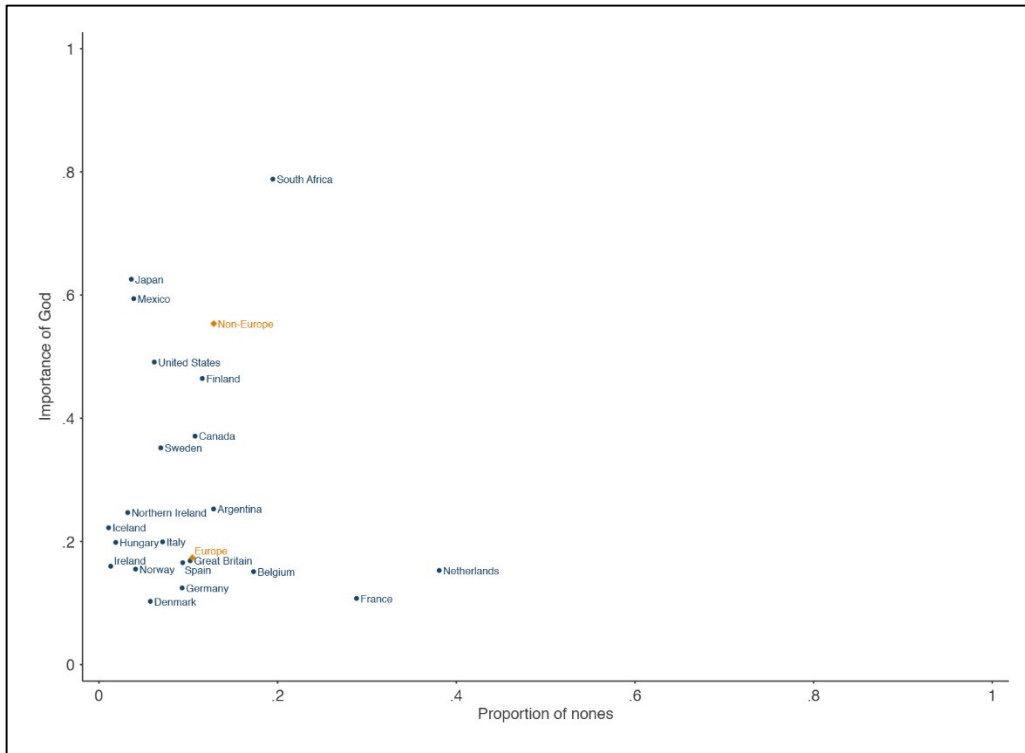


Fig. C8. Average importance of God in nones' everyday life by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1981-1984

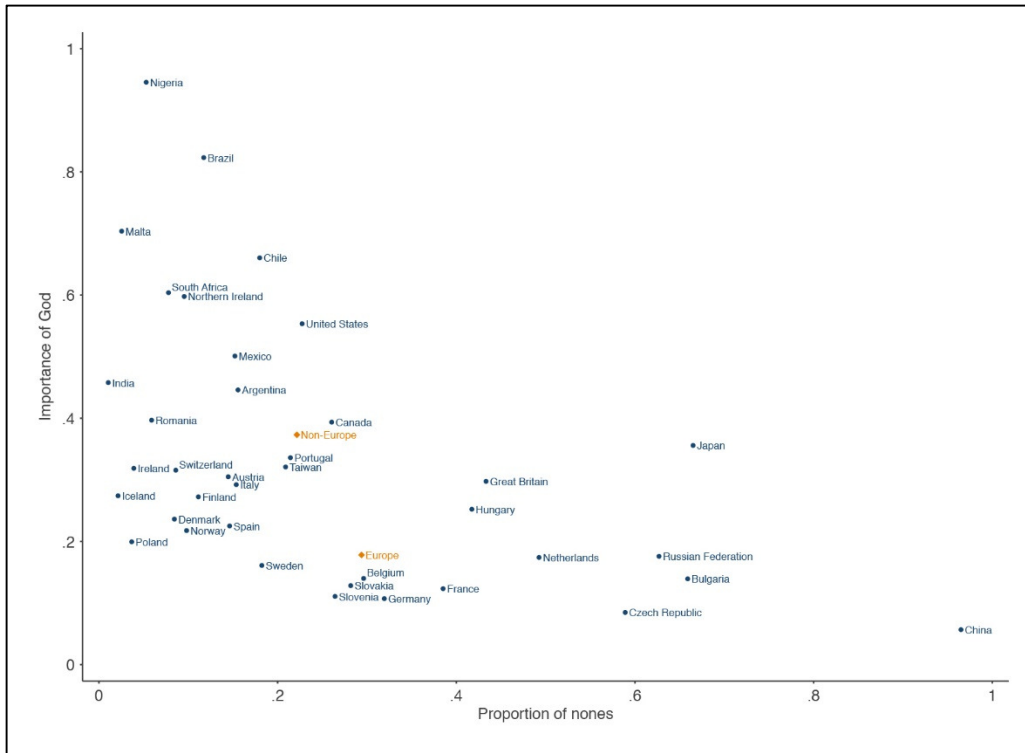


Fig. C9. Average importance of God in nones' everyday life by spread of non-affiliation, EVS/WVS 1999-2004

