

On the Future of Religion and Church in Europe.

An interim report on the online survey.

Paul M. Zulehner Vienna, 31.3.2026

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Foreword

In 1997 and 2007, representative studies in Eastern (Central) Europe were carried out by the Pastoral Forum e.V. association. In 1997, they initially took place in ten countries: East Germany, Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Hungary. In 2007, the list of countries was supplemented by four more Orthodox cultures: Bulgaria, Moldova, Serbia and Belarus. The results were not only published for individual countries, initially for the 1997 survey

¹; an overall assessment of the ², then for both surveys, namely 1997 and 2007 ³. In this way, the development could be followed over twenty years. Accompanied by a series of symposia, the data evaluated and interpreted

⁴ with experts from Eastern (Central) Europe were

⁵.

This large-scale research project with the logo "Aufbruch" (Awakening) dealt with the double question: How did the churches of Eastern (Central) Europe position themselves under communism and what challenge did the reunification and the associated necessity bring to these churches to reposition themselves in the young reform democracies?

Now almost two decades have passed since 2007. This prompted two protagonists of the two previous breakthrough studies, András Máté-Tóth and me, to think about a new follow-up study. On the one hand, the tried and tested research design of the 1997/2007 studies was to be used. On the other hand, two other current issues should be addressed:

- How have the countries of Eastern and Western Europe developed in comparison since the fall of the Berlin Wall? The 2023 European Assembly of Churches in Prague, convened as part of the World Synod of the Catholic Church, brought significant differences, even tensions, between churches in Western Europe and in the United States.

¹ Gabriel, Karl / Pilvousek, Josef / Wilke, Andrea / Tomka, Miklós / Wollbold, Andreas: Religion and Churches in East(beta=Central)Europe: Germany-East, Ostfildern 2003. - - Prudky, Libor / Aracic, Pero with Nikodem, Krunoslav and Sanjek, Franjo / Tomka, Miklós / Zdaniewicz, Witold: Religion and Churches in East(beta=Central)Europe: Czech Republic, Croatia, Poland, Ostfildern 2001. - Tomka, Miklós / Maslauskaitė, Aušra with Navickas, Andrius, Toš, Niko and Potocnik, Vinko; Religion and Churches in Eastern (beta=Middle) Europe: Hungary, Lithuania, Slovenia, Ostfildern 2001.

² Tomka, Miklós / Zulehner, Paul M.: Religion in den Reformländer Ost(beta=Mittel)Europas, Ostfildern 1999. Tomka, Miklós / Zulehner, Paul M.: Religion im gesellschaftlichen Kontext Ost(beta=Mittel)Europas, Ostfildern 2000.

³ Zulehner, Paul M./Tomka, Miklós/Naletova, Inna: Religions and Churches in Eastern (beta=Central) Europe. Ten Years after the Fall of the Wall, Ostfildern 2008. - Tomka, Miklós: Expanding religion. Religious Revival in Post- communist Central and Eastern Europe, Boston 2011.

⁴ Zulehner, Paul M./ Máté-Tóth, András: On the way to a pastoral theology in post-communist countries. Documentation and analysis. First Symposium of Pastoral Theologians from Post-Communist Countries of Europe in Alsopahok (beta=Hungary) from 28.9 to 1.10.1997, Vienna 1998.

⁵ Máté-Tóth, András / Miklušcák, Pavel: Church on the Move. On Pastoral Development in Eastern (beta=Central) Europe - A Qualitative Study, 2001. - Máté-Tóth, András / Miklušcák, Pavel: Not like milk and honey. Towards a Pastoral Theology of Eastern (beta=Central) Europe, 2000. - Máté-Tóth, András: Theology in Eastern (beta=Central) Europe. Approaches and Traditions, 2002.

Eastern Europe. There was talk of a kind of "ecclesiastical iron curtain" ⁶ or "spiritual wall" ⁷ . Since a complete comparison of all countries seems too costly, carefully selected denominationally related countries from East and West will be compared: atheizing, confessionally mixed, Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic cultures.

- The new study will focus on the much-discussed development of religion and church in Europe. This aspect is already obvious because the continuation of the planned survey to the studies of 1997 and 2007 will extend the long-term study by almost two decades. This allows us to look back on the socio-religious development of almost half a century. A new survey can provide data on the following questions that are being discussed with emotion: Is the "secularization" initially diagnosed by many for the "modernized" West also spreading to Eastern Europe? Could it be that the "Western secularization trend" linked to modernization is expanding to Eastern Europe ⁸ , but at the same time the development in Western Europe itself seems to be becoming unstable? Isolated events such as the increasing number of adult baptisms, the unexpected turn of young people to "religion", admittedly often in connection with politically "right-wing" movements, are now unsettling the secularization prognosis that was considered certain. This raises the question of whether there are reliable indications, empirically proven, to become more sure-footed with regard to the prognosis of socio-religious development in Europe – East and West.

Procedure

András Máté-Tóth and I agreed on the methodological design of this project. First, hypotheses were formulated. A preliminary questionnaire was then to be created from the pool of previous studies, but also from the "new" question fields. We then found it extremely helpful to test this draft with its many questions in an online survey. This survey on the net should also be used to obtain stimulating material from many participants on the following open question:

⁶ "It must not be the case that after the fall of the political Iron Curtain, an ecclesiastical Iron Curtain remains in place or is erected anew." Hemmerle, Klaus: Die Kirchen in der Verantwortung für das gemeinsame Haus Europa, in: Thomas, Josef (beta=Hrsg.): Brückenschlag nach Osteuropa. Gründungs und Auftrag von Renovabis, Aachen 1993, 23– 34. von der Fokolar-Bewegung, Munich/Zurich/Vienna 2012, 82ff.

⁷ Huber, Wolfgang: Die evangelische Kirche im Prozess der deutschen Einheit, in: Gierke, Siegfried (beta=ed.): Zehn Jahre kirchliche Einheit. Eine Bilanz, Leipzig 2000, 45– 58.

⁸ The development in Russia is mostly ignored. According to studies by St. Tikhon University in Moscow, the proportion of Russians increased dramatically after the fall of communism. It is said to be around 80%. The ritual of "taking communion" on Sundays and confessing to a priest beforehand would only be followed by 4%. Orthodox is obviously understood more nationally than religious. This also explains why St. Tikhon has dedicated itself to the task of narrowing this gap in several research projects.

Here is space where you can give us your thoughts on the topic. It is about how you assess the future of the religion(s) and the church(s). Is the development moving in the direction of de-Christianization? Will Europe become God-free? Do you have experiences or information about counter-trends of a "de-secularization" (Peter L. Berger) of secularized cultures? What do you think of the theory that a sufficiently saturated development can turn into the opposite? Could it be that the increasing individualism is tipping over into a new solidarity? That young people are looking for physically tangible community from the loneliness of their Tik-Tok bubble?

Based on the results of the online survey, the questionnaire will then be drawn up that will be used in representative surveys in the selected countries. The survey will be preceded by committed fundraising.

The data then collected will be examined and interpreted. Expert discussions with selected people from science, churches and social life can deepen the interpretation. The results are also to be prepared for the church leaders. Ideally, a symposium of the CCEE could deal with the results and interpretations.

This report is about the presentation and interpretation of the results of the online pilot study.

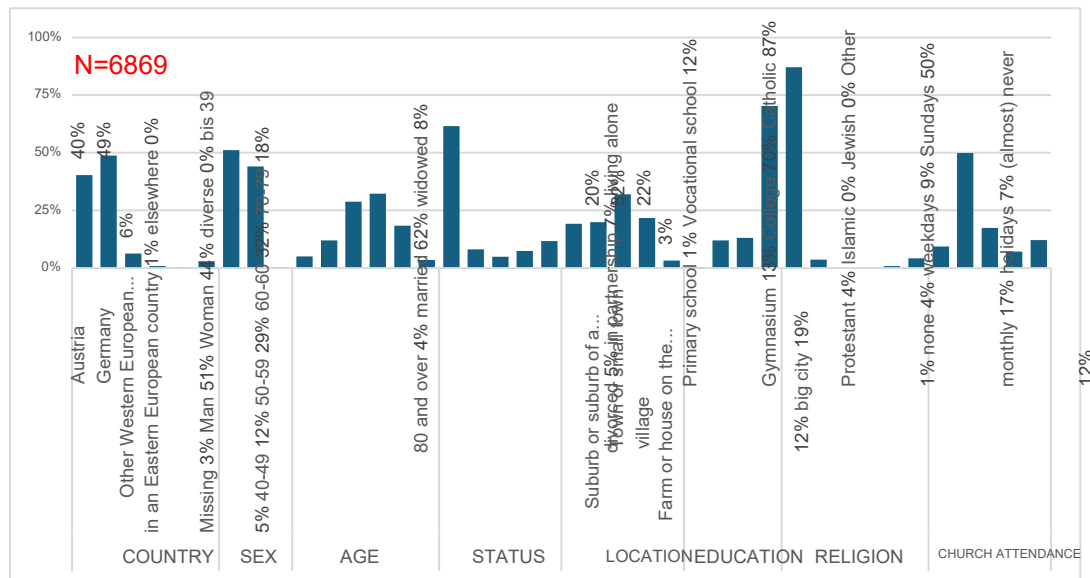
Participation

An online survey is inherently not representative. The data collected do not provide information about the population as a whole, but only about the respondents. For this reason, the following research report does not argue with the raw distributions and the percentage values.

The lack of representativeness does not take away the value of the data. First, question batteries can be tested for their suitability. It is also possible to compare the interpretation of life and life practice among different groups as soon as they are represented in sufficient numbers. This is possible in particular with regard to age, but also, for example, closeness to the church and participation in church life. For example, Sunday churchgoers can be compared with non-churchgoers.

From a qualitative point of view, the data are also solid in that – which is not surprising – it was mainly academically educated people who took part, who can usually be considered to have a high level of reflection. They are able to perceive and interpret their own religious and ecclesiastical experiences. Some of the 2746 evaluable entries in the Open Question show that they are particularly sensitive to seismographic developments.

Figure 1: Participation



ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

The Frame

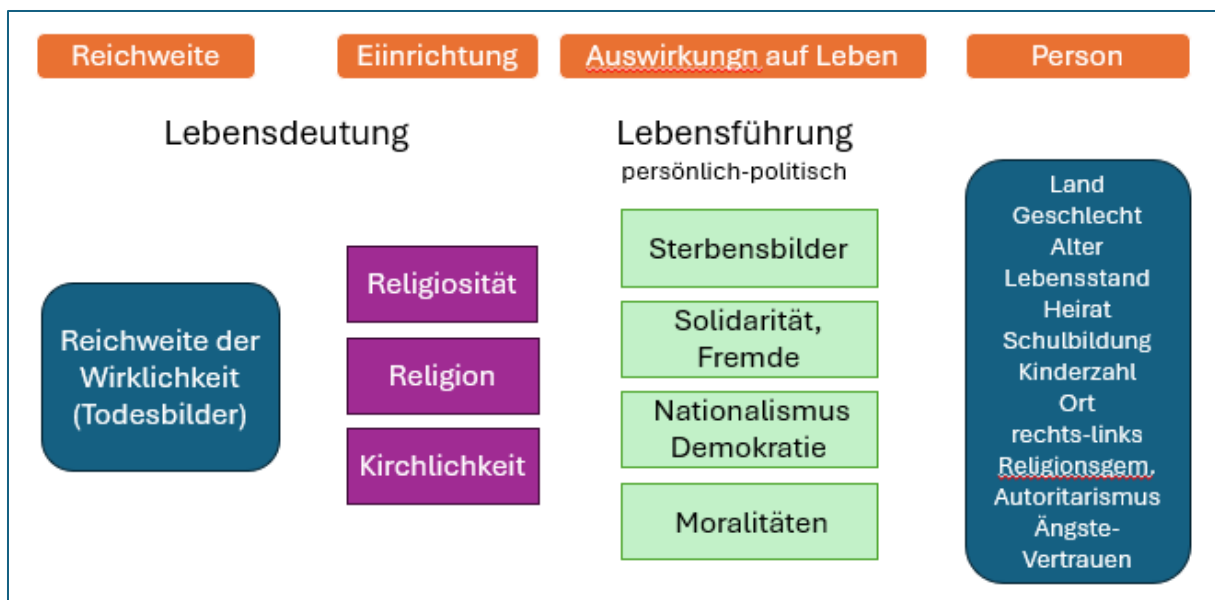
With the long-term study "Religion in the Life of Austrians 1970-2020" I was able to gain rich experience in religious research. My passion for research benefited me from several fortunate biographical circumstances. Soon after graduating, I worked at the Institute for Church Social Research, which was still young at the time. Initially, the research focus was on church sociology, especially for the Catholic Church. After the project had come under my area of responsibility, I worked together with the Linz sociologist Hermann Denz (1949-2008), who was outstanding in empirical matters and died much too early, step by step on a double expansion: Catholic Studies became representative studies for the Austrian population as a whole. The focus shifted from the sociology of the church to the sociology of religion. The fact that I was a student of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, both outstanding sociologists of knowledge and religion, gave my empirical research a solid theoretical foundation.

During the evaluation of the 2020 survey, I developed my research concept one step further. I no longer began by exploring the socio-religious dimension of culture, differentiated into subjective "religiosity", the knowledge of religious content ("religion") and the relatedness of both to belonging to and commitment to a religious community ("church"). Rather, I integrated this tried-and-tested concept of the sociology of religion into a broader framework of the sociology of knowledge. Now I began with the question that probably concerns every human being and that everyone answers at least pragmatically, no matter how socio-religiously equipped he/she is: In which "reality" does a person live, what is the "scope of this reality"? Is it narrow or wide? A meaningful item for this is the age-old question of what is stronger in the end, death or love. In concrete terms, the "reach" can be determined by the question of what happens to the person in death. Is "everything over" with death or is "existence transformed" in death, which is what the metaphor of the resurrection stands for in the Christian context? In other words: Does a human being live in a reality limited in

spatio-temporal terms, or is someone convinced that in death the spatiotemporal corset is burst, i.e. that the human being enters into a radically new way of existence in dying, biblically formulated, which is no longer limited in spatio-temporal terms. Thus, some live on this earthly world for ninety years, while others live "eternally" (Philippe Aries). I have gotten into the habit of calling some "mortals" and others "immortals".⁹

The Austrian Religion Study from 2020 showed that the "realities" of mortals and immortals are "arranged" in very different religious terms. The mortals live in a disenchanted world (Max Weber 10), the immortals in a (re)enchanted 11. It also became apparent that the "interpretation of the world" also has different effects on the "way of life", both in personal and political matters.

Figure 2: Topics



This model is the basis of the questionnaire that was used in the online project.

⁹ Zulehner, Paul M.: So that heaven comes to earth. In Spuren least, Ostfildern 2020.

¹⁰ "The increasing intellectualization and rationalization does not therefore mean an increasing general knowledge of the living conditions under which one stands. Rather, it means something else: the knowledge of it or the belief in it: that if one only wanted to, one could experience it at any time, that in principle there are no mysterious incalculable powers that play into it, that one can rather control all things – in principle – by calculating. But that means: the disenchantment of the world." Weber, Max: Wissenschaft als Beruf, Stuttgart 1995, 18.

¹¹ Bennett, Jane: The Enchantment of Modern Life. Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics, Princeton 2001. - Ritzer, George: Enchanting a Disenchanted World. Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption, Thousand Oaks 1999. - Jenkins, Richard: The Re-Enchantment of the World. Secular Magic in a Rational Age, London 2000. - Berman, Morris: Ganzheitliche Naturphilosophie. Die Wiederverzauberung der Welt, München 1985. (beta=Original: The Reenchantment of the World, Ithaca 1981.) - Taylor, Charles: Ein säkulares Zeit- alter, Frankfurt am Main 2009. - Ritzer, George: Die McDonaldisierung der Gesellschaft, Konstanz 1997.

Part 1: Scope of "Reality"

In order to fathom the "scope of reality", the following question has proven itself in the history of ideas in European research:

Table 1: What do you think of the following statements? They have five levels available.

	Totally agree	Agree	Partly-Partly	Disagree	strongly disagree	No information
[1] Everything is over with death.	5%	4%	7%	15%	63%	6%
[2] I hope that there will be life after death.	62%	18%	6%	3%	7%	4%
[3] People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	22%	15%	14%	13%	25%	12%

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

These three items could initially be answered individually. However, it was also methodologically examined whether the implementation of the three statements in a single question would not lead to clearer clarity.

Table 2: What comes closest to your personal conviction?

1 Death is the end of everything.	6%
2 I hope that there will be life after death.	70%
3 Men will rise from the dead with body and soul.	23%
kA	2%

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

I have examined this material using factor analysis. I also experimented with cluster analyses. This revealed an expected closeness between the statements "I hope that there will be life after death" and the presupposing but precise position "People will rise from the dead with body and soul". The item of continued life means a new spiritual way of existence without the obviously decaying "earthly" body. The resurrection item, on the other hand, is based on a radically renewed existence of the whole human being: according to Paul, an incorruptible body of the human soul is "created" for this purpose (1 Cor 15). The X-ray of the item "Death is the end of everything" also shows a considerable amount of uncertainty. For if one correlates it with the other two of continued life and resurrection, it becomes clear that quite a few who initially voted for an "all over" in the item with the three possible answers, nevertheless seem to gain something from a continuation of life, some even a resurrection of the whole human being. Only three-quarters are statistically confident in their position.

Table 3: Consistency of items

[118]	[106] Death is the end of everything. (1+2/5)	[107] I hope that there will be a continuation of life after death. (1+2/5)	[108] People will rise from the dead with body and soul. (1+2/5)
Death is the end of everything.	76%	8%	3%
I hope that there will be life after death.	6%	86%	27%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	4%	95%	90%

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

In the following analyses, the variable [118] on which the respondents "had to decide" is usually used. Because, however, as just explained, the answer option "all out" seems relatively "impure", I have excluded from the data set those three "pure" groups of people who agree in the four variables for sensitive analyses: i.e. those who, for example, scored 1=all out for the item with the three choices [118] and answered with 1=agree fully or with 2=vote for the individual item [106]. This group of people "ENG" therefore lives in a purely earthly reality. On the other hand, there are the two groups of those who rely on a continuation of life ("further") or on a resurrection (WEIT). In the analyses, the research focus will be on a comparison of the categories NARROW and WIDE.

Table 4: "pure" range types (RW pure)

RANGE "pure"	RW pure ENG	RW in weiter	RW in WIDE	Line
[118]				
Death is the end of everything.	100%	0%	0%	12%
I hope that there will be life after death.	0%	100%	0%	34%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	0%	1%	99%	55%
All	12%	34%	54%	

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

Resurrection of Jesus

The question of the resurrection of Jesus is closely interwoven with the previous questions that revolve around death and the fate of man after death. If the answers to this question are correlated with the three images of death, a high degree of consistency becomes apparent: those who believe in their own resurrection with body and soul also agree with the resurrection of Jesus. They follow the logic of the Apostle Paul in the letter to the Corinthians, that Jesus' resurrection and his own are inseparably interwoven.

Table 5: Images of death and resurrection of Jesus

	Totally agree	Agree	Partly- Partly	Disagree	strongly disagree
Death is the end of everything.	7%	9%	15%	12%	57%
I hope that there will be life after death.	64%	22%	8%	3%	3%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	95%	3%	0%	0%	1%

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

Part 2: The Socio-Religious

After the respondents have been typologically recorded with regard to the scope of the reality in which they perceive and shape their lives, the next step is the analysis of the three-dimensional "socio-religious". This is made up of the following dimensions:

- from subjective religiosity;
- from contents that I call "religion" – in addition to subjective religiosity, it is more the objective aspect;
- and finally the reference to a religious community, which in the case of baptized Christians is to be called "churchliness".

Religiosity

Data on religiosity were collected in three respects. First there was the direct question: "How would you rate your religiosity?" In the field of subjective religiosity, this basic attitude was then aimed at in two ways: on the one hand, prayer, and on the other hand, the desire for rituals, especially at the transitions of life, the so-called rites de passage (Adolf of Gennepe), i.e. baptizing children, performing weddings, and holding funerals.

Self-assessment

"I myself liked to be very 'religious' from childhood..."

Austria | Man | 1944 | Village | University | Holidays | 2373

For the majority of our population, religious socialization no longer takes place.

in an Eastern European country | Mann | 1979 | Suburb or suburb of a large city | Gymnasium | (almost) never | 5743

I am of the opinion that "religion" is very different from "faith". Humans are naturally endowed with a "religious structure"!

Germany | Woman | 1958 | Village | Hochschule | sonntags | 823

I'm a devout person, but quite areligious.

Germany | Mann | 1943 | Village | University | Sundays | 3226

I'm not religious, but I don't want to live in a godless society.

Austria | Mann | 1958 | Village | University | (almost) never | 2351

The respondents used the open question to describe their own religiosity as well as that of their contemporaries. The spectrum is broad. On the one hand, there is talk of a religious feeling,¹² of the religious exchange of ideas that many sought¹³ :

¹⁴ More people than the churches assume are on a religious pilgrimage.

¹² "... although I feel very religious." other Western European country | Man | 1961
| Village | Gymnasium | Sundays | 793

¹³ "Many people visit [...] churches [...] and seek religious exchange of ideas." Germany |
Man | 1957 | City/Small Town | University | Sundays | 483

¹⁴ My experience is that many more people than the churches might assume, are religious or are looking here... Austria | Man | 1965 | City or small town | Gymnasium | sonntags | 3928

On the other hand, however, there are also statements in the opposite direction: religiosity is decreasing culturally, while the number of non-religious people is increasing. This begins in the parental home, where there are no longer any religious experiences. 15 Because there is also no exchange with a religious community, the inherited non-religious basic mood is retained for life. 16

Prayer

I meet search, religious interest and also approaches to meet with others for prayer [...].

Austria | Woman | 1989 | Suburb/Outskirts | University | monthly | 3554

I think that people are becoming less and less religious, because there are more and more people who doubt. It's a pity, because in the past people believed more, prayed more often, maybe they should introduce it a little more again.

Austria|Man|2009|Village|Gymnasium|monthly|6830

I am very spiritually open but also strongly connected to Jesus Christ in prayer, often several times a day.

Austria|Man|1951|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|1420

Unfortunately, there is too little prayer!

Germany|Woman|1959|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|5350

But since I suddenly suffered a great deal of suffering about 15 years ago (severe mental illness of my son), I have been a little at odds with God because he does not help me despite fervent prayers and pleas.

Austria|Woman|1966|Big City|University|(almost) never|5137

I also sometimes ask myself in a church service how, for example, people who have recently had to experience a serious loss or life break experience the constant praise of God. Personally, I can hardly stand it when the life situation of people who are close to me seems to contradict the love of God promised to us so obviously ... How do we deal with it when people say in such situations that they can no longer pray the Lord's Prayer, for example? Do we have room for the accusation of God???

Germany|Man|1963|City or small town|University|monthly|5542

addressed, does not work for me.

We ask you to hear us! There is so much pleading, he is not omnipotent. People can change things for better or worse! Praying is self-therapy.

Germany|Woman|1966|Village|Vocational School|Sundays|3060

Those who consider themselves religious, as the analyses now show, usually also pray: among the very religious it is 87%, among the non-religious 6%. Prayer thus seems to be the direct expression of the basic religious mood: "Prayers are important for me in order to bind me back again and again and to draw strength for my concrete actions." 17

I already have an overview of several generations. Where there was prayer in the families, grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren walk the path to God together. Where there is no prayer - prayer is the only "contact surface" from us humans to God - the grandparents are "religious", whatever that means, the parents are open to the church, have

¹⁵ "Those who do not come from a religious home are often considered 'not to belong'..."

Profile: Germany | Woman | 1964 Village | University | monthly | 880 mm

¹⁶ "Since most recently [...] the majority of people in Austria no longer belong to religious institutions..." Profile: Austria | Man | 1967 | Big City | University | (beta=almost) never | 6744 mm

¹⁷ Germany|Woman|1965|Big City|University|Sundays|353

but mostly only an abstract relationship with God, whereas the children and grandchildren are away from the faith, they are therefore hardly seekers. Woman|1952|Big City|University|week-
Tags

"It depends on the acceptance and fulfillment whether it is really a prayer or a pious talk."
(Father Alfred Delp)

Austria|Mann|1946|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|4798

Table 6: Religiosity and frequency of prayer

	daily	weekly	monthly	once a year	less common	never
very religious	87%	11%	1%	0%	0%	0%
religious	54%	32%	7%	3%	3%	1%
no information	20%	23%	6%	13%	18%	21%
indifferent	8%	11%	6%	20%	41%	14%
rather not religious	6%	8%	6%	17%	34%	29%
not religious	5%	1%	1%	1%	14%	79%

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

Ritual

The religious rituals (church services, Eucharistic celebration) must be fundamentally overhauled, as well as the ritual of "consecration", prayers and songs.

Germany|Woman|1948|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|weekdays|4519

I have the impression that many basic Christian values, including rituals and prayers, are so deeply anchored in the consciousness of Western societies that one is less and less aware of (and perhaps no longer necessary?) of one's religious roots.

Germany|Mann|1947|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|1850

I think many people are looking for mysticism in the church, for rituals that offer deeper possibilities for prayer.

Germany|Mann|1986|City or small town|University|weekdays|726

Just like prayer, which proves to be a relationship with the "divine" in many forms, rituals are also an expression of subjective religiosity. Rituals are sensory experiences for a "reality" that is not accessible to the senses. There is a kind of "unification" into a holy nomos, a sacred cosmos, which puts life "in order". Rituals are thus like vehicles into this sacred and sheltering world: life takes place under a "holy canopy" ¹⁸. They are the action of a community in which people, torn between fear and hope, are celebrated on the side of hope. This is how a newborn child comes under God's blessing, or as people like to say, it gets a "guardian angel", which many reinforce with a delicate necklace. This is also the case with the couple, who are united in love. Or the relative affected by the death of an important person. As much as the rituals are in good hands with the religious, there are not so few people among the religious or even non-religious who have the

¹⁸ Berger, Peter L.: The Sacred Canopy, New York 1967.

¹⁹ And sometimes with considerable local church obstacles: "A few years ago, she and our current son-in-law wanted to celebrate their wedding in a large mountain inn next to which there is a medium-sized chapel. There they wanted to administer the sacrament of marriage to each other in the wedding ceremony. Our daughter knew a young clergyman from her school service whom she was able to win over. So the local clergyman would not have had to go out for it.

Appreciating the power of rituals: 20-30% of them consider rituals to be important. 20 If you take the answer category "very important" (1/5), then you still get 13% non-religious for baptism and burial and 7% for marriage. This can be interpreted in two directions: either the non-religious are not as irreligious as they think they are, or they reinterpret the rituals from Christ-believing celebrations into salutary secular rituals, which, however, are culturally entrusted to the churches. 21

Table 7: Desire for rituals at the turning points in the lives of the religious and non-religious

	Baptizing children	Performing weddings	Hold funerals
very religious	90%	81%	90%
religious	86%	73%	86%
indifferent	64%	41%	64%
rather not religious	60%	38%	60%
not religious	30%	20%	30%

ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

Religion

The "objective" content that the respondents agree with or reject includes statements about "God" in the questionnaire in advance. What image of God does someone have? Is God important in life? For example, for the meaning of life or happiness in life? Does anyone trust God? Are there deep human experiences, such as great suffering or great love, in which some of the otherwise hidden God can be experienced, whatever this may be?

They wanted to celebrate the wedding there, as a large part of the guests were young families with numerous children. The spatial proximity between the chapel and the inn would have been a good idea ... The local priest referred the bride and groom to the diocese with their request. There, the request was rejected, among other things, with reference to the regulation on weddings in the parish. The request of the two for a personal interview after this announcement was rejected. My daughter left the correspondence to me.

Result: The two waived - because of these hurdles - a formal church wedding. Instead, a religion teacher friend organized an outdoor celebration in front of the mountain inn, in which we parents, siblings, relatives and many friends prayed for them. Afterwards we moved into the house to celebrate, which was of course easy to do with the many small children. The church dignitaries in the diocese had insisted that the celebration should take place in the parish church with the parish community down in the valley. This argumentation is wonderful. If that were the case, weddings would only be allowed to take place as part of Sunday masses, so that the parish community would be there. As a rule, the entire parish is not present at weddings.

We are glad that after these experiences they had our grandchildren baptized. Of course, also with difficulties. When the first son was baptized, the parish church was under renovation. So the father friend, who was a friend, was allowed to baptize the boy in a larger chapel in the district in question. With the second son, the renovation of the parish church was completed. Therefore, there was no way to baptize the second boy there as well. What a pity. So our daughter has found another option with her friend Father." (beta=accompanying email)

²⁰ "As a funeral director [...] I am experiencing more and more deaths in which a religious rite no longer plays a role." Austria | Man | 1940 | City/Small Town | Gymnasium | (beta=almost) never | 2755

²¹ For this reason, the "Catholic atheist" Alfred Lorenzer at the Horkheimer Chair in Frankfurt demanded free access for all people to rituals without their "pedagogization". Lorenzer, Alfred: Das Konzil der Buchhalter. The destruction of sensuality. Eine Religionskritik, Frankfurt am Main 1981.

means? Are great love and great suffering something like "God's hiding places" in cultures that are considered God-free according to sociological criteria?

Image of God

I believe that the prevailing image of God, which is also used in the liturgy, is one of the many reasons for turning away from so many people.

Austria|Mann|1971|Village|Gymnasium|festtags|5024

There is a fuzziness: is God personal and can be prayed to, or is he the sustainer of the world, who sustains everything. But even then we can pray in the sense of: God is everywhere, but he can be experienced in us humans.

other Western European country|Mann|1954|City or small town|University|Sundays|5800

A different image of God. Not inherited sin, punishing Father, eternal hell, but God, Love, who is everywhere and complete everywhere.

Germany|Man|1963|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|1438

The question of a respondent's image of God has proven itself in many studies. To the introductory question "Which of the statements comes closest to your convictions?", some images of God were presented for selection. These come from European cultural history and can be provided with shortcuts. The first image of God is theistic, the second deistic. Then follow the agnostic and the atheistic position.

- The Christian tradition of a "personal God" stands for the theistic image of God; no question was asked about the Trinity, in which Christianity differs sharply from Islam.
- The deistic image of God developed in the Enlightenment. The occasion was the abuse of God for bloody violence in the Thirty Years' War. The churches brought death and not the longed-for "peace of the country". Voltaire proposed a church-free religion of the philosophers, without revelation and belief in miracles, which was denounced as "superstition" or "charcoal burner faith".
- Agnosticism has a long tradition that dates back to the Greeks. Christian theology also proves to be fundamentally agnostic insofar as it emphasizes the insurmountable limits for a rational understanding of God and refuses to accept any "usefulness" of God. Jewish doctrine therefore forbade forming an image of God.
- It was French philosophers who advocated atheism after the Enlightenment. Only in a world without God is there freedom and peace. To these images of God can be added a "panentheistic" one, for which modern thinkers (such as Raimondo Pannikar) as well as some Pauline texts (Acts 17:28) stand. Panentheism is different from pantheism: in panentheism, everything is in God, while for the pantheist, everything is God.

Some respondents are concerned about the patriarchal coloring of the Christian image of God: The patriarchal concept of God, however, has massively disturbed my inner access to God. God is described as masculine in most prayers: - "Father," "He," "The Lord." In addition, Jesus is a man. I recognize this description of God as male in prayers, songs and sermons as a remnant of a long history of the church, in times when all areas of life were patriarchal. However, today many areas of life are no longer so patriarchal - but it is still the church, which

is shown precisely in the naming of God as male.

Otherwise, I find a prayer like "Our Father" beautiful and encouraging in terms of content, but the words like "Lord" create an unbridgeable distance. During prayer, a voice says: Why should God be a man? I suspect that there are many women who experience this address from God as masculine, as not in keeping with the times.

Austria|Man|1957|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|3462

Yet another facet appears in the texts on the Open Question. It is pointed out that God is replaced by modern "idols" that we "worship" in our actions. One text states: "Money and possessions, or the pursuit of them, replace going to church, are sacrificed for more 'freedom'. We worship idols." ²²

Some seem to deny a God who, as Karl Rahner put it, does not exist, thank God: the church is extremely outdated. The language alone, e.g. the questionable supplication to the Father in heaven above. Where above?? To that: God doesn't know how I'm doing?? Or even worse: he is grumpy and slightly offended and only helps if I implore him?? ²³

Importance of God and trust in God

From my point of view, this is what we may, can and must learn to live. A certain, almost abysmal trust in God!!

Germany|Woman|1960|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|847

Other variables related to God revolve around the importance of God in life and trust in God. The answers to these questions give an idea of whether the image of God merely serves to "explain the world" or is also relevant to the way of life. Here is an example:

"My trust in God helped me a lot to overcome two very difficult life crises - caused by illness and death. I am very grateful for that. I pray for this power of faith for my children every day."

Austria|Woman|1974|City or small town|University|monthly|1318

Table 8: Images of God and Interpretation of Life

	I have strong trust in God. (fully true)	Life only has meaning because God exists. (Totally agree)	I am most likely to experience God in great love or in great suffering. (Totally agree)	Please tell me how important he seems to you personally for a happy and meaningful life, to believe God? (very important)
There is a personal God.	54%	40%	20%	73%
There is some higher being or spiritual power.	27%	13%	14%	31%
I don't know	12%	7%	7%	17%
I don't really know what to believe.	3%	2%	10%	10%

²² Germany|Woman|1962|Big City|University|weekdays|363

²³ Austria|Mann|1971|Village|Gymnasium|festtags|5024

I don't believe that there is a God, any higher being, or a spiritual power.	4%	2%	3%	2%
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ONLINE survey 2026, percentages, N=6869.

The analysis shows that the strongest practical effects of life are the belief in a personal God²⁴: It is obviously a God who has a relationship with the human world and with whom someone can enter into a relationship. Atheists, but also the agnostics, who are visibly very close to them, prove to be consistent; a marginal exception seems to be ten out of a hundred agnostics who consider it possible for God to "show Himself" to a person in "great love and great suffering".

Ecclesiastical

Even if the popular church is over, there will be a need for congregations, i.e. believers who meet regularly to strengthen their faith in prayer and celebrations.

Austria|Mann|1967|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|4973

The future of the church lies in small prayer groups, but certainly not in the arrogant and system-loyal official church.

Germany|Mann|1947|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|390

Commitment in a religious community makes up the third dimension of the socio-religious, along with (subjective) religiosity and (objective) religion. For this purpose, the questionnaire contains an impressive number of items. This dimension is also often addressed in the Open Question. The keywords are: belonging, solidarity, trust in the church, contemporaneity. In all studies, the question of the intensity of the exchange with a concrete church community in the form of Sunday church attendance is informative. The commitment is also reflected in the question of whether the church fits into the times. 24

In addition, questions were asked about the diverse expectations of the church; according to those social tasks which the churches are to perform; what churches are for; how they express themselves in public; how those institutions that the church operates, such as kindergartens or old people's homes, are assessed.

These individual question areas are now briefly outlined.

Affiliation

Those who do not come from a religious home are often considered "not to belong" and are treated as such. This repels many and they do not find a connection with it. The church must become much more open and welcoming in this area.

Germany|Woman|1964|Village|University|monthly|880

With many questions, it was very difficult for me to answer after the various church scandals. On the one hand, I see an increasing loneliness (also with regard to shared values) and a serious loss of importance of central social institutions (e.g. churches, trade unions, etc.) - i.e. a large social "void" and on the other hand a growing need for "belonging".

Germany|Mann|1966|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|957

²⁴ Gerhard Schmidtchen has already worked this out: Was den Deutschen heilig ist, Freiburg 1972.

Members of the Catholic Church in particular participated in the study (beta=N=5990). But also the groups of members of the Protestant church (beta=N=251) and those who do not belong to a religious community (beta=N=292) are large enough for a dignified (beta=qualitative) evaluation. Table 9: Religious affiliation

	N	Percent
Catholic	5990	87,2
Protestant	251	3,7
Islamic	2	0,0
Jewish	2	0,0
Other	60	0,9
none	292	4,3
Missing	272	4,0

Connectedness

The Catholic Church has lost the trust of the population all over the world, but especially in Austria, as a result of the abuse incidents. Since I had 4 sons in a monastery in Austria, I am very involved myself. My trust in religious and priests is gone. This also requires the attitude towards the church in many things, although I believe in God and am very sad that my strong spiritual connection with the Catholic Church is a long way away.

Germany|1943|Big City|Gymnasium|sonntags|2208

Unfortunately, everything in the village community revolves around the church, that is the only reason because I still feel connected to church life and try to involve my children in church life, because I am of the opinion that it is an enrichment for their future despite everything.

Germany|Woman|1946|Village|Gymnasium|festtags|450

The church is hardly connected to the people anymore.

Germany|Woman|1960|Village|Vocational school|weekdays|739

The majority of the study participants feel closely connected to their church. However, the groups of loosely affiliated (N=1547) and non-affiliated (beta=276) are also sufficiently represented.

Table 10: Attachment to the Church

	N	Percent
very closely connected	1667	24,3
Closely connected	3311	48,2
loosely connected	1547	22,5
not connected at all	276	4,0
Missing	68	1,0

Trust in the Church

Jesus always put people above rules. Unfortunately, many church structures set rules over people. This creates distance instead of trust.

Austria|Woman|1944|Big City|Gymnasium|sonntags|3897

But trust in the church has been dwindled by clericalism, abuse of power, intolerance (e.g. towards queer people) and abuse of all kinds.

Germany|Woman|1960|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|3625

If the Christian churches, if we manage to rejoin the people, to perceive them in their life situations, to live with them in the HERE & NOW, we could regain lost trust in an institution that is too anonymous.

Germany|Woman|1946|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|1473+

With regard to trust, the church was questioned as one of many institutions. Newspapers and commercial enterprises do not have a good reputation. The respondents trust the law and order in advance. In this survey, the church ranks in the middle of the field with subdued trust: which is remarkable in view of the relatively close church ties of the respondents. In the online survey, this middle position is probably due to the fact that many strongly connected people took part in it.

Religion must distance itself from the institution of the church. Religion must be on the ground with the people again. It must return to the example of Jesus. Serve the poor or sick or weak or ridiculed people in our society. Be a role model. Take a clear stand for the moral values of the gospel at all times. And the institution of the church should also visibly exemplify this position.

Germany|Man|1957|City or small town|Hochschule|festtags|2335

Table 11: Trust in the institutions

	Jurisdiction, Laws, Courts	Police	Social Security	National Council, Parliament	Church	Education	Administration	Trade unions	Bundeswehr	Newspapers	Large commercial enterprises
a lot	14%	9%	7%	5%	7%	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%	1%
a lot	48%	49%	40%	33%	29%	30%	29%	24%	20%	21%	7%
(very) much	61%	59%	47%	38%	36%	33%	31%	27%	23%	23%	8%
part-part	26%	31%	36%	41%	40%	48%	47%	40%	41%	44%	32%
little	9%	8%	12%	16%	18%	15%	17%	22%	24%	23%	39%
none at all	2%	2%	3%	4%	5%	2%	3%	6%	8%	9%	19%
Missing	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	5%	4%	1%	3%

Contemporaneity

I think a priesthood for women, recognition of homosexual relationships is contemporary.

Germany|Mann|1955|City or small town|University|(almost) never|417

Strictly hierarchical system is absolutely not up-to-date

Germany|Woman|1958|City or small town|Hochschule|festtags|2298

The church (especially the Catholic church) is completely rejected by most young people, perceived as outdated, outdated and therefore quite useless.

Germany|Woman|1937|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|712

The question was about the contemporaneity of the church. This does not mean adaptation, but adaptation, aggiornamento (John XXIII), a socio-cultural update of their language, their rituals, their moral instructions. Aggiornamento calls for

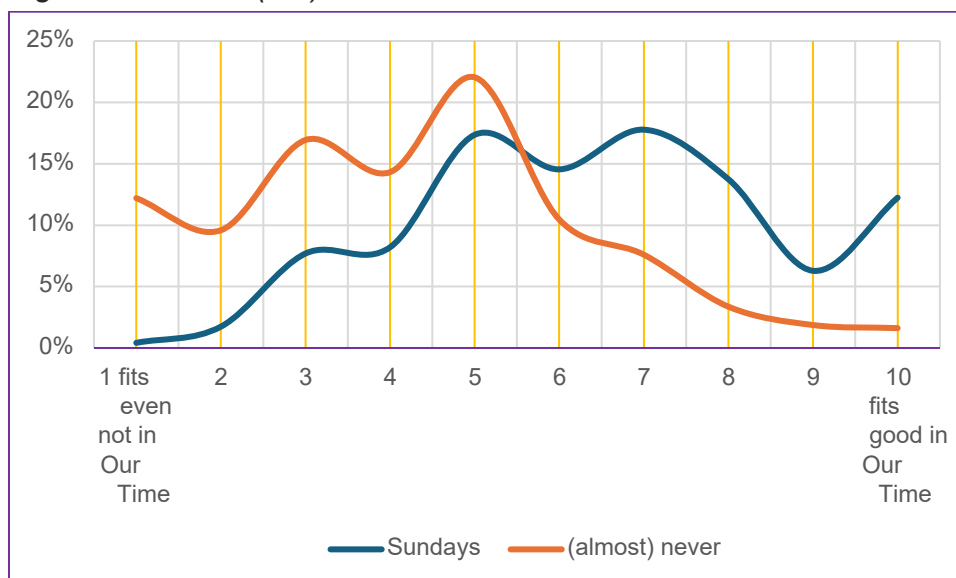
benevolent closeness and critical-prophetic distance in one. Opinions differ greatly among the respondents. One in ten is convinced that the churches fit very well (10 points) into the times. The others are distributed over the entire scale with one hand to form a balanced center.

Table 12: In your opinion, how well do the churches fit into our time?

1 do not fit at all	153	2%
2	234	3%
3	646	9%
4	700	10%
5	1229	18%
6	925	13%
7	1050	15%
8	729	11%
9	346	5%
10 fit very well	656	10%
Missing	201	3%

If you combine going to church with that of contemporariness, then it becomes clear that there is no simple correlation. It is true that the non-churchgoers are much more critical and attest to the church's much more alienation from time. But there are also critical churchgoers.

Figure 3: Church (not) fits in our time



Going to church

According to the majority of available studies in the sociology of religion, going to church on Sundays is, in addition to being contemporary, an extremely expressive item. This is not just about celebrating a church-building ritual. Rather, it represents a sign of the willingness to enter into an exchange with the community. In cultures that

are not uniformly Christian, in which Christianity is not culturally supported, but confessors often feel like "deviants", the exchange with a community of faith is becoming increasingly important. It becomes what the sociologists of knowledge Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann ²⁵ call the "plausibility structure". They are support systems for one's own interpretation and way of life that differ from other members of society.

A church attendance frequency of the respondents is above average. Nevertheless, the open question contains many critical remarks on church attendance, the absence of young people, the quality of the liturgies and sermons: I am happy and grateful that I live in an international religious community and that I can live my faith. I can only ask again and again for God's mercy for our world in our choral prayer and the daily Holy Mass.

Austria|Mann|1960|Big City|University|weekdays|243

In my opinion, the trade fairs should be made more lively! Of course, there are such, but too few!

Germany|Mann|1940|City or small town|University|(almost) never|282

Mass attendance is too monotonous, everything is repeated, including the statements and sermons. Every Sunday I go out into nature, on the Bible trail in our church with wayside shrines and psalms. There I find God, meditate and have my cathedral there. The church, the priests and the attitude would have to change, then I would go back with joy to the church where I was for many years.

Austria|Woman|1950|City or small town|University|Sundays|4424

Again and again I experience the church communities in the UK - and there she lives so strongly - youth masses explode - young families find their way there, because now not only in the churches is a place of happiness, of togetherness, of support, there are casual meetings, but there is also a lot going on outside. You don't just invite people to bread rolls after mass as here - (where no one dares to go and doesn't want to take the time) - there you actively address people - welcome them. It is much more lively, deeper - here stiff and old.... I miss that very much here! I believe that this could move and change a lot.

Germany|Mann|1953|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|1689

I also don't think it's good to import priests, men from other cultures, e.g. India, to our country CH to ensure the Mass... An affront. They would certainly be needed there and here it is difficult; Language, culture, mentality, customs.. Nothing against them as people, they are friendly and sympathetic... but strange...

Austria|Woman|1959|Village|University|Sundays|2144

I have the impression that two directions are developing in the Catholic Church - the one that longs strongly for tradition and attends the Latin Mass, and the protestantic/free church influence: masses with loud music, away from the altar, towards the people. I see the difference above all in the generations. The older ones are more inclined towards the new, more modern masses, the younger ones more towards the traditional.

Germany|Mann|1960|Village|Vocational School|Sundays|5632

From 1967 - 1973 I served as an altar boy in a rural parish, was in the youth group, had mini train excursions. At the beginning, it was rebuilt according to the 2nd Vatican Council (altar, food grid, pulpit, etc.). There was a spirit of optimism in the church. The trade fairs were more appealing then than in many communities today. I have the feeling that the crisis has gone back behind the 70 years. Just recently, I suggested putting the altar in the middle and people gather around the altar. I was laughed at a bit (the altar and the priest have to be at the top). At 66, I am one of the younger mass visitors.

Austria|Mann|1971|Big City|Gymnasium|sonntags|3873

I see with some disappointment that in some parishes the "feel-good factor" is placed too much in the foreground: A band dominates the Holy Mass, the Gospel is celebrated against a

²⁵ Berger, Peter L./Luckmann, Thomas: The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. New York 1966. (The Social Construction of Reality: A Theory of the Sociology of Knowledge. Frankfurt am Main 1969.)

"Gschichterl" exchanged, communion is bread for all, parish café attracts people ... the essence of the trade fair moves into the background...

And then I know a parish in which the pastor acts autocratically ... there are hardly any churchgoers, although the church is large and was full under the previous pastor, there are no ministries.... a sad picture!

Germany|Woman|1952|Village|University|weekdays|5414

In the context of the non-representative online study, the distribution on the scale of church attendance frequency is not of interest – official counts and representative studies are available for this. Rather, the effects of the respective frequency on the interpretation and conduct of life are to be explored. This is possible because all categories of frequency from weekdays (N=644) to (almost) never (N=832) are sufficiently occupied.

Table 13: Sunday church attendance frequency

	N	Percent
Weekdays	644	9%
Sundays	3433	50%
monthly	1201	17%
Holidays	492	7%
(almost) never	832	12%
Missing	267	4%

Expectations – what the church is for

In addition, church institutions in their role as employers – for example in the educational and social sectors – do not always meet the expectations associated with moral and social values

Germany|Woman|1940|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|Sundays|575

When people need comfort, are in emergency situations, etc., representatives of the church should be there, stand firm.

Austria|Woman|1967|Big City|University|(almost) never|4176

I very much hope that the achievements, the spiritual depth of our religion, will receive impulses to reconcile our society with the Church and its values.

Germany|Man|1980|Big City|University|(almost) never|4605

I think that the Church should become more aware, prayer, adoration, confession and mutual respect should be promoted even more!

Germany|Woman|1961|Big City|Vocational School|monthly|2861

Much more important would be the joint organization of help for the needy and disabled.

Germany|Woman|1936|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|1492

I experience the church as a place of lived relationship, a sense of meaning and a contribution to justice and successful coexistence. As such, it has a future, even if perhaps no longer on a broad scale, but rather in smaller groups that are supported by relationships and encounters.

Austria|Woman|1964|Village|Gymnasium|weekdays|2673

I very much hope that the Synodal Path will open up to reforms and courageously take a stand on political issues.

Germany|Mann|1950|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|572

I can imagine that the future of the church in Europe is not the big churches, but rather smaller independent churches, perhaps also charismatic, because there faith is imparted (not educated to faith) to a God who is still working among us today.

Austria|Mann|1945|City or small town|Gymnasium|monthly|3020

I live in Bulgaria, a country where the Orthodox Church has a leading role. The orthodox churches in Southeastern Europe play a central role in national identity and, due to their autocephalous nature, are often strongly intertwined with state policy. This intertwining goes back to the historical resistance against the Ottoman Empire, which made the churches symbols of cultural continuity. This symbiosis promotes close political relations.

I support an ecumenical vision of unity for all humanity, in which every human being is seen as a creature of God, regardless of how the divine or national differences are called. I value the moral leadership of religion against materialism and hope for de-secularization, but I see autocephalous orthodoxy as a limitation of solidarity, since ethnic ties take precedence over our common humanity.

Austria|Woman|1961|Village|University|(almost) never|4153

It was a useful oversight that most of a battery of questions with a slightly modified initial question was implemented twice in the questionnaire. Although this does not result in any substantive gain, it does yield a valuable methodological benefit. The order of the answer categories is in opposite directions: one time is started with unqualified agreement, the other time the diametrical opposite, the unqualified rejection of the statement. There are differences between -6 and 13 percentage points in individual statements. The approval ratings are often somewhat higher when the answer categories with unqualified approval increase: the sum of the approval values is 576 percentage points for the question battery 1 [103-137:1+2/5], and 490 percentage points for the question battery 2 [160-167:4+5/5].

Table 14: People expect different things from religious communities and churches. In my opinion, the churches and religious communities are there to...

	to give spiritual comfort	to reconcile people with each other	to educate people to respect each other	to alleviate social hardship	to educate people to help those in need	to promote human relations	to take a public stand on socially important issues	to participate in the public life of the village	to educate in the faith	to stand up for morality	to strengthen national sentiment
fully agree	70%	64%	61%	54%	54%	46%	44%	27%	31%	32%	3%
agree	24%	29%	30%	34%	32%	40%	37%	40%	36%	33%	6%
(very) agree	94%	92%	91%	88%	86%	86%	81%	67%	67%	65%	9%
Partly, partly	3%	5%	6%	9%	10%	10%	13%	25%	22%	24%	15%
disagree	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	5%	5%	6%	21%
I don't agree at all.	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%	52%
Missing	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	4%

The result of this battery(s) of questions is of interest in the sequence of expectations. Consolation as well as commitment to more humanity (reconciliation,

respect) as well as the promotion of social warmth rank above faith and morality. The commitment to faith and morality is aimed at the interior, while expressing oneself publicly as a church in society is directed at the outside. In both batteries, the charge is polarized in opposite directions, which indicates an either-or. Finally, both times the item "to strengthen the national attitude" dances out of line. This only belongs on the to-do list of the church for a minority

Table 15: What are churches and religious communities for?

	to give spiritual comfort	to educate people in mutual respect	to alleviate social hardship	to promote human relationships	to educate in the faith	to stand up for morality	to participate in the public life of the place	to strengthen national sentiment
I don't agree at all	9%	9%	7%	6%	7%	6%	4%	45%
I don't agree	4%	4%	5%	6%	8%	9%	9%	18%
part-part	4%	6%	9%	11%	17%	23%	28%	15%
(very) agree	78%	76%	74%	72%	63%	56%	54%	17%
I agree	22%	29%	31%	39%	33%	30%	35%	7%
I totally agree	55%	48%	42%	33%	30%	26%	19%	9%
Missing	5%	5%	5%	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%

Social Tasks – Responding to...

In the future, many social tasks will no longer be able to be taken over by the church (personnel and costs), then society will look around to see how much will be missing. The churches talk too little about what they do for society.

Germany|Mann|1955|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|3227

In many media, in connection with the Catholic Church, above all, what is not good is mentioned (sex. Abuse, grievances of all kinds, position of women, celibacy, church contribution...) and very little of what is really good (community, meaning, charity...). Maybe we should "sell" ourselves better :-)

Germany|Mann|1941|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|(almost) never|901

I would be happy if more people could learn that God is the meaning of life and more people follow Jesus.

other Western European country|Woman|1930|City or small town|Hochschule|wochentages|1932

Resigned priests because of marriage and partnership must be reactivated These men understand marital problems and family life more than the other priests

Austria| |1958|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|5051

How, for example, can family problems be heard in the Catholic Church if the priests live in celibacy and have no idea about it?

other Western European country|Mann|1945|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|3529

I disagree with some of the Church's views, such as family planning, abortion, or equal rights for men and women. I believe that I make ethical decisions very responsibly, but not always in the sense of the teachings of the Church.

Germany|Mann|1961|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|4486

Pope Francis dedicated the high-ranking doctrinal exhortation "Amoris laetitia" to life in marriage and family. He admires the joys, the tenderness of love, but also names challenges and deviations of love. The fact that the Church has a competence in problems of family life is, of course, in last place on the list of four abilities: Pope Francis was obviously unable to change this. The church is most likely to be certified as competent in questions of meaning. It can also say more about social issues than moral ones. At first, this seems paradoxical. For in the Enlightenment religion lost mysticism, only morality remained for it, and that in questions of family and sexual morality. At the latest since *Humanae vitae* (1968), the Catholic Church has massively lost its responsibility for sexual morality. In terms of sense of life and social problems, the church is trusted to do more.

Table 16: Do you believe that the Catholic Church in general can give an answer to...

	Questions about the meaning of life	Current social problems of our country	moral problems and needs of the individual	Problems in family life
I don't agree at all	8%	6%	7%	7%
I don't agree	8%	11%	12%	17%
part-part	13%	25%	32%	41%
(very) agree	68%	55%	46%	33%
I agree	34%	36%	31%	25%
I totally agree	34%	19%	15%	8%
Missing	3%	3%	3%	3%

Speaking out in public

It seems important to me that religions express themselves on public, political issues.

Austria|Woman|1937|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|533

Churches must become much clearer in the public perception and take a stand on the current issues of the time (war, military service, poverty, equal treatment of men and women, closing the ever-widening gap between rich and poor).

Germany|Mann|1944|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|5102

on the question of whether the churches should express themselves on topics such as unemployment, abortion etc., I was missing in what way (critical, approving, differentiated) the instrumentalization of religion worries me - and the rejection of "the churches" by right-wing extremist groups (AFD Saxony-Anhalt) because of their social and socio-political actions

Austria|Mann|1944|City or small town|Gymnasium|(almost) never|2896

I think it is wrong that you use the racist term for Roma.

Germany|divers|1970|Big City|University|(almost) never|6780

I cannot imagine that THE church can help the individual in his need. The church must not increase the emotional distress of the individual, e.g. after an abortion.

in an Eastern European country|Woman|1953|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|2306

Politics may also be criticized by the church if it contradicts the basic principles of faith.

Germany|Woman|1965|City or small town|University|monthly|6029

I am speaking out on behalf of East Germany: In the GDR, the church was in opposition to the state and had a great deal of credibility.

other Western European country|Woman|1952|City or small town|High School|monthly|3975

no overemphasis on sexuality; Sex as a way to give pleasure / lust to the other, especially after the fertility period - even outside of marriage.

Germany|Mann|1941|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|4553

The accentuated expectations also persist when it comes to the question of what the churches should speak out about publicly. Once again, social issues are at the top of the list: social differences, unemployment, the situation of the Roma. Expectations of the political struggle for the protection of life are remarkably high among the respondents. However, this desire for public engagement in the abortion issue correlates highly with church affiliation: 77% of those very closely associated expect a pro-life commitment. Then the approval ratings fall. Among those who are not at all affiliated, the figure is 25%. The churches should remain silent on politics. Even less should they comment on the "modern relationship culture", such as same-sex or extramarital relationships.

Table 17: Do you think it is appropriate for the major Christian churches to comment on the following topics?

	growing social differences	Unemployment	Situation der Zigeuner (Roma)	Abortion	Government policy	Opposition policy	same-sex relationships	extramarital relationships
and	86%	73%	62%	61%	43%	41%	27%	23%
uncertain	7%	14%	22%	20%	33%	33%	20%	25%
no	2%	7%	9%	14%	19%	21%	47%	46%
Missing	4%	5%	7%	5%	6%	6%	6%	6%

The majority of those surveyed are of the opinion that the churches have expressed themselves too little in the past decade. This dissatisfaction in this regard seems to be high: even in the inner area of the well-connected church members. Those who think that the churches have expressed themselves too little make up more than half of each category of church-going violence.

Table 18: Have the major Christian churches expressed too much or too little in public in the past decade?

	N	Percent
too much	298	4%
Just right	2546	37%
too little	3824	56%
Missing	201	3%

Overall satisfaction

In general, the development within the church can be described as satisfactory; especially as far as the last bishop appointments are concerned.

Germany|Mann|1945|City or small town|Vocational School| 6515

If I am dissatisfied with our Catholic Church, it is because it adheres to many traditions:

a) Only men may receive an ordained ministry

b) the distance between clergy/pastoral teams on the one hand and lay people on the other hand is still noticeable

c) the strong emphasis on canon law, e.g. by our Archbishop Stefan Burger in Freiburg

d) The adherence to outdated texts in the Eucharist

e) the preoccupation with oneself and the lack of strength to stand by the side of the people through word and deed (of course there are the many institutions such as Caritas, which do a lot of good), I am concerned with the visibility of church congregations as communities with radiance

f) through the creation of the large parishes, personal contact is decreasing more and more, so that we are becoming a kind of "e-mail" church. The large parishes then feel exactly like municipal authorities, etc.

Germany|Woman|1955|City or small town|University|Sundays|378

satisfaction with the church: dissatisfied with the unequal treatment of men and women in the church; satisfied with the development for more ecology, sustainability and responsibility for creation in the church

in an Eastern European country|Woman|1974|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|3864

The greatest dissatisfaction with my (Catholic) Church is its unequal treatment of men and women. This is not only unfair, but discriminatory.

Germany|Woman|1948|City or small town|College| 2139

Subjectively / personally, I am nevertheless very dissatisfied with "my" church and "my" diocese. I perceive a lack of ideas, resignation, spiritual narrowness and, in the case of many functionaries and clerics, an externalized and meaningless spirituality. I am often tempted to say: This church is godless. My experience of the Church as a co-worker is rather that the ecclesiastical narcissism, which Pope Francis rightly denounced, is still very much alive.

Austria|Mann|1961|Village|Gymnasium|festtags|1209

Satisfaction with the Church is very much related to the relevant persons. A destructive local pastor can greatly dampen the joy of the life of faith. A bishop who tells the untruth and treats his "employees" unlovingly is a huge stone on the path of faith.

other Western European country|Woman|1980|City or small town|Hochschule|festtags|109

The interviewees are generally dissatisfied with the development of the Christian churches in the country as they are with the frequency of public statements. Only a minority are satisfied, while the majority are dissatisfied or even extremely dissatisfied.

Table 19: If you look at the major Christian churches in your country, you are satisfied with their development over the past 10 years...

	N	Percent
uninterested	208	3%
extremely dissatisfied	771	11%
dissatisfied	3944	57%
satisfied	1639	24%
Completely satisfied	35	1%
Missing	272	4%

Facilities

Catholic institutions such as hospitals, schools, kindergartens, old people's homes are financed by the church with a maximum of 5 percent, the rest is paid by the taxpayers, but those who work there are subject to church labor law. The whole thing is immoral and by no means Christian.

email H.E.

For Germany, I have noticed that the churches still carry too much ballast of structures and institutions with them and that the gospel, indeed God, plays too little role.

Germany|Woman|1970|City or small town|Gymnasium|sundays|383

The church should be present in the kindergartens!

Germany|Woman|1940|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|5550

In the Eastern European Awakening Studies of 1997 and 2007, the question of social institutions in the hands of the churches was raised. The background to this was the exclusion of the churches from public activities by communism, which was unfriendly to the church: schools, old people's homes, kindergartens and hospitals had been expropriated from the churches. In the last years of communist rule, church activities in the field of work with the disabled were permitted, sometimes encouraged. With the fall of communism, the church was able to operate such social institutions again. Facilities were restituted. They were put into operation under church responsibility. It was an important step from the hidden sacristy church into social and public life. How is this process assessed from today's perspective? Of which institutions in church hands are there now enough, of which too few?

Table 20: Churches and religious communities have opened various institutions in recent years. Would you say that the churches and religious communities still have too few, or already too many, from the following institutions?

	Retirement homes	Kindergartens	Hospitals	Schools	Media	Clubs
far too little	12%	9%	8%	7%	6%	4%
too few	34%	28%	24%	23%	21%	13%
<i>(much) too few</i>	<i>46%</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>27%</i>	<i>17%</i>
part-part	41%	49%	49%	51%	48%	52%
too many	3%	4%	8%	7%	9%	14%
Far too many	1%	2%	3%	3%	4%	5%
Missing	8%	8%	9%	8%	11%	12%

There seems to be a prevailing view among respondents that there is still a "need to catch up". A tiny minority is of the opinion that there are too many old people's homes, children's hospitals or schools. Media and clubs appear to be important in second order.

Criticism (abuse, corruption)

They are true pastors, seem authentic and modest. As far as I can tell, both are far from corruption.

Germany|Woman|1952|Big City|festtags|2180

Unfortunately, it did not come out that faith and the church have nothing to do with each other! I am a believer, but I can't do anything with the corrupt, greedy and non-transparent behavior of the "ground staff of God"! Of the unfortunately still abusive behaviour towards children today... that cannot be what God expects of priests.....

other Western European country|Woman|1981|Village|University|weekdays|279

The abuse scandal has caused lasting damage to the church. Many people in charge still don't want to admit that.

Germany| |1960|Big City|University|Sundays|838

The treatment of the abuse was poor.

Austria|Mann|1954|Village|Gymnasium|sonntags|1989

I was a member of the Catholic Church. However, I left after dealing with the abuse cases, the double standards and the status of women in this religious community.

Austria|Woman|1962|Farm or house in the countryside|Vocational school|monthly|4253

Furthermore, I am irritated by the behavior of the clergy who were accused of child abuse. I am thinking of the Groër case. Denial until the end. Why don't these men have the courage to say, "I'm sorry, I apologize!" When clergy lie, I find it unforgivable. Some believe that through confession they are free of all faults and sins. For me, that's an absolute "no go!"

Austria|Mann|1961|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|5430

The handling of the abuse by the individual dioceses is impossible. You would have had to work through all of them at once and not one after the other, so it never gets off the agenda. All church groups such as religious orders and others should also have been included.

Austria|Man|1959|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|4404

The study contains clues to the dark sides of the church. Four items were dedicated to the sexual abuse of children by church personnel. Two other financial side issues such as corruption or money laundering.

The financial issues (corruption, involvement in money laundering) are part of traditional criticism of the church. The problems surrounding the Vatican Bank play a role. Nevertheless, the majority considers the church to have integrity in financial matters.

Table 21: What do you think of the following statements?

	The churches are financially corrupt.	The government uses churches for money laundering.
I don't agree at all	23%	47%
I don't agree	27%	15%
part-part	25%	6%
I agree	9%	4%
I totally agree	8%	12%
Missing	8%	17%

With regard to abuse, the statements go in two directions. The loss of prestige is seen as a fact. Regardless of this, other aspects are answered controversially. The fact that the media use the abuse for church bashing is just as controversial as the statement that the church reacted to this scandal in an exemplary manner. The respondents are divided with regard to the statement that the public media's focus on abuse in the

church has distracted from the abuse of children, which is far more widespread, especially in families, and still distracts. In the evaluation of the reappraisal of the abuses by the church leadership, the respondents answered rather cautiously to disappointed.

Table 22: What is your position on the following statements?

	Through the abuse of children, the church has lost a lot of prestige.	The media have also inflated the abuse in the church.	By focusing on abuse in the church, abuse in other institutions and in families has been overlooked.	The Church has responded in an exemplary manner to the abuse of children in its ranks.
Totally agree	74%	14%	14%	3%
Agree	18%	19%	25%	10%
part-part	3%	23%	31%	29%
Disagree	1%	17%	15%	25%
strongly disagree	2%	24%	12%	30%
Missing	1%	2%	3%	3%

"The media have additionally inflated the abuse in the church." The sentence is quite unclear... nowadays there are people who mean by "media" the so-called social media, which often come along without any real research and expertise... or one-sided agitation of populist so-called yellow press products... Sometimes something is blown up and other things are not reflected and discussed enough. I would have split this question and asked for specific media such as TV, specific newspapers, radio etc...

Austria|Man|1952|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|661

With these four "abuse items", three clusters were calculated. The first visibly positions himself on the side of the church, defends it and attests to its exemplary reappraisal. The second stands for the opposite and criticizes the church. The third cluster sees it as detrimental to the well-being of children that abuse in the family is disguised by the focus on church abuse. The respondents are fairly evenly distributed among these three clusters. Abuse and its reappraisal in church and society is proving to be a controversial topic.

The socio-religious

Now the three dimensions of religiosity, religion and ecclesiality have been illuminated with a series of data. So we can start to calculate a typology that takes these three dimensions into account. This can be done in two ways: all individual items used can be used or the three calculated clusters for religiosity, religion and ecclesiastical nature can be used.

Method 1: Clustering with all individual items

The cluster analysis with all 57 items yields the following three types: religious-ecclesiastical persons with consistently high approval ratings for all items; as a "countertype" the non-religious-unchurch persons. In between lies the third cluster, which in many items is more similar to religious-ecclesiastical persons than to the "countertype". The differences in mean values between the two "contrast types"

vary depending on the item. These differences are strong in the core items, i.e. in the items contemporary, going to church, the multifaceted relationship with God, belief in the resurrection of Christ, religiosity and religious rituals, connectedness.

Method 2: Clustering with Selected Items

In order to strengthen the contrast between the three clusters, only those 12 items were included in a new cluster analysis for which the difference between the means is highest and which also prove to be consistent in factor analysis.

Table 23: Items included in the cluster analysis on the "religious-ecclesiastical" because of this.

	DIFFERENCE of the mean values	
ON186	2,24	How often do you go to a church service?
ON126	2,21	Please tell me how important he seems to you personally for a happy and meaningful life, to believe in God?
ON117	2,15	Jesus, the Christ, rose from the dead.
ON31	1,95	RESILIENCE: I pray / meditate more intensively.
ON3	1,95	I have strong trust in God.
ON121	1,86	Baptizing children
ON127	1,69	GOTTESBILD: Which of the statements comes closest to your convictions?
ON124	1,69	Giving religious instruction
ON119	1,67	RELIGIOUS SELDOM ASSESSMENT: How would you rate your religiosity?
ON122	1,61	Perform weddings
ON185	1,56	BELONGING: Which religious community do you belong to?
ON141	1,53	CONNECTEDNESS: Do you feel at home with your church or religious community...

The correlations between the clusters and familiar key items such as religious self-assessment, image of God, church attendance can contribute to clarity.

Table 24: Illustrations – the socio-religious cluster in connection with religious self-assessment, image of God and church attendance

	very religious	religious	part-part	non-religious	very unreligious	no information
Weakly socio-religious	2%	26%	6%	33%	24%	9%
medium socio-religious	7%	88%	1%	2%	0%	1%
strongly socio-religious	33%	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%
all	21%	71%	1%	4%	2%	1%

	theistic	deistic	don't know	atheist	no information
Weakly socio-religious	6%	33%	15%	29%	16%
medium socio-religious	46%	46%	5%	1%	2%
strongly socio-religious	87%	12%	0%	0%	0%
all	66%	26%	3%	3%	2%

	weekly	Sundays	monthly	at festivals	(almost) never
Weakly socio-religious	1%	3%	9%	12%	76%
medium socio-religious	2%	36%	31%	15%	17%

strongly socio-religious	16%	69%	12%	2%	1%
all	10%	52%	18%	7%	13%

Reach and the socio-religious

The starting point of the analyses is the question of the spatiotemporal "reach" of the "reality" in which a person knows himself to be at home, accomplishes, interprets and shapes his life.

We then looked around for the arrangement of this reality, and this in religious, Christ-believing and ecclesiastical respects. The data could be used to cluster the respondents. The two contrasting types were formed: the (technically speaking) socio-religiously weak and the socio-religiously strongly endowed and shaped persons.

These two basic pieces of information can be combined. In doing so, the question can be approached as to how the realities of the "worldly" as well as the "beyond" are "arranged" in religious-ecclesiastical terms. ²⁶

Table 25: Socio-religious endowment of reality according to scope

	weakly socio-religious	medium socio-religious	strong so-zioreligiös
Death is the end of everything. (DIESSETIGE)	70%	28%	2%
I hope that there will be life after death.	5%	43%	51%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul. (BEYOND)	1%	13%	86%

The result is enlightening. The basic tendency of this world is weak in its social religion (70%), while those of this world are strong (86%). OTHERWORLDLY people are 99% (very) religious, WORLDLY 36%. WORLDLY PEOPLE rarely maintain an exchange with a believing congregation (64% almost never, 12% on festivals). ON THE OTHER HAND, 84% OF THE TIME (SUNDAYS AND WEEKLY). The differences are also striking with regard to the image of God. 6% of the WORLDLY and 95% of the OTHERWORLDLY believe in a personal God.

GEN.

The values of the "intermediate group", which believe in a spiritual continuation of life without the resurrection of a body transformed in it, are closer to the BEYOND, but are noticeably lower overall.

	very religious	Religious	Partly-Partly	unreligious	very unreligious	no information
Death is the end of everything. (THIS WORLD)	3%	33%	4%	27%	30%	3%

²⁶ If one takes the "pure types" (beta=see above) for the correlation, the correlation is slightly strengthened;

	Weakly socio-religious	medium socio-religious	strongly socio-religious
ENG	78%	21%	1%
MEDIUM	3%	65%	32%
WIDE	0%	11%	89%

I hope that there will be life after death.	16%	79%	1% 3%		0%	1%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul. hen. (BEYOND)	43%	56%	0% 0%		0%	0%

	Theis Table	Deis table	don't know	Atheis Table	no opinion
Death is the end of everything. (THIS WORLD)	6%	26%	15%	39%	15%
I hope that there will be life after death.	62%	32%	3%	1%	2%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul. (BEYOND)	95%	5%	0%	0%	0%

	weekly	sonn- tags	monthly	at festivals	(almost) never
Death is the end of everything. (THIS WORLD)	1%	12%	12%	12%	64%
I hope that there will be life after death.	6%	52%	22%	8%	11%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul. (BEYOND)	22%	62%	10%	2%	4%

In short: People do not only live in "realities" with very different scopes. They also "arrange" these "realities" in very different ways from a religious and ecclesiastical point of view. In the "reality" of the WORLDLY there is no near God who is important to you and who is trusted. The story of a resurrection, whether that of Jesus or one's own, appears as a pious fairy tale. The exchange with a religious community is limited to rare opportunities of a cultural or family nature, where one "goes along" and "is not there". Max Weber is right. The world of the WORLDLY is "disenchanted", devoid of mystery. They have "believed" God out of their reality. Seen in this way, they are "godless" or "godless". The fact that some consider themselves religious, consider a deistic world builder to be possible for their explanation of the world, otherwise many understand themselves agnostic or atheize, shows that these "religious elements" seem irrelevant for the practice of life. But it could also be that they signal some uncertainty. The comparison of the data for the OTHERWORLDLY and the OTHERWORLDLY shows that the OTHERWORLDLY seem to be more certain of their position than the OTHERWORLDLY. This may have to do with the fact that the OTHERWORLDLY seem to have powerful community support, while the OTHERWORLDLY try to understand their reality individually, alone and alone.

The reality of the OTHERWORLDLY is different. Their reality is in many ways "full of mysteries". Enchanted. In their midst is a God who is trusted, which is what the metaphor "personal" seems to stand for. The personal image of God expresses the fact that this God has a permanent relationship to the world and is not just a de-istic starting signal god who created and wound the world clock, but since then it has been "running out" by itself, whereby man can protect or disturb this process. But it is not only God who has a relationship with the world and with people; for their part, people who are directed towards God know that they are connected to God and actualize this relatedness in prayers and rituals, which they celebrate in the midst of a community with a certain, albeit variable frequency.

Reach and socio-religious issues together

The scope of reality and the socio-religious prove to be affine. Together with the two, a typology is now formed. Again, three clusters are calculated. These can be characterized in this way.

The first type are the secular WORLDLY. Their world is narrow in this world. The socio-religious aspect is marginal.

Their counterpart are the Christian BEYOND. Their reality has a boundless transcendental span. It is furnished with Christian beliefs, in the midst of which is a trustworthy God, to whom one can raise hands and heart in prayer and celebration.

The middle type, which is closer to the second type than to the first, is to be called "pious JENSEITIGE". The socio-religious values are moderate, the image of God rather impersonal. But the reality "inhabited" by this person is vast.

Social distributions

With the help of the data on the interviewees, it is possible to show how these three types are distributed in the social categories. The evaluation begins with a regression analysis to avoid hidden correlations. It could be that, for example, gender correlates. However, if the level of schooling is different for men and women, it must be clarified whether the connection is due to gender or education. A regression analysis can be used to clarify this. Education, gender, number of children, age, town size, authoritarianism have no significant, i.e. random, influence. How someone got married ($\beta = -.03$), what their state of life is like ($\beta = -.04$), whether someone classifies themselves politically on the right or left ($\beta = -.06$), which country someone comes from ($\beta = .07$) causes random differences. The frequency of church attendance ($\beta = .13$) and whether someone belongs to a religious community at all ($\beta = -.34$) has a strong influence. Here is an overview of the random-independent relationships:

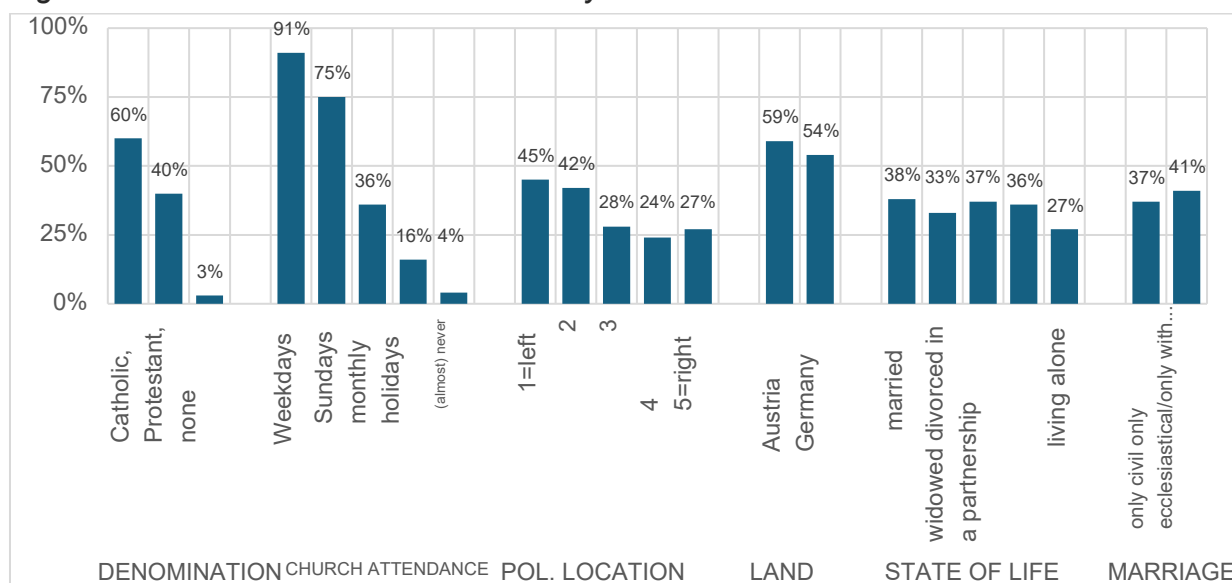
Table 26: What helps shape the location of the world

		secular DIES-SIDE	pious otherworldly	Christian JEN-SIDE
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION				
	Catholic	4%	36%	60%
	Protestant	10%	50%	40%
	none	77%	20%	3%
CHURCH ATTENDANCE				
	Weekdays	0%	8%	91%
	Sundays	1%	24%	75%
	monthly	4%	60%	36%
	Holidays	12%	71%	16%
	(almost) never	49%	47%	4%
POLITICAL POSITIONING				
	1=links	16%	40%	45%
	2	10%	49%	42%
	3	5%	67%	28%
	4	4%	72%	24%
	5=right	11%	62%	27%
LAND				
	Austria	10%	31%	59%

	Germany	7%	39%	54%
STATE OF LIFE				
	married	7%	54%	38%
	widowed	6%	61%	33%
	divorced	10%	53%	37%
	in a partnership	14%	50%	36%
	living alone	9%	63%	27%
LIKE GEJMARRIES				
	only in a civil ceremony	6%	57%	37%
	only ecclesiastical/only with a religious ritual	26%	33%	41%

Line Percentages

Figure 4: Distribution of the "Christian beyond"



Developments in the Socio-Religious

Europe is considered a continental exception in terms of religious, Christian and ecclesiastical development. While Christianity is growing in all other continents, it seems to be evaporating silently in Europe. Leaving the church, a decline in the number of participants in church services, and an ageing of the members are cited as symptoms. Since the 1970s, the interpretation has been based on the assumption of secularization. Europe, according to the interpretation, is in the process of becoming a continent without God. This assumption is also applied to Christianity. Then the question is asked whether Christianity in Europe is dying. Right-wing political parties, such as the German AfD, have formulated the call: Save the Christian West. Of course, they think that Christianity in Europe must be defended from the influx of Islam. On the other hand, the question arises as to whether Christianity must not be saved from itself. There is then talk of self-abandonment, of self-secularization (Wolfgang Huber). In the online study, we tried to collect opinions on these weighty questions. For this purpose, items have been built into the question messenger. In the open question, several participants also took a stand on this.

Development of religiosity

Two questions were asked about the development of religiosity. In one, respondents were asked to look back on the last ten years. In the other, ten years forward, into the future.

Again, it is not about individual percentages, but very much about tendencies.

Table 27: The development of religiosity in Europe

	Today	in 10 years
today more people are religious than 10 years ago	5%	15%
just as many	18%	25%
today fewer people are religious than 10 years ago	76%	53%
Missing	2%	6%

The basic tendency: Religiosity has declined in the last ten years (76%) and will continue to decline. (53%). But the decline over the next ten years appears to have slowed down (minus 23 percentage points). The proportion who assume that the development will stabilise (25%) and those who even foresee an upswing (15%) is increasing.

Very few answer "consistently" with "more". Then the number of religious people has increased in the last ten years and will continue to increase in the next ten years. Slightly more are already consistently stable, and more than half see a consistent downward trend.

Table 28: For ten years and in ten years

		In ten years		
		more	just as many	less
10 years ago>present	more	3%	1%	1%
	just as many	3%	12%	3%
	less	10%	14%	53%

Cell percentages

Clustering the data for both questions reveals two basic attitudes: optimists and pessimists. The pessimists answer more consistently than the optimists: many of them assume that while religiosity has declined over the past decade, it will remain stable or grow over the next decade.

Table 29: Optimists and pessimists

	in the past ten years			in the next ten years		
	more	just as many	less	more	just as many	less
OPTIMISTS	10%	36%	54%	38%	62%	0%
PESSIMISTS	1%	5%	94%	0%	0%	100%

Line Percentages

The pessimists seem to be followers of the secularization hypothesis. The modern, highly individualized culture of Europe continues to promote the farewell of people not only to the churches, but also to their subjective religiosity evaporates silently. In the end, Europe will not only be de-Christianized, but thoroughly secularized.

It is difficult to predict the future of religions and churches in Europe with certainty, but several developments are clearly emerging. First of all, there is an undeniable decline in classical religious ties, especially of the Christian churches. Leaving the church, sinning church attendance and decreasing religious socialization speak for a progressive de-Christianization of Europe. For many people, religion is losing its natural role in everyday life and is increasingly understood as a private matter.

However, this development does not necessarily mean that Europe will become

completely "God-free". The sociologist **Peter L. Berger** has pointed out with his theory of **de-secularization** that modernization does not automatically lead to a permanent loss of religion. In fact, counter-trends are emerging: spiritual movements, new religious communities or an individual "patchwork faith" that is no longer tied to institutions, but nevertheless takes questions of meaning seriously. Crises – such as pandemics, wars or climate change – also reinforce many people's need for orientation, meaning and transcendence. Against this background, the thesis seems plausible that a sufficiently saturated development can tip over into the opposite. In a highly developed, materially secure society, many people experience emptiness, overwhelm or loss of meaning. It is precisely this saturation that can trigger a counter-movement: the search for depth instead of efficiency, for meaning instead of mere consumption. Religion – or at least spirituality – can regain importance here if it is credible, open and true-to-life.

A similar tipping point is conceivable with **individualism**. Although self-realization and personal freedom strongly shape modern life, they are often accompanied by loneliness. Young people in particular move in digital spaces such as TikTok or Instagram, which suggest closeness but hardly replace real community. That is why many people have a growing need for **physically experiential community**, for belonging, rituals and solidarity. Religious communities could play a role here – but only if they do not have a moralizing or exclusionary effect, but enable real encounters.

All in all, it can be said that the future of religions in Europe is less a question of "disappearing or staying" than of **change**. The institutional church is losing power and influence, but religious and spiritual needs remain. Whether this will lead to a new form of faith, community and solidarity depends on how flexibly and credibly religions respond to the challenges of the present.

|||||6846

Optimists do not overlook the turbulent development of religion and churches in Europe since the Enlightenment. But for them, the interpretation of the development as an unstoppable secularization no longer seems as certain as it does for the sociologists of religion of the seventies of the last century and some of their representatives even today. Some perceive an exhaustion of modern culture. Exhaustion can mean that a long-standing trend is so saturated that it tips over into its opposite.

Table 30: Interpretations of religious development

	If a cultural development is sufficiently saturated, it can easily tip over into the opposite.	Modern culture seems to me to be increasingly exhausted.
Totally agree	13%	11%
Agree	29%	28%
part-part	32%	32%
Disagree	7%	16%
strongly disagree	4%	7%
Missing	14%	6%

Part of the political right-wing movement?

Secularization will continue to progress, all empirical data show that, and there is no reason for me to doubt it. But that does not mean that there will be a complete de-Christianization or that Europe will become God-free. For me, these are populist phrases/theses that are not helpful in my opinion.

I have no experience with counter-trends, on the contrary, the trend of secularization will continue in our country (as in all Western countries). And even if there are of course efforts to stop secularization, I would not describe it as a "counter-trend", because its results are far from being a trend. Even in the supposedly Christian USA, secularization is taking place, unfortunately also accompanied by an increasing and frightening fundamentalism - the latter I personally find more disturbing than secularization.

I would not reject the theory that a sufficiently saturated development can turn into the

opposite per se. Nevertheless, I would not want to apply it to all systems, especially not to a romantic idea that "at some point the churches will be full again". I can't imagine such a form of restoration and I wouldn't like it either. Because the church has abused power far too often in history, abused people and mocked faith and God and deliberately mismediated it. We don't need all this again, and I am firmly convinced of this: the church will disappear or become a sect if it primarily strives for restoration. Only if the church and the teaching of the faith continue to reform, come across as humble and not know-it-all, and really develop in the sense of the Gospel, then something would be gained. Or: Then a lot would really be gained.

I would not rule out the possibility that increasing individualism will tip over into a new solidarity, but I still see few signs of this, let alone a trend. And I don't see per se that people are so much less supportive today than they used to be. Solidarity may no longer be expressed in "volunteering in the church", but it is expressed in many other areas, sometimes temporarily, sometimes locally, then also globally. And that was also the case in the past, because even Catholics in the past were usually not in solidarity in the sense of Jesus and the Gospel, but they were in relation to Catholics, but not to Protestants, Jews, poor, rich,

Austria|Man|1951|Big City|Gymnasium|sonntags|1892

goes in the direction of de-Christianization. Unfortunately!

Germany|Mann|1950|City or small town|College|monthly|5508

For example, no one in the seventies of the last century foresaw that the then "left" development would today tip to the "right" worldwide. In doing so, it is important to clarify pastorally theologically whether the presumed tipping point in religious development is not part of the comprehensive "legal development" worldwide.

The greatest danger for the Christian religious communities comes from right-wing conservative or right-wing populist currents that want to instrumentalize religion for themselves and use the vacuum left behind by the dwindling national church for themselves.

Germany|Man|1949|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|1658

The churches should defend themselves much more loudly against the fact that they and religion are instrumentalized by right-wing populist politicians and influencers.

Germany|Mann|1943|City or small town|University|monthly|629

The future of religions probably depends on whether people have a sense of what people need, what they are spiritually responsive to, and that we respond accordingly by speaking and acting accordingly. It will also depend on this whether there will be further development and possibly also spirituality will dwindle. A development that is too saturated can at least make you insecure before it turns into the opposite. I very much hope that the increasing individualism will tip over into a new solidarity and that young people will look for physically tangible community from the loneliness of their TikTok bubble.

Germany|Woman|1964|Hochschule|sonntags|551

Great alienation from the churches and practice, very drastic since Corona At the same time, a kind of rollback is currently taking place: Christian influencers and the proximity to the right is recognizable.

Instrumentalization of the churches for a national agenda. Neointegralism

Austria|Woman|1954|City or small town|Gymnasium|sonntags|5805

In fact, alliances between political (right-wing) populists and evangelical fundamentalists are emerging worldwide. Such are also perceived by quite a few in the survey: In general, according to many, there is a political right-wing development that is very worrying. In this country, religion is increasingly being used for political purposes. However, the revival of religion among boys, which will be considered in a

moment, is only associated by a small part with the political right-wing movement.

Table 31: Religion as part of the socio-cultural right-wing movement

	I observe a political development of the law in Europe.	I am concerned about the combination of religious fundamentalists and political populists.	Religion is increasingly being used for political purposes.	They (the young) also want to support "right-wing" to "right-wing populist" movements.
Totally agree	55%	71%	25%	2%
Agree	31%	18%	32%	6%
part-part	7%	5%	30%	23%
Disagree	2%	2%	8%	27%
strongly disagree	3%	3%	3%	33%
Missing	1%	1%	2%	9%

Question 1: The development is not going in the direction of de-Christianization.

Question 2: Europe will not become God-free.

Question 3: No, no information and experience.

Question 4: I don't think much of this theory. Behind this is pure fear-mongering. Question 4: Yes, I believe that solidarity will increase.

Question 5: Yes, I believe that young people are looking for physically and emotionally tangible community.

Germany|Woman|1954|City or small town|Gymnasium|sonntags|1643

Is the trend tipping among young people?

The longing for meaning and community is great, especially among young people. A new solidarity can be felt in many ways. On the other hand, many do not want to be tied to a particular church or religion.

Germany|Mann|1970|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|5865

The theory is very interesting. However, I am still skeptical about the return of many young people to churches or to faith. In my view, in many cases conversion is understood as an immediate and closed process.

I fear that this "return" could only be a new escape that brings a new form of dualism into (Christian) society.

Austria|Woman|1953|Big City|Gymnasium|festtags|1475

A young, approachable priest with self-irony has led to a noticeable reversal of the trend in our parish. For me, this proves that the distancing from the church can also be reversible and that the longing for religious community certainly persists.

other Western European country|Mann|1985|Big City|University|weekdays|3243

There are tendencies that social media are becoming less important for young people.

There are tendencies that they are turning more towards communities and the religious.

Austria|Mann|1983|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|4682

When asked whether there are "signs among young people of a devotion to religious communities, prayer and faith in God", opinions differ greatly. The majority has opted for "partly-partly". A third tend to say yes, a quarter reject the statement. The interviewees are clearly in complete disagreement.

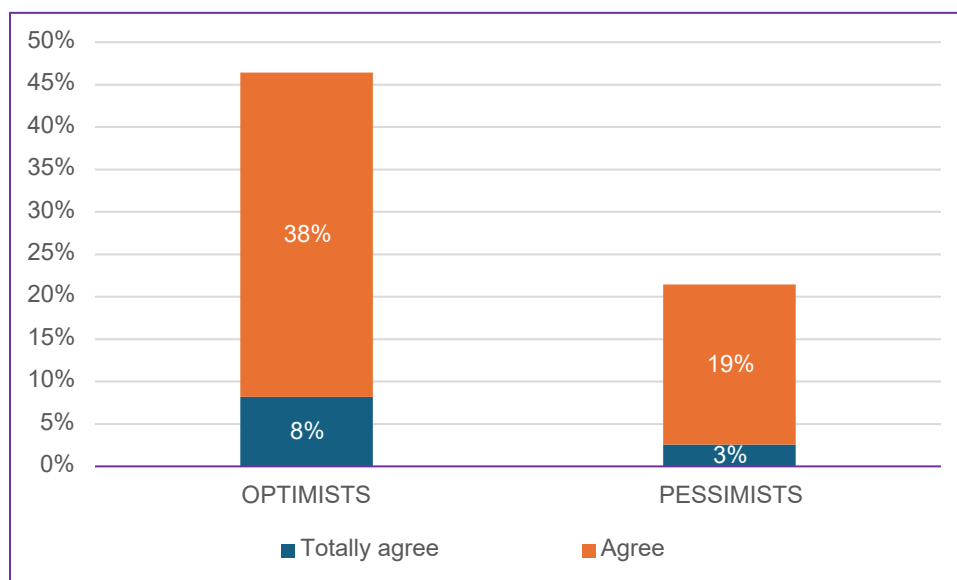
Table 32: Young people's turn to religion?

	There are signs among young people of turning to religious communities, prayer and faith in God.
Totally agree	5%
Agree	26%
part-part	45%
Disagree	17%
strongly disagree	5%

Missing	3%
---------	----

As expected, optimists (46%) agree significantly more than pessimists (22%).

Figure 5: Optimists and pessimists perceive religious development differently among young people.



A separate battery of questions was dedicated to the religious development of young people. What are young people looking for when they embark on a religious path? The answers point (clarified by factor analysis) in two directions.

- One direction concerns one's own person. This is about values, religious experience, orientation, meaning of life, community, escaping banality.
- The other direction is aimed at diaconal commitment: to stand up for others, to be "politic" in the commitment to peace, justice and the integrity of creation. According to the respondents, the personal gain weighs significantly more among young people than the diaconal commitment seems attractive to them.

Table 33: What young people are looking for

	They are looking for values.	They seek religious experience in communities and celebrations.	They are looking for orientation.	They want to be competently supported in their search for meaning in life.	They want to experience community.	They want to escape the banality of their current lives.	They want to stand up for others.	They want to get involved in projects of the religious community for peace, justice and the integrity of creation.
Totally agree	41%	28%	37%	20%	41%	14%	21%	22%
Agree	45%	45%	46%	44%	45%	34%	44%	43%

1+2/5	86%	73%	83%	64%	86%	48%	65%	65%
part-part	9%	20%	11%	23%	9%	32%	25%	23%
Disagree	1%	3%	2%	6%	1%	10%	5%	6%
strongly disagree	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	2%
Missing	4%	4%	3%	4%	4%	6%	4%	4%

The older the respondents, the more likely they are to see young people as religious seekers. These are the group that have high approval ratings for the items on the religious development of young people.

So are the younger respondents more skeptical? Do they have different standards than the older study participants? Church members (Catholic 49%) also see young people as seekers rather than non-members (33%), women (51%) rather than men (46%). Is the wish the father of the forecasts?

Table 34: Searchers by age

	less searching	Searching
to 49	62%	38%
50-59	56%	44%
60-69	53%	47%
70-79	49%	51%
80 and more	49%	51%
Man	54%	46%
Woman	49%	51%
Catholic	51%	49%
none	67%	33%
Sundays	49%	51%
(almost) never	62%	38%

Contexts

In their answers to the open question, many respondents struggle to interpret the religious development in Europe. This is discussed in detail. These are, supported by selected quotations, some of the most important positions that are represented. The interpretations made by the interviewees are widely supported in the religious research literature. This is now to be clearly explained in ten points.

No end to faith – but crisis of institutions

Many voices from the open question emphasise that religion is not disappearing, but is breaking away from institutions. It says:

"Man is immortally religious – so religion will always play a role for people."

Austria|Man|1951|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|2419

"Personally, I believe that there is currently a de-churching, but no de-Christianization."

Austria|Woman|1951|City or small town|Vocational School|Sundays|3602

And critically it adds: "People believe more rather than less than 30 years ago. But trust in the Church is undermined by clericalism, abuse of power..."

Germany|Woman|1960|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|3625

This view corresponds to the diagnosis of a Europe that tends towards "believing without belonging" (Grace Davie 27), which is supported by empirical data that reveal stable personal religiosity in the face of declining institutional ties. 28

Pendulum Motion / Tilt Theory

Many of the voices from the survey describe social developments as cyclical. My tipping theory finds support:

"The pendulum will swing in the other direction again, a look at history teaches me that"

Germany|Man|1976|City or small town|University|monthly|2873

"there is always a wave movement and now it's going downhill, the prosperity, the ever more unequal distribution of resources, the power of the media in the hands of a few who are not legitimized by elections I find very threatening."

Germany|Mann|1974|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|3861

"If undesirable developments hurt enough, it goes back in the opposite direction." .

Germany|Mann|1982|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|5459

Global counter-movements to secularization have been set in motion, according to some experts. 29 Secularization is not a linear process. 30 cultural trends are cyclical. 31

Growing spiritual longing – especially among young people

Numerous respondents report religious awakenings among young people:

"I see signs of a strengthening of the culture of faith among younger people."

Austria Woman 1939 Big City Vocational School Sundays|3961

"In France, a lot of young people are coming to church (again)."

Germany|Mann|1973|Big City|University|monthly|4428

Almost word-for-word source: "There are religious awakenings, e.g. in France ..."

Germany Woman 1942 Big City University (almost)never|6729

"In my opinion, the influx of free churches confirms that young people are looking for community and orientation. I see great danger here, because it is very difficult to distinguish it from evangelical communities."

Austria Man 1954 Suburb or outskirts of a large city University Sundays|5734

These observations correspond to EVS data 32 and the Shell Youth Study 33 . A kind of "spiritual revolution" is taking place among young people. 34

Crises as a motor of religious return

Many of the answers link the observed religious revival with global uncertainties:

²⁷ Davie, Grace: Religion in Modern Europe. A Memory Mutates, Oxford 2000, S. 1– 22.

²⁸ Bertelsmann Stiftung: Religionsmonitor 2017. Gütersloh 2017, S. 1– 50. - Berger, Peter L.: The Many Altars of Modernity. Berlin/New York 2014, S. 1– 25.

²⁹ Berger, Peter L.: The Desecularization of the World, Grand Rapids 1999, 3– 18.

³⁰ Casanova, José: Public Religions in the Modern World, Chicago 1994, 11– 39.

³¹ Inglehart, Ronald / Norris, Pippa: Sacred and Secular, Cambridge 2011, 1– 25.

³² European Values Study (beta=EVS): EVS 2017– 2020, GESIS, Köln 2021, 1– 45.

³³ Shell Germany: 18th Shell Youth Study, Weinheim/Basel 2019, 1– 40.

³⁴ Heelas, Paul / Woodhead, Linda: The Spiritual Revolution, Oxford 2005, 1– 30.

"In view of the Ukraine war and the developments in America, China, Russia, the influx of Christianity will increase again."

Germany|Woman|1953|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|5831

"With further crises in the world, the call for support in a religion will become louder. We will be able to administer more adult baptisms again. The young people are looking for support in religion. Searching for the testimony of us elders."

|Woman| |City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|1085

"In view of the competition from AI, many people will perhaps become more aware of their inner self, their inner life. Authenticity instead of imitation."?

Austria|Woman|1954|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|2719

Existential insecurity strengthens religious orientation, according to experts. 35 crises favored religious return.

³⁶ Such return movements are considered a typical reaction
modern societies. ³⁷

New solidarity instead of individualism

Some expect individualism to tip over into new forms of community:

"It could be that the increasing individualism and saturation will tip over into a new solidarity."

elsewhere|Mann|1940|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|1369

"In addition to experiences, the need for community, security and structure is increasing. With their principles (e.g. "charity"), the churches form a counterpoint to the current right-wing trends and increasing egoism." 8 .

Austria|Mann|1945|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|835

"Young people are definitely looking for physically tangible community beyond social media."

Austria Woman 1957 CityorSmall Town University Sundays|9704

According to experts, young people value community more than teaching. 38 A growing need for belonging is emerging. According to the UN World Youth Report, 39 young people are looking for "communities of belonging". 40

Concerns about fundamentalism and polarization

Despite all their confidence, some respondents warn of problematic developments:

"The tendency towards secularization is becoming smaller, but the tendency towards fundamentalist religious practices is increasing, which I consider much more dangerous."

Germany|Mann|1943|City or small town|Gymnasium|(almost) never|3777

"The shift to the right ... is also reflected in the churches."

Germany|Woman|1954|Village|University|(almost) never|1859

"I rather fear a Christianity, which could also have something to do with the fact that people see themselves threatened by Islamism."

Germany|Woman|1965|City or small town|University|Sundays|4778

In expert circles, fundamentalism is seen as a modern reaction to pluralization. 41 Religious extremism, including among young people, is seen as a growing danger

³⁵ Inglehart, Ronald: Cultural Evolution, Cambridge 2018, 1– 20.

³⁶ Pew Research Center: Being Christian in Western Europe, Washington 2018, 1– 40.

³⁷ Casanova, José: „Fundamentalism as a Modern Reaction to Pluralization“, in: Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion, Oxford 2001, 352– 370.

³⁸ Bertelsmann Stiftung: Religion Monitor 2017m Gütersloh 2017, 1– 50.

³⁹ European Values Study (beta=EVS): EVS 2017– 2020m GESIS, Köln 2021, 1– 45.

⁴⁰ United Nations: World Youth Report 2020m New York 2020, 1– 35.

⁴¹ Casanova, José: Public Religions in the Modern World, Chicago 1994, 11– 39.

.⁴² A kind of "counter-modernity" is being built, which can be expressed in a fundamental way.
43

Role of the Churches – Hope in Willingness to Reform

Many voices emphasize that churches only regain importance when they change:

"It will depend very much on the style as to whether women are finally allowed to have more of a say."
Austria|Woman|1954|Village|University|weekdays|5406

"The churches also have great potential today if they take up the basic spiritual and social needs of the people with charismatic personalities at the top and preach and practice the gospel in word and deed."

Austria|Mann|1943|City or small town|Vocational School|monthly|2539

"In view of severely weakened staff and the precarious situation in both Christian churches, one should really dare more ecumenism. It is unbearable that so much separation still divides."

Germany|Woman|1957|Big City|Vocational School|Sundays|2591

Young people expect authenticity and participation from the churches. 44

institutions would have to adapt to a post-institutional culture. 45

Europe will not become Godless – but religiously different

Many quotes reject the prognosis of a God-free Europe:

"Europe will by no means become de-Christianized or God-free."

Austria Woman 1958 CityorSmall Town University (almost)never|2466

"From the plurality of society, faith will also help to create a plural movement into the future."

Germany|Woman|1941|City or small town|University|(almost) never|3467

"In the future, faith in God will not depend so much on the established churches."

Germany|Woman|1948|City or small town|University|weekdays|676

Europe is "differently religious" (Grace Davie, 46), religiously diverse. 47 The belief in a higher power remains stable among young Europeans. 48

New religious awakenings – but not ecclesiastically

The Open Question reports on spiritual search movements outside the churches:

"I believe that many (young) people are open to religion and spirituality. They often look for them outside the churches."

Austria|Man|1951|City or small town|Vocational School|Sundays|5012

"My impression is that spirituality and interest in it is actually growing, while churchliness is also developing into insignificance in the village."

Germany|Man|1937|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|2582

⁴² Pew Research Center: Being Christian in Western Europe, Washington, D.C. 2018, 1– 40.

⁴³ Berger, Peter L.: The Many Altars of Modernity, Berlin/New York 2014, 1– 25.

⁴⁴ Bertelsmann Stiftung: Religionsmonitor 2017, Gütersloh 2017, 1– 50. – This is also confirmed by Vejrup Nielsen, Marie (beta=eds.): Youth and Religion in Europe, Münster 2019, 7– 28.

⁴⁵ Woodhead, Linda: „The Rise of ‘No Religion’ in Britain“, in: Journal of the British Academy 4 (beta=2016), 245– 261

⁴⁶ Davie, Grace: Religion in Modern Europe. A Memory Mutates, Oxford 2000, 1– 22.

⁴⁷ Pew Research Center: Being Christian in Western Europe, Washington 2018, 1– 40

⁴⁸ European Values Study (beta=EVS): EVS 2017– 2020, GESIS, Köln 2021, 1– 45.

"I don't want to talk about de-secularization. There are many new religious awakenings. Young people in particular are looking for support in religions again."

Austria|Mann|1975|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|(almost) never|2055

A "subjective-life spirituality" is developing⁴⁹. Young people are creating something like hybrid religious spaces. ⁵⁰ This means that individual spirituality grows more strongly than ⁵¹ Institutional Religiosity.

The Insecure Assumption of Secularization

These statements turn out to be disparate. The impression is repeated that the pessimists are quite certain about the decline of traditional forms of the socio-religious, and those who sense a new development on the horizon are consequently not so sure of their position. There are statements such as :

"Everything is possible, nothing is fixed."

Germany|Woman|1935|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|3948

"We don't know the day and hour..."

other Western European country|Woman|1953|Village|Gymnasium|sonntags|1307

"I am not a prophet and therefore cannot predict anything."

Germany|Woman|1935|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|3948

This uncertainty corresponds to the general assessment of the sociology of religion that religious developments are open and not deterministic. The religious future remains unpredictable. ⁵² The courses are contingent. ⁵³ Cultural dynamics are not linear. ⁵⁴ . The secularization hypothesis appears destabilized. Is this why Peter L. Berger, one of the first proponents of the secularization assumption, renounced it in his last work? And this is not least because, in his view, liberal societies are always colorful, i.e. pluralistic? Consequently, they will predictably not be monocolour secular. Secularization as an interpretation of religious development has thus lost its reliability. Nevertheless, it is presented by some church leaders, probably to explain the people's turning away from the churches and possibly also to distract from the urgent need for reform.

⁴⁹ Heelas, Paul / Woodhead, Linda: The Spiritual Revolution, Oxford 2005, 1– 30.

⁵⁰ Vejrup Nielsen, Marie (beta=Hg.): Youth and Religion in Europe, Münster 2019, 7– 28.

⁵¹ Bertelsmann Stiftung: Religionsmonitor 2017, Gütersloh 2017, 1– 50.

⁵² Berger, Peter L.: The Many Altars of Modernity, Berlin/New York 2014, 1– 25.

⁵³ Casanova, José: Public Religions in the Modern World, Chicago 1994, 11– 39.

⁵⁴ Inglehart, Ronald: Cultural Evolution, Cambridge 2018, 1– 20.

Part 3: Attitudes and lifestyle

This third part of the evaluation of the online study deals with the question of how the scope of reality and the associated socio-religious institution of this reality stands in relation to selected aspects of the respondents' lifestyle. Does the respective "interpretation of life" have an impact in particular on attitudes that help shape the way of life? These include fears and trust; Institutions that are trusted; meaning of life; authoritarianism, self-concern, willingness to share/solidarity when jobs become scarce; in addition, there are different moral positions, but also gender roles; from the political field, there are indications of historical wounds, resilience and the topics of democracy and nationalism.

Fears

The great challenge is to overcome fear, to show solidarity, to share thoughts and lives and thus to gain confidence.

Germany|Woman|1969|Village|University|weekdays|2979

The public climate is geared towards prosperity and personal well-being. Therefore, a decline in prosperity or even just the thought that it could fall is frightening.

Germany|Woman|1943|City or small town|University|(almost) never|2258

Politicians have been spreading the red carpet for Islam for a long time. Not out of reverence for another God, but on the one hand out of fear of the reaction of the Muslims, the Islamic faith would be violated (as is done with conviction with the Christian, especially the Catholic faith), and on the other hand because de-Christianized people are easier to control.

Germany|Woman|1965|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|5262

I see the information situation as problematic. Too much negative news obscures the view of what is really important and leaves people with a diffuse uncertainty and fear. Here we should go more into "advertising" with the hope we have from faith.

Austria|Woman|1954|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|5424

"I'm afraid of coming up short in the search for happiness because I don't believe in life after death": I feel this combination is wrong, I can also be afraid of falling short if I believe in life after death, the background of this question is a theology of tears.

Austria|Mann|1954|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|festtags|3332

Sometimes, however, this is certainly associated with fear, e.g. with regard to ecological / climate-related issues, but also political developments / problems.

|Woman|1966|City or small town|University|weekdays|5821

Right-wing and left-wing populists inside and outside the church use the vacuum of answers to the question of God, the loneliness and the fear of many people for their purposes.

Germany|Man|1949|City or small town|Vocational school|(almost) never|718

Christians are not so easily seduced. They are also not at the mercy of fears, because they have a strong hold in God.

Germany|Woman|1965|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|5262

The current economic system seems extremely unstable to me, and the fears of many people are increasing. Who can provide support and orientation?

Germany|Woman|1977|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|3894

Fears play a growing role in today's reeling world. The citizens of our societies have many fears, both in the private and public spheres. Various disciplines deal with them: depth psychology (Monika Renz 55), political science (Dominique Moisi 56),

Linguistics (Ruth Wodak 57), but also theology (Eugen Drewermann 58). In a study on the occasion of the arrival of countless people seeking protection in autumn 2015, I undertook a study on fear in the refugee period. 59 I have also tested the instruments developed there again in the present study.

Linguistically, I make a practical definition to distinguish between two terms used in everyday language, namely fear and fear. For me, fear is irrational, fear is rational. Fear sits in the stomach, fear in the head. Fear paralyzes, fear makes us act. Fear desolidarizes, fear allies.

The fears that exist in the European populations today are multi-dimensional:

- An initial package of fears is very personal. These include the fear of getting sick, dying, losing relatives, being abandoned by one's partner. Diffuse fears are also part of it.
- A second package has more to do with social aspects: the prosperity achieved, social decline, wage dumping due to cheap labour by those seeking protection; interwoven with these is also the fear of young people of the ambition that arises from a strong will to survive on the part of the refugees.
- Finally, three items have to do with the more spiritual fear of falling short in the pursuit of happiness in a scarce life. This package also includes the attitude of being satisfied with less. 60

Even at the first sighting, a gap can be identified: cultural fears, fears of foreign infiltration, which arose during the refugee period, were unfortunately not taken into account. They need to be implemented in a revised questionnaire. In the present quorum, social fears are most pronounced, followed by personal fears; finally come the fears of time scarcity (Marianne Gronemeyer, 61).

⁵⁵ Understanding fear. Deeper than all fear lies the basic trust, Freiburg 2018.

⁵⁶ Moïsi, Dominique: Battle of Emotions. How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation and Hope Determine World Politics, Munich 2009. Geopolitics in an Age of Resentment, Anger and Fear, London 2025.

⁵⁷ Wodak, Ruth: Politics of Fear. What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean. London 2015.

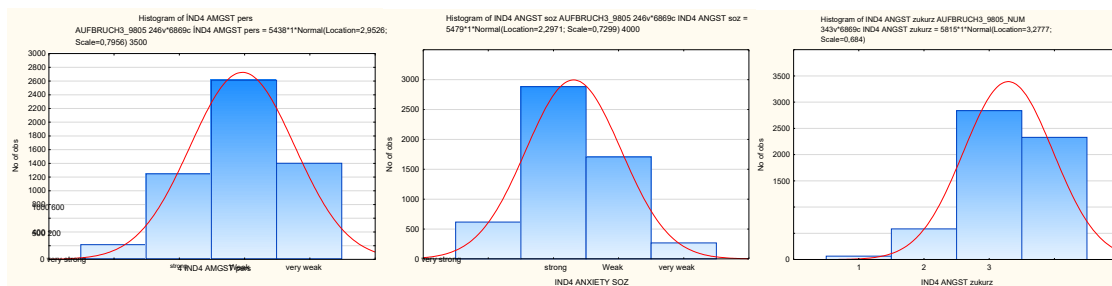
⁵⁸ Drewermann, Eugen: Das Böse oder Das Drama der Freiheit. Olten-Freiburg 1991.

⁵⁹ Zulehner, Paul M.: Entängstcht euch! The Refugees and the Christian Occident, Ostfildern 2016.

⁶⁰ The charges of these three items are polarized in opposite directions.

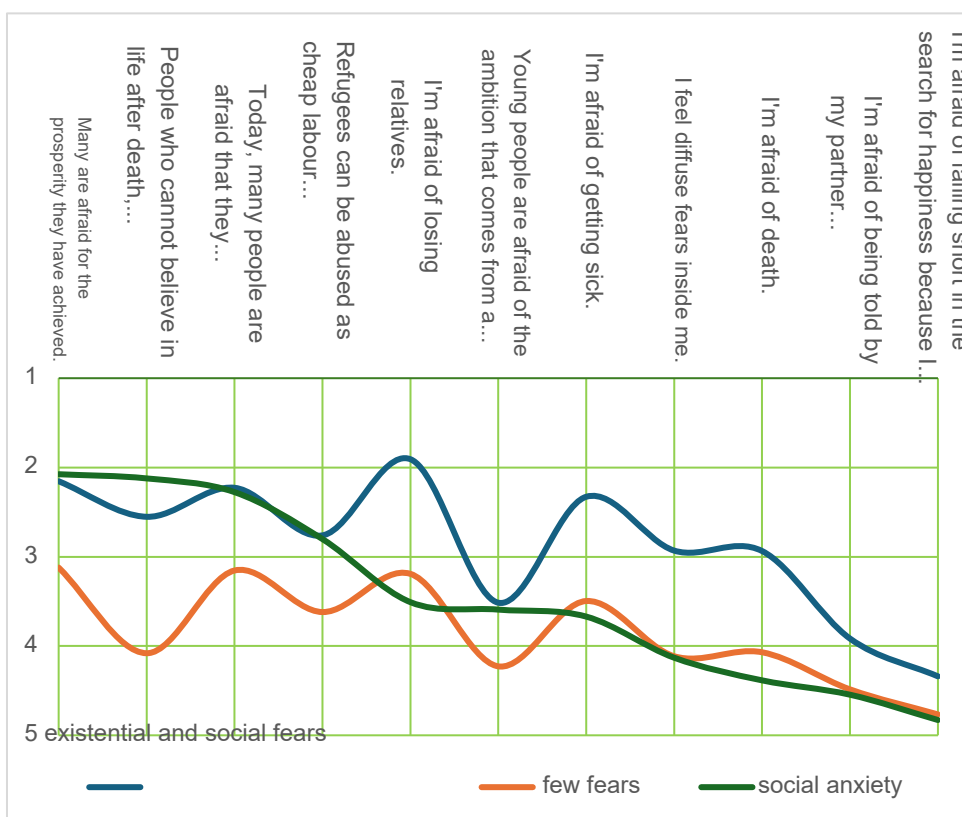
⁶¹ Grönemeyer, Marianne: Life as a Last Opportunity. Security needs and time constraints. Darmstadt 1993, 5 2014.

Figure 6: personal, social, time-tight



In addition to the ranking of the different dimensions of fear, it is also interesting to know which personality traits they help to shape. The result of a cluster analysis with all fear items implemented in the questionnaire serves as a basis. Three clusters were formed: people who have a lot of fears, both social and personal; people who feel predominantly social anxiety; People who have few fears.

Figure 7: Types of anxiety



These are important influencing factors, calculated using regression analysis: people with children ($\beta = .05$) and men ($\beta = -.06$), but also people who often go to church, show above-average social anxiety. Going to church seems to dampen existential fears ($\beta = -.09$).

Table 35: Frequency of church attendance and fears

	existential and social fears	few fears	social anxiety
--	------------------------------	-----------	----------------

Weekdays	26%	22%	52%
Sundays	35%	25%	40%
monthly	37%	32%	30%
Holidays	38%	35%	26%
(almost) never	36%	38%	26%

Trust

Humanity needs love, trust, attention, solidarity.

Germany|Mann|1945|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Gymnasium|sonntags|1228

I draw strength and courage and confidence from my education, 20 years of loyal partnership, my friends and a healthy trust in God.

Austria|Woman|1985|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|630

It comes to light far too little that faith, imparted by the churches, gives support, and at the same time creates a beautiful feeling and trust in oneself.

Germany|Woman|1950|City or small town|Gymnasium|sonntags|6005

My religiosity has a colorful background, first from the family: the basic trust through my mother; I can remember my own birth well

Austria|Woman|1957|City or small town|University|(almost) never|4106

Community offers unifying, pleasant experiences. But a real trust in God also endures the illusion of loneliness.

email J.D.

Faith is the greatest. G e s c h e n k. Of my life. My trust in God has helped me a lot to overcome 2 very difficult life crises - caused by illness and death. I am very grateful for that. I pray daily for this power of faith for my children.

Austria|Woman|1974|City or small town|University|monthly|1318

Perhaps there is a talent for religiosity, as there is musicality, or the gift of being able to deal with numbers easily. If there is such a thing, then one would have to respect or even envy religious people.

Austria|Woman|1953|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|2724

The counterforce against fear is hope-soaked trust (Monik Renz, 62). The study also contains clues about this. These were the built-in questions: Did a respondent learn to trust as a child (in the family, in a kindergarten, at school)? Does a partnership inspire trust? Does anyone trust God? Do people who trust in God be envied?

With the exception of envy, the three other items measure the endowment of a respondent with confidence. Status (beta=-.26), gender (beta=-.08) and church attendance (beta=-.05) help shape the attitude of trust. 63

Trust in a number of institutions was also asked. In the present non-representative study, the institutions rank according to trust: jurisdiction, laws, courts (beta=2.385), police (beta=2.421), social security (beta=2.620), National Council, parliament (beta=2.809), education (beta=2.827), church (beta=2.841), administration (beta=2.892), trade unions (beta=3.055), armed forces, armed forces (beta=3.141), newspapers (beta=3.155), large commercial enterprises (beta=3.694).

⁶² Renz, Monika: I won't let my hope be taken away. Paths of Redemption and Spirituality Today, Freiburg 2025.

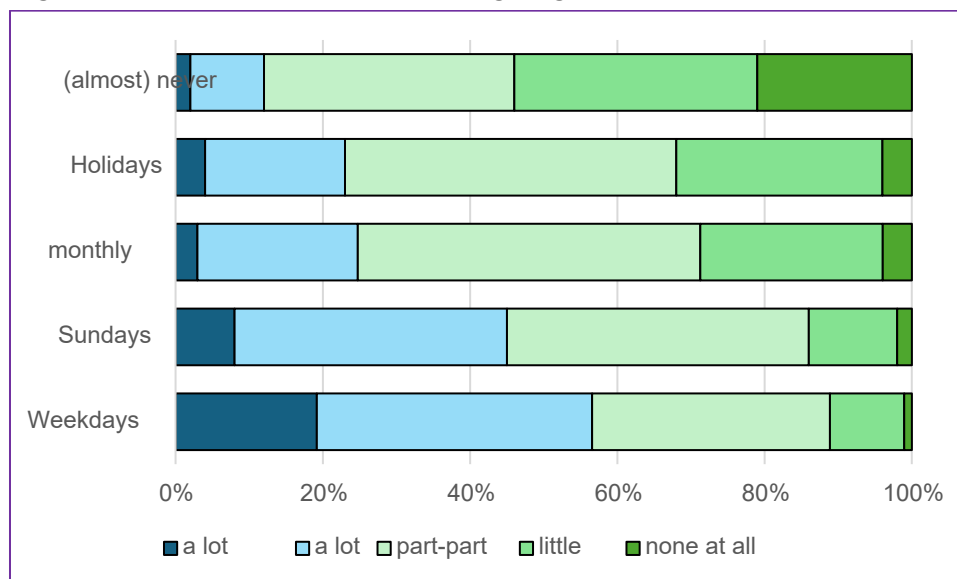
⁶³ For this purpose, a cluster analysis was carried out with the items trust in family, in partnership and trust in God, then a regression analysis: hence the beta values.

In terms of factor analysis, these institutions form two groups:

- National Council, Parliament, Administration, Judiciary, Laws, Courts, Social Security, Police, Education, Newspapers, as well as
- Trade unions, armed forces, large commercial enterprises, church.

The respondents trust the regulatory institutions more. Trade unions and churches are in the middle of the field among our respondents. It is striking that the trust in the church varies quite a bit among churchgoers.

Figure 8: Trust in the church after going to church



Meaning of life

The churches often give answers to questions that no one is interested in -- and conversely, no answers to important questions: the meaning of life, how to deal with conflicts, doubts about faith, a new understanding of the creed, the priesthood of women, sexuality, what happens after death? How is a resurrection to be understood? Why is belief in miracles still being demanded? What is canonization supposed to do? Love your neighbor is, in my opinion, the essence of Christianity! Not the degree of piety!

Austria|Mann|1983|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|Sundays|5526

In conversations with the now 12-15 year olds, I experience again and again that they are newly open to the mystery of God and are looking for a comprehensive meaning in life and ask: What gives hope in the face of the apocalypses that are constantly proclaimed in the alarmist society?

other Western European country|Woman|1963|City or small town|Gymnasium|sonntags|5687

Conversely, young people often gain in the service of the poor and weak, and both in Europe and in the so-called Third World they find meaning in life and often new access to genuine faith.

Austria|Woman|1961|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Gymnasium|(almost) never|646

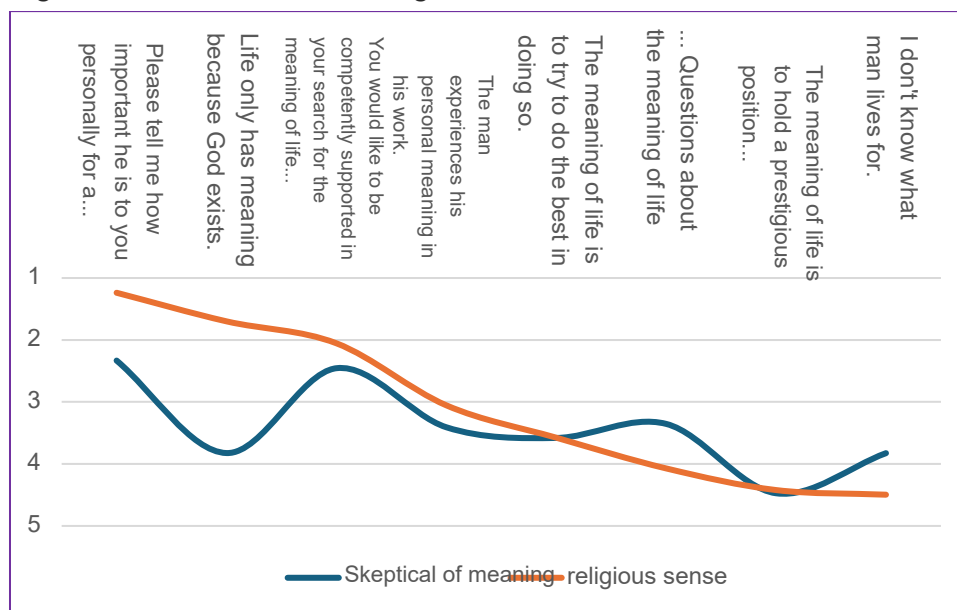
I understand why religions were invented and that it takes away many people's fear of death and the worry that our lives are meaningless.

Germany|Mann|1943|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|58

Meaning in life, as Viktor Frankl taught, is gained by living for someone or for something. The majority of people seem to succeed in this. The statement from the questionnaire "I don't know what man lives for" hardly finds any support. The two meaning items "The meaning of life consists in gaining a respected position" and "The

man experiences his personal meaning in his work" will be processed in a different place; however, they are included in the cluster analysis. That leaves three relevant items on the question of meaning. Two revolve around faith in God and whether it is experienced in a meaningful way ("Life only has a meaning because God exists" and close to the content "How important does it seem to you personally for a happy and meaningful life to believe in God?"). Finally, it was asked whether the church is expected to deal with "questions about the meaning of life".⁶⁴

Figure 9: : Cluster of Meaning



The One Cluster brings together people who answer the question of meaning in connection with God. The others are not only skeptical of the senses, but throughout, up to an above-average value for the item of meaninglessness.

Regardless of chance, the following characteristics of a person are related to the search for meaning: school education ($\beta = -0.04$), self-centeredness ($\beta = 0.05$), age ($\beta = 0.05$), willingness to participate ($\beta = -0.06$), authoritarianism ($\beta = -0.08$), political right-left orientation ($\beta = 0.14$), church attendance ($\beta = -0.29$). Here is the table for going to church to illustrate the strongest of the connections; as expected, it shows a strong connection between going to church and religious meaning:

Table 36: Going to church and creating meaning

	Skeptical of meaning	religious sense
Weekdays	16%	84%
Sundays	27%	73%
monthly	50%	50%
Holidays	61%	39%
(almost) never	74%	26%

⁶⁴ Together with the anomie item "I don't know what man lives for" ($\beta =$ negative charge), these three items are one-dimensional in factor analysis.

Authoritarianism

I experience a church in which clericalism and authoritarianism are increasing. Deeply faithful, I have come to the "moral certainty" that this church has lost all competence, relevance or justification.

Austria|Woman|1958|Big City|University|(almost) never358

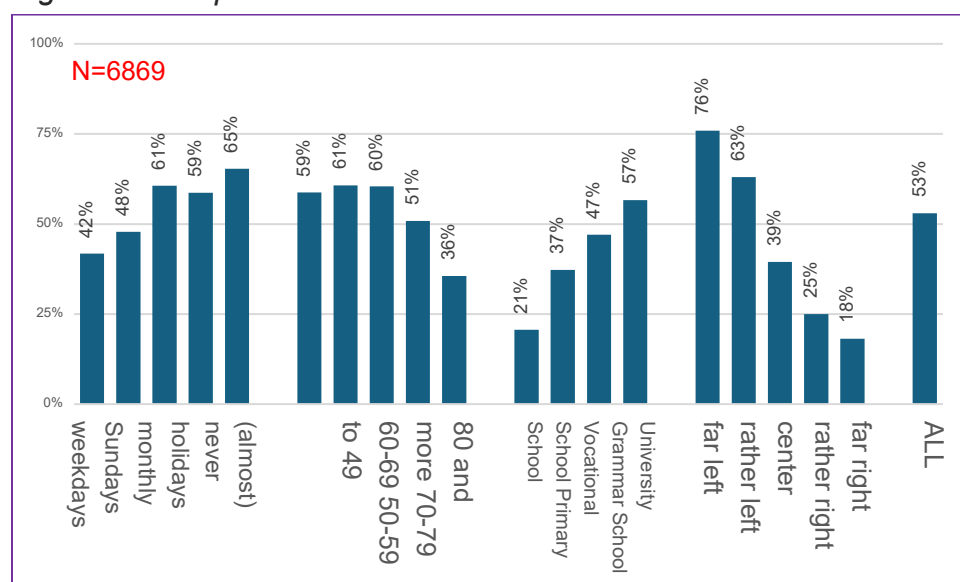
In Europe, we live in a postmodern society that has suffered a severe loss of values with the decline in the importance of religion and the "God is dead". In this situation, there are unfortunately plenty of currents that want to step into this vacuum in order to use it for themselves (see authoritarianism / nationalism / Trumpism / extreme right and left currents etc.). Social media etc. often serves as a medium for the dissemination of authoritarian (extremist / populist opinions), which try to influence disguised as meaningful and often succeed in doing so.

Germany|Woman|1959|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|(almost) never3531

Authoritarianism means a willingness to submit. It is a personality trait that has contributed to interpretation in many (religious) sociological studies. It is based on the question of Theodor W. Adorno, 65, as to why so many people in Germany followed Adolf Hitler. In churches, an authoritarian ministerial culture is often called clericalism.

In my earlier studies, I have already worked profitably with the Authoritarianism Index. It is composed of the one-dimensional items of factor analysis: "Where there is strict authority, there is also justice." "The most important thing children have to learn is obedience." "You should only have a say and participate in decisions when you have reached a position through hard work." "The amount of freedom that young people have today is certainly not good." Church attendance (beta=.07), gender (beta=.07), age (beta=-.11), education (beta=.12) and, above all, the political right-left orientation (beta=-.27) are closely related to authoritarianism.

Figure 10: Proportion of non-authoritarians



This distribution of non-authoritarians in the individual categories also shows that above all the political camps, society according to education and age (it is evident in the case of

⁶⁵ Adorno, Theodor W. u.a.: The Authoritarian Personality, New York 1950.

the under-40s a slight decline), but also, although mitigated to the political, the church members are quite polarized with regard to authoritarianism.

Self-concern and willingness to share

Individualism and solidarity, in this case self-concern and willingness to share, are opposites. Those who circle excessively around themselves have a hard time sharing generously. Both personality traits were also examined in the present study.

Self-centeredness

My impression is that the youth gt. is becoming more secular and religiosity is becoming more individualistic.

Germany|Man|1957|Farm or house in the countryside|Elementary School|weekdays|5110

Sometimes I think that it has been and is exaggerated in Western societies with individualization

Austria|Man|1956|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|1522

I can't see a turning away from individualism at all at the moment. I could imagine that in the current global political crisis, the urge for individualism could increase in the coming years.

other Western European country|Man|1956|Village|Gymnasium|sonntags|1199

The increasing individualism also worries me very much.

Germany|Woman|1964|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Gymnasium|festtags|668 In my opinion, women's emancipation does not simply consist of a professional career. Nowadays, being a housewife and mother is a highly demanding job, which is not PROPERLY appreciated by the churches either!

Austria|Woman|1995|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|502

People are often left too alone with their questions and doubts. I experience many people as seekers.

Germany|Woman|19309|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|(almost) never|3078

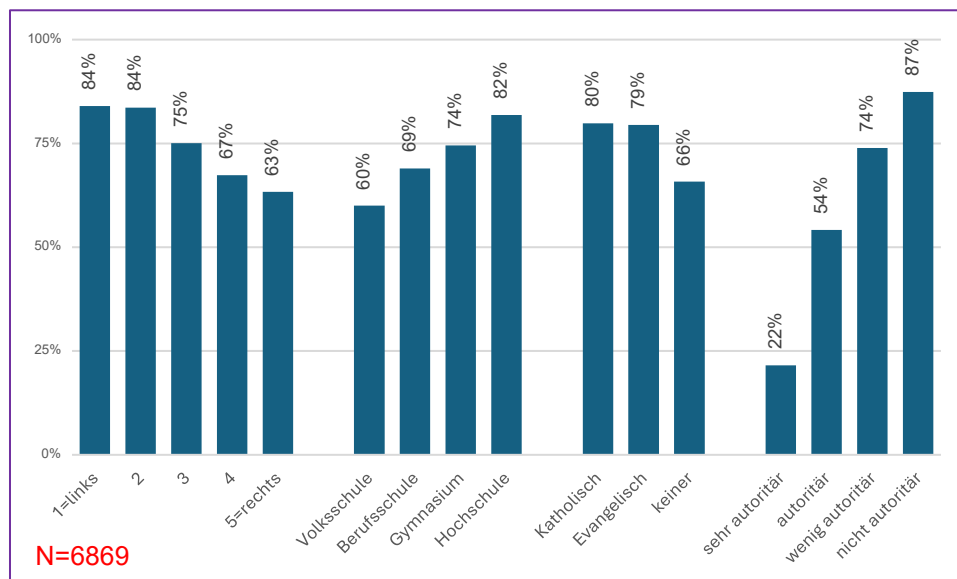
Consumerism and the misconception that only an increase in material prosperity makes you happy fails at the limits of growth.

Austria|Mann|1967|Big City|University|monthly|921

Self-concern – one could also say self-centered or individualistic with a greater tendency to moral devaluation – feeds on the pursuit of professional advancement. They consider security and prosperity to be more important than freedom. They see their job less as meaning in life and more as a secure income. They have a tendency to live as pleasantly as possible, and see happiness as the most important thing in life. They believe that everyone should solve their own problems. Political right-left orientation (beta=0.05), age (beta=-0.05), school education (beta=-0.07), church attendance (beta=0.11), authoritarianism (beta=-0.22). Thus, people who have positioned themselves "to the right" on the political scale, who have a high level of education, do not belong to any religious community, and who above all are not authoritarian prove to be more self-worried. 66

⁶⁶ This is the precise wording of the items: "The meaning of life is to gain a prestigious position." - "Security and prosperity are more important than freedom." - "The profession should primarily be there to guarantee a secure income." - "You have to make life as pleasant as possible."

Figure 11: Proportion of non-self-concerned people



Willingness to share

Individualism has nothing to do with a lack of "solidarity". Anyone who tells women that they should stay at home and have children is not acting in solidarity.

Germany|Mann|1955|City or small town|Hochschule|festtags|3457

Sharing and community must be learned (by most people in the West) who have grown up culturally with the understanding that they themselves come first, that one is successful through one's own strength.

Austria|Mann|1961|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|5898

But what about those who seek REAL solidarity. How many of them are there?

Austria| |1960| |Hochschule|sonntags|1520

In my view, those people who are interested in a "de-Christianization in the EU" are those who either know far too little about churches, i.e. think that Christianity would hinder freedoms, or those who stand in the way of solidarity and love for the poor in order to be able to siphon off even more money from the real economy.

Germany|Man|1951|City or small town|University|Sundays|3498

The currently prevailing capitalism lives from the isolation of individuals, and new solidarities will probably only emerge when the current "pure" market economy could develop into a "social" market economy again.

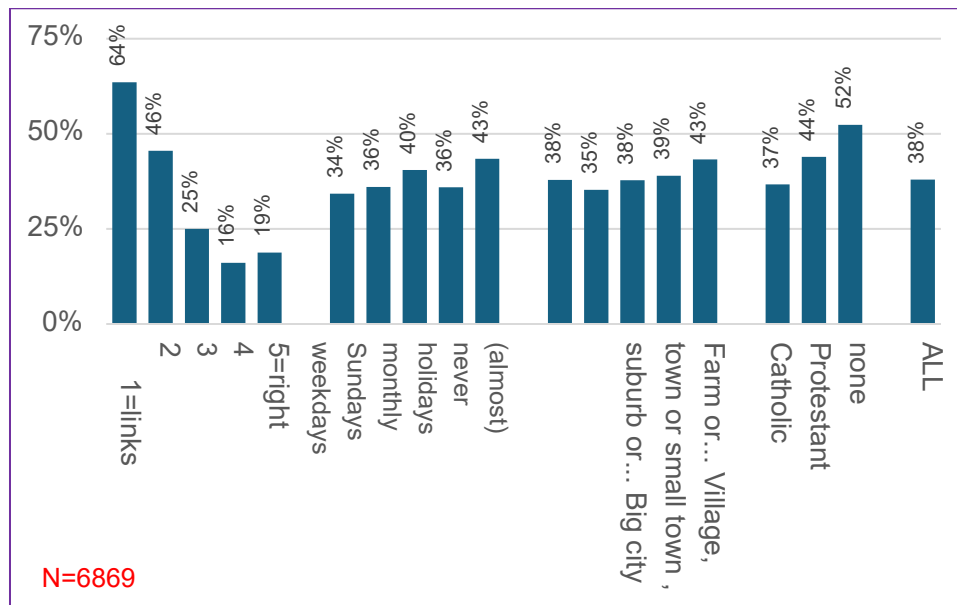
Austria|Woman|1963|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|6031

The willingness to share, and not obedience, is considered the most important educational goal for children. Renunciation, redistribution and reduction of income differences are approved. ⁶⁷ The distributions vary according to the size of the place of residence ($\beta = .04$), denominational affiliation ($\beta = .04$), church attendance ($\beta = .05$) and, above all, according to positioning on the political right-left scale ($\beta = .32$). Politically, redistribution is considered a left-wing program.

possible." - "The important thing is that people become happy. How, that's his business." - "Everyone has to solve his/her problems themselves."

⁶⁷ "You should be allowed to take something away from those who have more in order to distribute it to those in need." - "Income differences should be reduced." - "If we all gave up a little, there would soon be no more poverty." - "The most important thing children have to learn is to share."

Figure 12: Proportion of respondents who are very willing to share



when jobs become scarce

Answering the questions is not always easy, because e.g. when it comes to the question of jobs (young - old, nationals - foreigners...) it should depend on the respective qualifications, team spirit, commitment and therefore you can't generally fight young against old... ect.

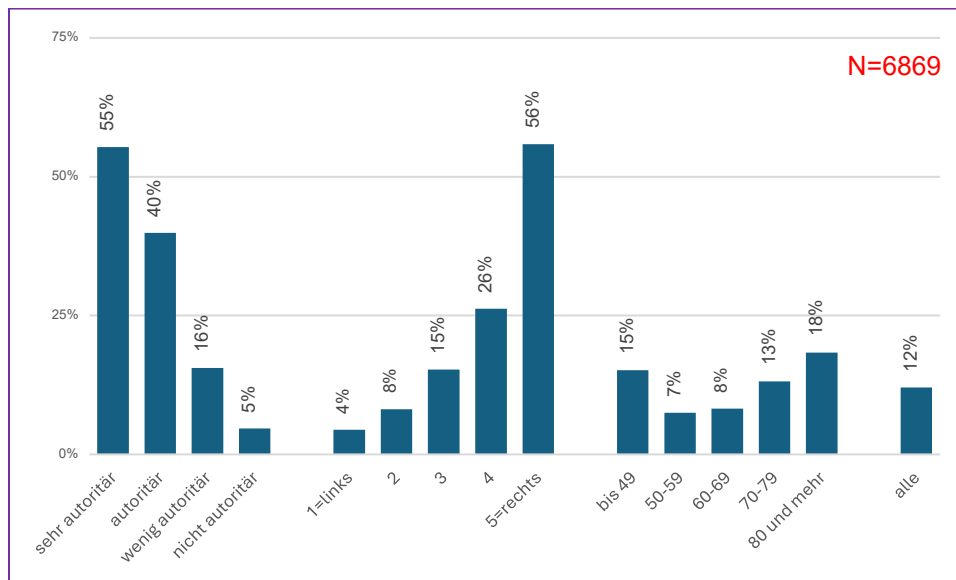
Austria|Man|1957|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|1496

A touchstone for the willingness to share, i.e. for acting in solidarity, is the solution to the social challenge that and when jobs become scarce. The tool, which has proven itself in other studies, was used in four variants, always competing for work. The question was asked whether one side should be preferred: younger people over older people, men over women, nationals over foreigners, healthy people over the disabled.

Factor analysis, all four items measure a tendency to prefer: for example, a common index "job shortage" could be calculated. On the basis of the summonses, the following sequence of the groups that tended to be ranked lower can be seen: the disabled, women, foreigners, the elderly.

This ranking is shaped by the following characteristics: gender ($\beta = .04$), highest educational attainment ($\beta = .04$), age cohort ($\beta = -0.07$), left-right orientation ($\beta = -0.13$), authoritarianism ($\beta = .28$).

Figure 13: When there is a shortage of jobs, healthy people, men, nationals and younger people tend to prefer



Moral positions

The Christian churches have always done great damage when they place a large or even sole emphasis on one-sided moral (sexual!) Commandments/Commandments. Which is still the case for the most part. The churches should offer support in such matters, but not bans.

Germany|Man|1951|City or small town|University|weekdays|1088

A church in which Eren's positions are no longer recognizable becomes superfluous. Moral values are extremely important. In order to be credible in the Christian sense, the Catholic Church must above all rethink its positions on homosexuals and divorced people. It is normal, human, and so willed by creation that people are homosexual and also fail in interpersonal areas. In doing so, the church should not brand them, but support them.

Austria|Mann|1953|Village|Gymnasium|monthly|3552

Nevertheless, I believe that the churches are important for the people in our countries: for the questions of life and death, for the questions of God, for the togetherness of people, for the togetherness of people, for the safeguarding of moral values, for basic political statements, for the preservation of culture...

In spite of everything, I hope for good developments in the churches!

Austria|Mann|1938|Village|Vocational School|Sundays|4748

Their [the churches'] moral ideas would also have to be adapted to today, e.g. homosexuality.

Austria|Woman|1941|Big City|Gymnasium|sonntags|2823

The right makes religion a tool for power, see USA. The very religious can even be manipulated uncritically to such an extent that they can be used as an instrument against their predetermined religious values. The self-imposed Christian "values" are betrayed. Churches are loud when it comes to morality, "abortion, homosexuality, women's rights" but incredibly quiet when it comes to attacks, the Gaza war, or the current situation in the USA or other injustices in the world (EVERY denomination). Anyone who takes his morality from the Bible should read it consciously. It is also interesting to see how easy it is for believing Christians to deal with deadly sins: Working on Sunday? No problem. Lies? No problem. Gladly accept only the pleasant teachings. The rest is sometimes right, sometimes wrong depending on your

mood

Austria|Woman|1953|Village|Vocational School|monthly|6773

But then there are also the people, and they are frighteningly often to be found among the older or old, who then say: well, today everyone is allowed to do what he wants anyway (??) I always ask do you really mean that ?. ... and I am of the opinion: we need a common basis of values and I think that's nonsense to say something like that (everyone does what they want)

Austria|Mann|1950|Farm or house in the countryside|Hochschule|sonntags|1294

Very often I experience moralizing in sermons, mostly against the right. I myself position myself politically in the middle, but I think the subliminal indications have lost nothing in the church. But since this happens, I rarely go there. I think it's a shame that this is the case. Politically, I know how to judge for myself, I don't need the church. To be honest, I also find the constant discussion of the topic of asylum stressful. The topic is everyday life anyway and a lot of things are really not positive, but you can't say that. This is ridiculous and unhealthy. Concealing problems does not help. The raised index finger is not appropriate for intelligent people and it is exhausting to constantly appeal to the conscience. I think the church could borrow from Buddhism. There are many Christians (including dignitaries and dignity bearers) who have already recognized this. I mention Zölls, Steindl-Rast, Brantschen and many others. These people are role models for me.

Germany|Man|1956|City or small town|Vocational School|monthly|4065

In the long run, people cannot do without God completely. It's up and down. And in the end: Ethics without morality is rotting!

Austria|Woman|1972|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|4745

Therefore, I do not believe that Europe will become God-free. It is precisely the megalomaniacal behaviour in the USA that makes it clear to my pupils that there must be ultimate responsibility outside the human sphere, that morals and values should be justified somewhere else.

Germany|Woman|1951|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|689

Some of the questions were very general, with morality, for example, you should always know the individual situation before judging.

Austria|Mann|1947|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|monthly|2036

The morality proper to the Christian faith is very valuable, but was delivered to the deconstruction of the Enlightenment through the image of the personal God.

Germany|Mann|1943|Village|University|weekdays|4028

A number of different moral positions were already tested in the European Values Studies 1981-2020. The "most controversial" items have now also been implemented in the questionnaires of the present study. The data collected for this purpose were examined using factor analysis. Two "factors" already became apparent that permeate the answers with different strengths (charges):

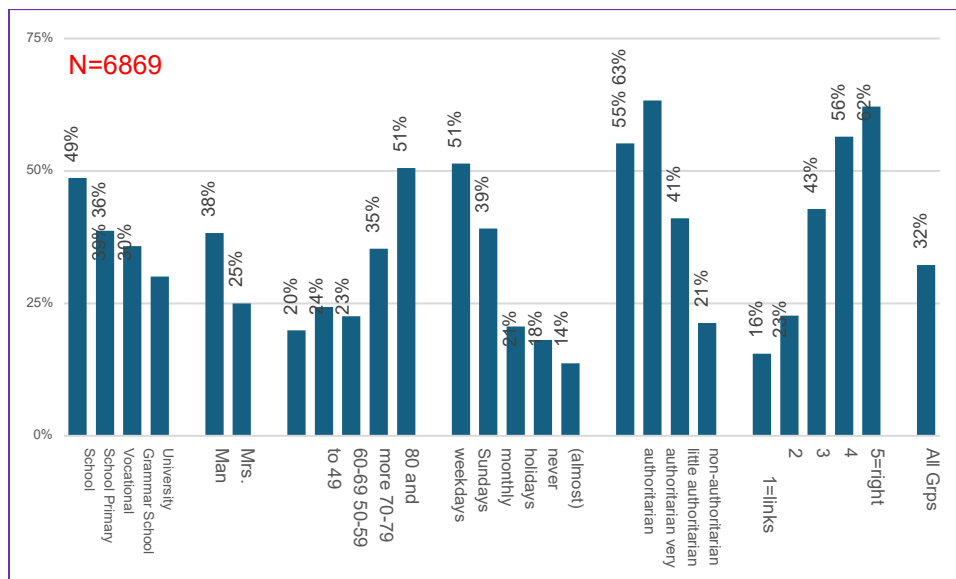
- One factor uploads moral positions that relate to goods (harming the environment; driving a car even though you have drunk too much; not reporting parking damage; putting power above law; Taking a stranger's car for a spin, receiving stolen goods). This dimension is to be called "factual morality".
- The other in turn includes the items on questions of sexuality, relationship culture and the protection of unborn life (getting divorced; abortion; homosexuality): It is to be labelled as a 'morality of life'.

Both indices (factual morality and life morality) are used to calculate a cluster analysis with two porous clusters. It turns out that one cluster has consistently high values, but they are slightly decreasing in morality. The other cluster has low values for morality and high values for material morality. For this group, "sheet metal comes before life".

You would have to be lucky enough to be born a car, then you would be morally well protected.

The assignment to one of the two clusters depends (randomly and freed from overlapping influences by a regression analysis) on the following personality traits: school education (beta=-.05), gender (beta=-.10), age (beta=.14), church attendance (beta=-.16), authoritarianism (beta=-.18), political right-left orientation (beta=.19),

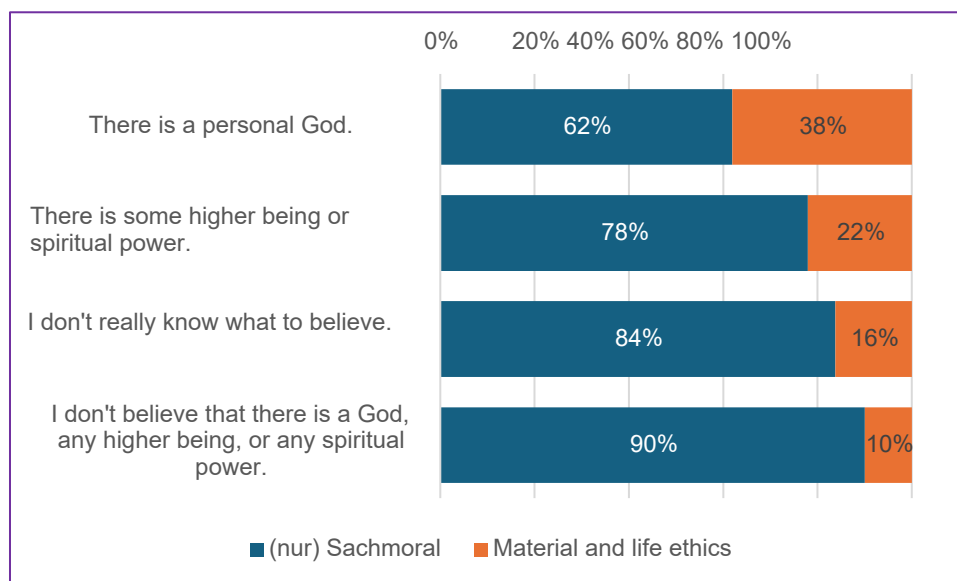
Figure 14: What helps shape the morality of life



These connections are not easy to interpret. Moral principles in relation to things or even the environment seem less complicated than, for example, questions about conflict pregnancies, divorce or homosexuality. In any case, societies, but also the church, prove to be highly polarized in these moral matters. The image of God also plays a role. Respondents who believe in a personal God (38%) have significantly higher morals than those who have no access to a personal God, i.e. are agnostics (16%) or atheists (10%) (beta=-.06). It seems to play a role whether one is responsible for one's own moral actions to oneself, to other people or to a personal God. A theological morality seems to be more effective than an autonomous one: which, however, also leads to moral action in quite a few people, while God-believing people also avoid certain moral claims in spite of their reference to God.

A side note: In the texts on the open question, a position is very often taken on the relationship between morality and the church. The items on morality were directed at society in general, not at the moral proclamation of the church. This is widely criticized according to the well-known accusations: pre-modern, sexually neurotic, unreasonable for young people...

Figure 15: Belief in God and moralities



Gender roles

What I am currently perceiving is that the young people who are drawn to the church often have a conservative understanding of life, e.g. represent the traditional role model.

Germany|Mann|1941|City or small town|Vocational School|Sundays|4799

Please be sure to reconsider the questions about gender roles ... e.g.: how a family divides up childcare and work, the family should be able to decide for itself, no one else!

Austria|Mann|1954|Farm or house in the countryside|Hochschule|sonntags|5538

Europe is taking the path of de-Christianization, nothing more may be said, but everything is done, it is over-pedagogized and over-psychologized, the new image of men, which corresponds to that before the Enlightenment or before 1980, will push women out of participation again.

Austria|Woman|1940|Big City|University|weekdays|5570

I think that young people are turning away from the Catholic Church, especially because it has an outdated image of women and does not involve people enough.

Germany|Mann|1954|City or small town|Hochschule|festtags|4598

Detto: what is God actually about according to the 4 Gospels? (I partially reject Paul's Greek philosophy, see his image of women)

other Western European country|Man|1948|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Vocational school|monthly|4398

The right-wing bias of many new religious currents is alarming: traditional image of women, treatment of migrants and people of other faiths...

Austria|Mann|1975|Suburb or suburb of a large city|University|(almost) never|2055

Gender roles are a central element of any culture. Their development has been well researched. I myself have five men's studies in Germany ⁶⁸ as well as in Austria ⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Zulehner, Paul M./Volz, Rainer: Männer im Aufbruch. How Germany's men see themselves and how women see them. A research report. Ostfildern 1998. – Volz, Rainer/Zulehner, Paul M.: Männer in Bewegung. Ten Years of Men's Development in Germany. A research project of the Community of Catholic Men in Germany and the Men's Work of the Evangelical Church in Germany. Research Series Volume 6, ed. v. Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, Berlin 2009.

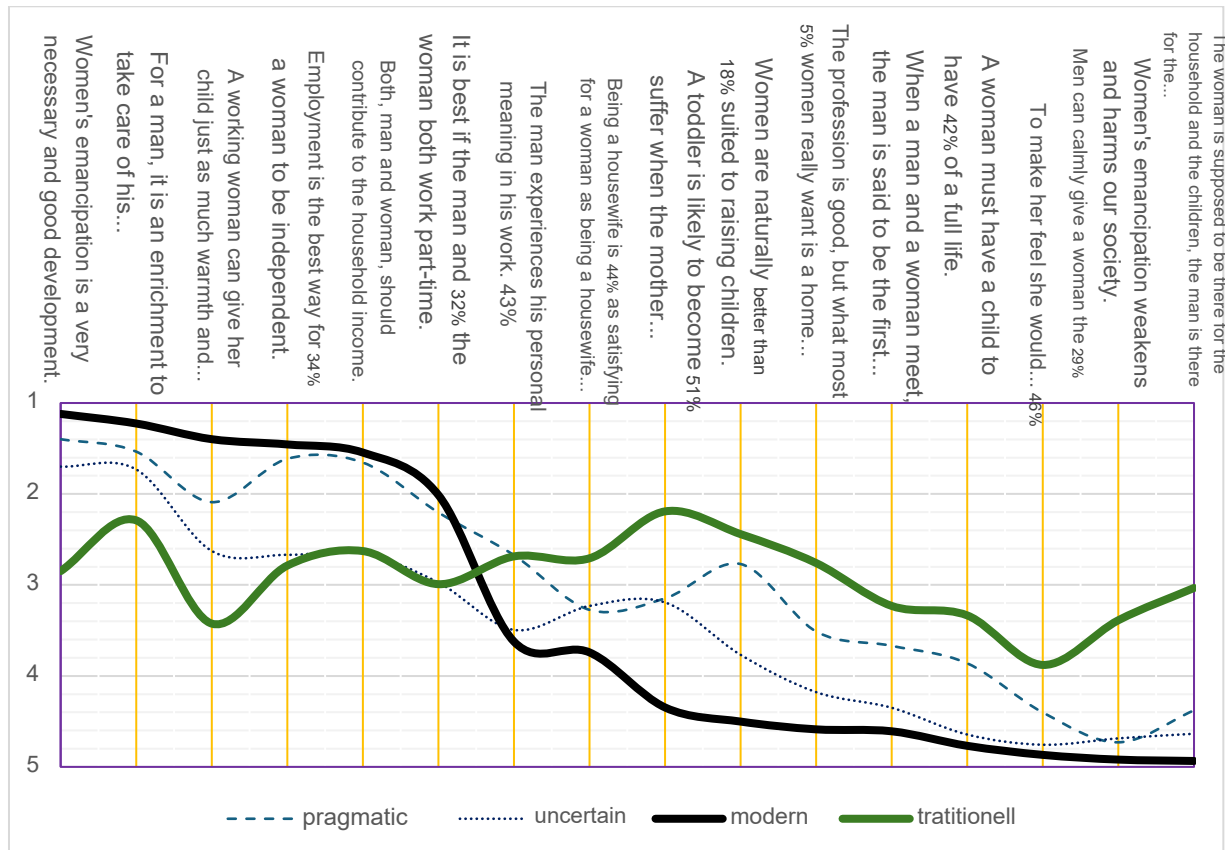
⁶⁹ Zulehner, Paul M./Slama, Andrea: Austria's Men on the Way to the New Man? How Austria's men see themselves and how women assess them. Extended research report, edited within the framework of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Values Research. Austrian Federal Ministry for Youth and Family, Vienna 1994. – Zulehner, Paul M.: MannsBilder. A Decade of Men's Development, Ostfildern 2003. – Zulehner, Paul M./Steinmair-Pösel, Petra: Equality in the Dead End. Women, Men and the Exhausted Family of Today, Vienna-Graz 2013. Wider die weibliche Availability, Munich 72021.

. The proven test instrument with 17 items was also implemented in the present online study. These are traditional 70 as well as modern 71 statements about men and women. The aim was to determine whether these positions are still suitable for exploring gender roles. It is also of interest how the distribution of respondents to the respective role model is determined. As in the previous studies, four clusters, i.e. role models, were calculated with the available data. Traditional ones have high scores on traditional test questions and low scores on modern ones. Modern ones, on the other hand, score highest in modern positions compared to the other clusters. The pragmatics have similarly high values for traditional and modern statements. The uncertain borrowed with their average values in the midfield open to approval.

⁷⁰. "The woman should be there for the household and the children, the man is responsible for the job and for financial support." - "The job is good, but what most women really want is a home and children." - "A small child is likely to suffer if the mother is working." - "Women's emancipation weakens and damages our society." - "Women are naturally better suited to Raising children." - "A woman must have a child in order to have a fulfilled life." - "When a man and a woman meet, the man should take the first step." - "Men can give a woman the feeling that she is in control, in the end what he wants happens." - "Being a housewife is just as satisfying for a woman as a job." - "The man experiences his personal meaning in his work."

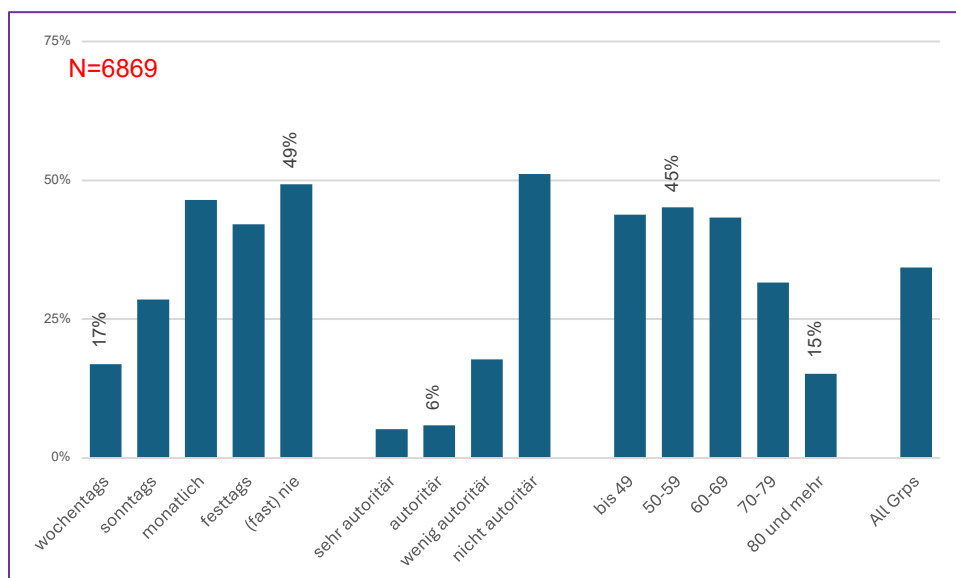
⁷¹ "It is best if the man and the woman both work part-time and both take care of the household and children equally." - "Both husband and wife should contribute to the household income." - "Employment is the best way for a woman to be independent." - "It is an enrichment for a man to go on parental leave to care for his young child." - "A working woman can give her child as much warmth and security as a mother who does not work." - "Women's emancipation is a very necessary and good development."

Figure 16: Gender roles



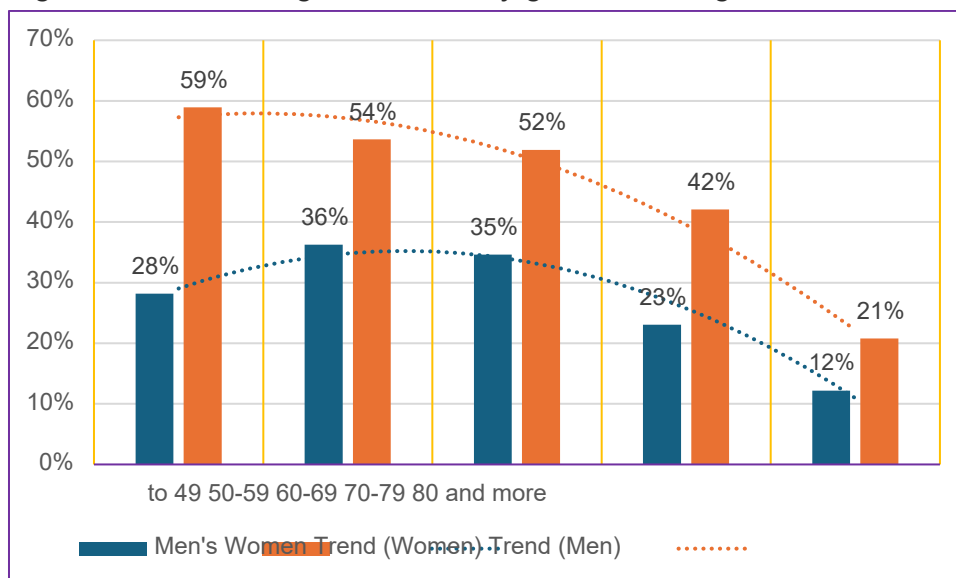
With the help of regression analysis, randomness and independent relationships are calculated. Such connections exist only with church attendance, authoritarianism and old age. Authoritarianism is associated with traditional role models, as well as low church attendance and old age. Among the younger respondents, however, there is a kink: a sign of incipient retraditionalization, as was already evident in the last gender studies?

Figure 17: Distribution of modern gender roles



A breakdown by gender deserves attention. The gender alone explains little ($\beta = .02$, not significant). But in everyday perception, the women surveyed prove to be considerably more modern than the men involved in the study. In addition, the increase in modernity among younger respondents is not decreasing among women, but it does decrease among men. It looks as if the sexes will increasingly develop in the next generation. This could be a moment of a legal development in society as a whole, which is often synchronous with a retraditionalization of male gender roles. Women do not seem to be involved. A hypothesis that will have to be tested in the upcoming representative main survey.

Figure 18: : Modern gender roles by gender and age



Wounds

Relaxation is sought in yoga, but not in the community and least of all in the community. You can appreciate other cultures and religions, but you have to preserve the identity of European countries.

Germany | 1941 | | 6862

I find it irritating that you have omitted the Christian Eastern Church from the choices for all denominations and even world religions. I simply cannot understand this ignoring of the Orthodox Christian community, especially since the opening of Eastern Europe. It's also a bit offensive.

other Western European country | Woman | 1950 | City or small town | University | monthly | 1542

I live in Bulgaria, a country where the Orthodox Church has a leading role. The orthodox churches in Southeastern Europe play a central role in national identity and, due to their autocephalous nature, are often strongly intertwined with state policy. This intertwining goes back to the historical resistance against the Ottoman Empire, which made the churches symbols of cultural continuity. This symbiosis promotes close political relations.

Austria | Woman | 1961 | Village | University | (almost) never | 4153

"Wounded Identities" is the subtitle of an outstanding book by András Máté-Tóth.⁷² There are also those thoughts which are included as items in the present

⁷² Máté-Tóth, András: Freedom and Populism. Wounded Identities in East Central Europe, Wiesbaden 2019.

online study. They were formulated to sound out the transformation of the former Soviet republics in Eastern (Central) Europe into democratic societies after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Wounds from the past should be brought to light ("Our people have suffered too much injustice in the course of history."). Indications of a kind of "culture of remembrance" were to be gained ("Society must never forget the tragedies of our past."). Finally, it was necessary to clarify how the situation of the country is assessed today ("Our country is in a very precarious position in world politics.").

Now the survey was mainly answered by people who did not live in one of the communist-dominated countries of Eastern (Central) Europe. However, 66 people from Eastern European countries responded: which at least allows for a cautious finding.

When asked about forgetting, respondents from the East (73%) are significantly more reluctant than those from Austria (85%) or Germany (94%). In Germany, the memory of the injustice of National Socialism still seems to be very strong in educated circles. Significantly more people from the East than in the West remember much injustice suffered. And the country's current situation in world politics is also assessed as much more precarious (58%) than respondents from the West estimate for their country (34% in Austria and 48% in Germany)

Table 37: Wounded by country

	N	Proportion among respondents	Our people have suffered too much injustice in the course of history.	Society must never forget the tragedies of our past.	Our country is in a very precarious position in world politics.
Austria	2771	42%	12%	85%	34%
Germany	3354	51%	6%	93%	48%
other Western European country	436	6%	15%	85%	34%
in an Eastern European country	66	1%	36%	73%	58%
elsewhere	34	1%	19%	91%	47%
all	6869		9%	89%	41%

Missing N=220. (3,03%)

Factor analysis shows that these three statements do not conceal a uniform "attitude". The statement about forgetting is fed from a different internal source than the two statements about injustice and precarious situation. In any case, the factor analysis already shows that the present weighs more for the respondents than the past. Forgetting, on the other hand, forms its own dimension. These are the personality traits that help shape the three items:

Table 38: Regression Analysis for Wounded Items

	[83] Our people have suffered too much injustice in the course of history.	[84] Society must never forget the tragedies of our past.	[85] Our country is in a very precarious position in world politics.
What religious community do you belong to?	-0,01	0,04	0,01
How many children do you have?	0,01	0,02	0,01
How did you get married?	0,01	0,01	0,03

WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE ONLY	-0,02	0,14	0,06
What is your state of life?	-0,02	0,03	-0,01
How often do you go to a church service?	0,03	0,00	-0,05
Which of these terms best describes your residential area?	-0,03	-0,01	-0,01
GOD IMAGE	0,05	0,02	0,05
Right-Left Orientation (5)	-0,05	0,06	-0,09
Gender	-0,06	-0,03	-0,06
In which country do you currently live?	0,06	-0,06	-0,12
What is your highest educational qualification?	0,08	-0,01	0,00
What is your year of birth?	-0,09	0,04	-0,07
SELF-CONCERN	0,14	-0,02	0,04
AUTORITARISM	0,22	-0,10	0,10

Sorted by significance (p-value) of variable 83. Red: significant (p=.00)

Gender, age, educational qualification, but also the attitude of self-care played an interpretable role. This will now be illustrated using the example of authoritarianism:

Table 39: Wounding and authoritarianism

	[83] Our people have suffered too much injustice in the course of history.	[84] Society must never forget the tragedies of our past.	[85] Our country is in a very precarious position in world politics.
Very authoritarian	45%	61%	58%
authoritarian	25%	82%	57%
Little authoritarian	10%	88%	43%
Non-authoritarian	6%	91%	37%

Scale values 1+2/5

Resilience

Church. The church does not manage to convey its own potential for community building, resilience, meaning in life.

Germany|Woman|1963|City or small town|Gymnasium|sonntags|5572

I hope that after the abuse scandals and the conservatism under Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict, the major Christian churches will reinvent themselves in a new way, e.g. through a broad-hearted synodality. But they don't have much time for that, because the right-wing populist trend from the USA is increasingly spreading to the churches. Here I hope for resilience in the face of these tendencies.

elsewhere|Man|1948|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|1715

There are also various decentralised developments in the secular world that develop resilience and cohesion instead of fear and division, which also do not appear in our quality media.

Germany|Woman|1960|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|847

Resilience means a person's ability to cope with stress, crises or setbacks and then stabilize themselves again or even emerge stronger from them. Resilience is therefore a psychological resilience. Its supporting pillars 73 are

- Acceptance — Accepting reality instead of fighting against the immutable.

⁷³ Fröhlich-Gildhoff, Klaus/Rönnau-Böse, Maïke: Resilience. Fundamentals – Concepts – Implementation, Weinheim 4 2019. - Reivich, Karen/Shatté, Andrew: The Resilience Factor: 7 Keys to Finding Your Inner Strength

- Optimism — A confident attitude and the belief that problems can be solved.
- Self-efficacy — confidence in one's own abilities to actively overcome challenges.
- Personal responsibility — taking responsibility for one's own thinking, feeling and acting.
- Relationship skills — Maintain and use supportive, stable social contacts.
- Solution orientation — Focus on concrete steps and feasible solutions.
- Future orientation — setting goals, developing perspectives and thinking ahead.

The following five items were implemented in the questionnaires:

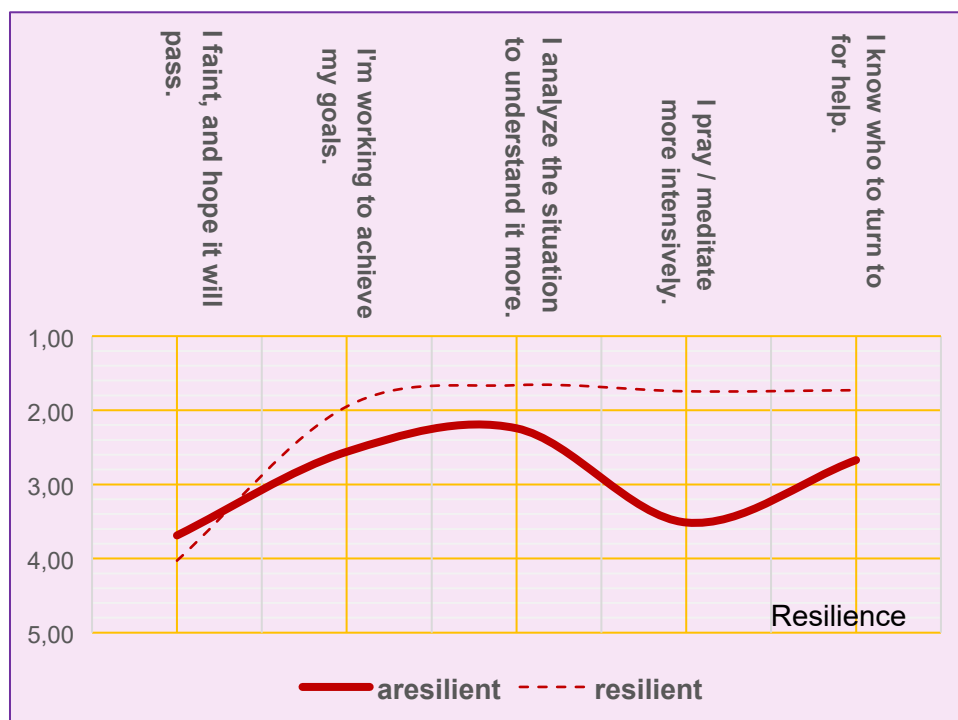
- [4] I faint, and hope it passes.
- [5] I work to achieve my goals.
- [6] I analyze the situation to understand it more.
- [7] I pray / meditate more intensively.
- [8] I know who to turn to for help.

Some of these are based on the seven pillars. A spiritual source is also added with meditation. In terms of factor analysis, there are two dimensions behind these statements, attitudes. Powerlessness and spirituality go together, and then purposeful activity, analysis, seek help.

A cluster analysis shows that a group apparently has strong resilient assets, they also make use of spiritual resources; another group has significantly low value, especially with regard to the spiritual.

and Overcoming Life's Hurdles, New York 2002. - Werner, Emmy E./Smith, Ruth S.: Journeys from Child- hood to Midlife: Risk, Resilience, and Recovery, Ithaka 2001.- Antonovsky, Aaron: Salutogenese: Zur Ent- mystifizierung der Gesundheit, Tübingen 1997

Figure 19: Cluster analysis shows resilient and aresilient



Regression analysis clarifies the effect of the following personality traits: self-concern (beta=.05), country (beta=.05), political right-left orientation (beta=-.06) and authoritarianism (beta=-.14).

Democracy as well as nationalism.

The saddest thing of all is that right-wing people exploit the Catholic Church to present themselves as national pride. I think the church should take a stand on this point and clearly distance itself from such people.

Germany|Woman|1964|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Vocational School|Sundays|2684

In the study, a few European and democratic policy items were tested. Examined by factual analysis, they can be assigned to the following topics: indices are formed with them for further analysis:

- Europe and God/Christianity/the churches: **[149] Europe needs Christianity for the preservation of social attitudes. - [151] Christianity strengthens peace in Europe. - [148] For the consolidation of democracy, it is important that the churches are assured of a role in this. - [152] It would be appropriate for European history if God were mentioned in the European constitution.**
- The populist abuse of religion: **[71] Religion is increasingly being used for political purposes. - [69] I observe a political development to the right in Europe. - [70] I am concerned about the combination of religious fundamentalists and political populists. The statement "[82] [young people] also want to support 'right-wing' to 'right-wing populist' movements [with the newly awakened religious interest]." is remarkably not in line with this line.**

Europe and Christianity

European culture is closely linked to Christianity.

Austria|Woman|1938|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Gymnasium|sonntags|753

In addition, the churches are too fixated on Europe and have little vision and insight into other cultural areas. There is a lot of fear of the "foreign". Rather, the churches should be connecting and learning from each other (> global ethic according to Hans Küng et al.)

Germany|Woman|1947|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|1182

The church has made quite a few mistakes in the past: e.g. women too little involved ...; I very much hope that Europe will not become "God-free"; but I see little chance for the Church to make up for the mistakes of the past: although young people today are much more open and are willing to step back a little for the "common good"; To promote this, I would make "cutbacks" at any time!

Germany|Woman|1961|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|4500

Europe should remain Christian in its fundamentals and not be overrun by Islam, especially orthodox Islam. This danger is very real in terms of birth rates alone.

Austria|Woman|1966|Big City|Hochschule|sonntags|5511

I don't believe that countries or Europe will become godless. The church will lose influence in public life. Faith and belonging to the church are increasingly becoming a personal decision.

Germany|Mann|1969|Village|University|weekdays|2504

The churches will continue to occupy NGO topics (climate, peace, war, poverty, etc.) for a while and more (because otherwise they have nothing more "credible" to say!), but these will be perceived much more competently by the NGOs, and will increasingly lose importance and members - all religious communities are rather helpless in the face of the increasingly dominant "secularism"... "sectarian milieus", on the other hand, will grow - comparatively - and there can be no talk of "de-secularization" - at least in Europe...

Austria|Woman|1959|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Sundays|5090

Christianity can support Europe in terms of social justice and peace. It can help to strengthen democracy, and this against increasing illiberal movements. It would therefore be appropriate for God to be mentioned in the European Constitution.

This position is expected to be held more by those who have positive values in the image of God (personal God) and in going to church (weekdays/Sundays). The answer depends on the country from which the respondent comes. The year of birth also plays a role independent of chance. ⁷⁴

⁷⁴ These are the beta values from the regression analysis: In which country do you currently live? (beta=0.06), What is your year of birth? (beta=0.06), right-left orientation (beta=5) (beta=0.08), How often do you go to a church service? (beta=-0.09), image of God (beta=-0.14),)

Figure 20: What contributes to the image of a "Christian" Europe



Right-wing populism

Right-wing populist tendencies are very strong, but I am confident that they will never gain the upper hand and lead us into a dictatorship. The democratic forces, I hope, will be strong enough to overcome intolerance and indifference.

Germany|Mann|1958|Village|Hochschule|sonntags|4797

Objectively speaking, I concede that the churches deserve social recognition despite many weaknesses and crises and that the sometimes excessive bashing, especially from the right-wing populist or libertarian side, is misguided.

Austria|Mann|1961|Village|Gymnasium|festtags|1209

Politics is losing Christian social roots and we are being co-opted by right-wing populists. Evangelical movements pose a threat. Opportunities for young people to experience community are not visible enough.

Austria|Woman|1956|City or small town|Hochschule|sonntags|5643

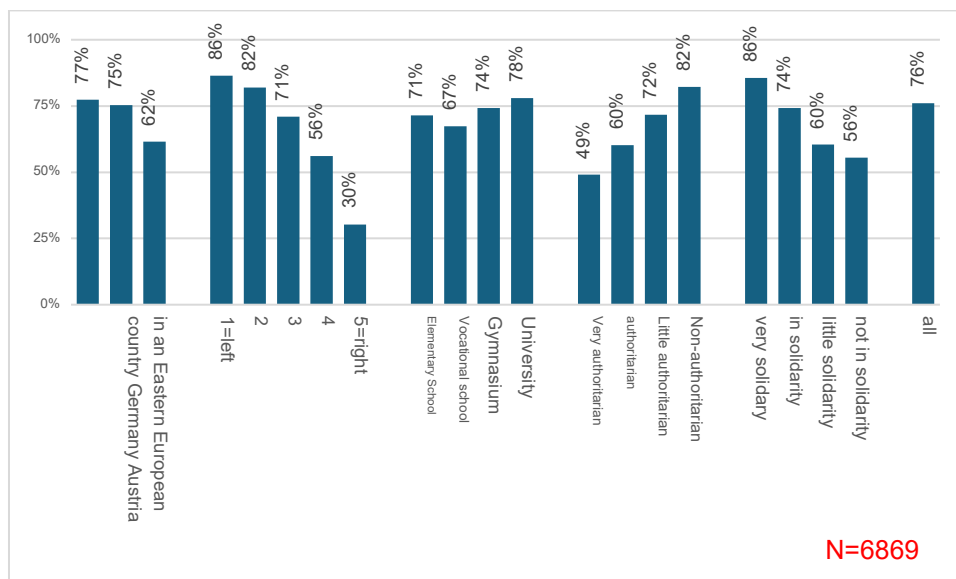
I belong to "grannies against the right" and I don't know whether the trend towards right/right-wing populism can be stopped by all people of good will and by many democratic movements. The growing anti-Semitism from the right/left/Islamist worries me very much. The major churches are far too silent on this.

Germany|Woman|1955|City or small town|University|Sundays|378

Right-wing populist movements and governments are on the rise around the world today. In the countries from which the respondents come, there are also parties, sometimes governments, that are developing in the direction of "illiberal democracy". Its philosophical prophet is the Frenchman Alain de Benoist, ⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ de Benoist, Alain: Cultural Revolution from the Right, Dresden 2017. (New edition of the key work of the Nouvelle Droite, originally published in 1985.) – Id.: Marx von rechts, Dresden 2018. (Edited volume with programmatic essays on the critique of liberalism and the social question.) - Id.: Aufstand der Kulturen, Tübingen 1999. critique of democracy, often received in right-wing populist discourses.) - Id.: The Idea of People and Nation, Berlin 2017 (On Identity, People, Nation — Central Themes of Right-Wing Populist Ideology.) - Id.: Against Liberalism, Dresden 2020.

The majority of respondents in the non-representative online study – reliable information will be provided by the planned representative study – are concerned about this development. However, 76 noticeable >correlations can be identified from the data: respondents from Eastern Europe are less concerned than those from Germany or Austria. Those who are most concerned are those who orient themselves to the left on the political right-left scale and who have an anti-authoritarian attitude. It is academically educated and older people who carry this concern. The willingness to share has a strong effect on this issue: respondents in solidarity are much more concerned than those who lack solidarity.



⁷⁶ These are the respective beta coefficients from the regression analysis: In which country do you currently live? (beta=0.05), right-left orientation (beta=5) (beta=0.06), What is your highest educational qualification? (beta=-0.06), authoritarianism (beta=-0.12), willingness to share (beta=0.19),

Conclusion

The view goes back. At the beginning there was the question of the reach of the world. The fundamental interpretation of life contained in this is the key. It was shown how this world is set up from a socio-religious point of view. Finally, aspects of lifestyle were highlighted. The hypothetical assumptions that range, interpretation of life and lifestyle are closely interwoven among people has been widely confirmed, with a rich variety of variations being revealed. These peculiarities of persons, but also of categories of persons, modify the core hypothesis, but do not contradict it.

This can be summarised in a regression analysis. All calculated clusters and indicators were included in this. The correlation was calculated with the range, which was determined by the item for the death pictures. The interviewees are divided into "mortals" (everything out, spatio-temporal limited "reality") and "immortals" ("transformation into a new mode of existence, into a new, only spiritual being or into a whole human being "with [a transformed] body and (healed) soul").

The analysis first shows a very close connection between reach and religiosity, religion and churchliness, summarized as the socio-religious.

Table 40: Reach and the socio-religious

	RELIGIOUS- THE	IMAGE OF GOD	ECCLESIASTICAL NATURE	THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS
RANGE	non-religious	Far from God	unecclesiastical	non-religious-unchurch
Death is the end of everything.	79%	75%	61%	85%
I hope that there will be life after death.	11%	10%	18%	15%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	2%	1%	6%	2%
<i>Beta</i>	.63	.43	.40	.60

Individual aspects, for example in the aspect of "churchliness", underpin the result. For example, there is a connection with expectations of the church (diaconal ministries: beta=-.23; spiritual ministries: beta=-.31) or whether the church should express itself on social issues (bet=.16). "Immortals" are also more optimistic about the development of religion in Europe (50%) than "mortals" (27%).

Somewhat less close, but nevertheless strong, are the connections with aspects of lifestyle and personal attitudes behind them. First of all, here are the connections with attitudes: fear. To come up short, trust in institutions, questions of meaning, authoritarianism, self-concern and solidarity, which is surprisingly contradictory.

Table 41: Reach and attitudes

	CL2 SENSE	IND4 FEAR to come short	IND4 TRUST INSTITUTIONS	IND4 SELF-CARE	IND4 AUT	CL2 SOLIDARITY
RANGE	sinnskeptisch	very weak	very strong	(very) self-sufficient	non-authoritarian	unsolidarisch

Death is the end of everything.	93%	7%	26%	36%	64%	37%
I hope that there will be life after death.	43%	38%	70%	20%	54%	45%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	12%	56%	74%	18%	46%	48%
<i>beta</i>	.63	.34-	.23-	.16-	.13-	.07

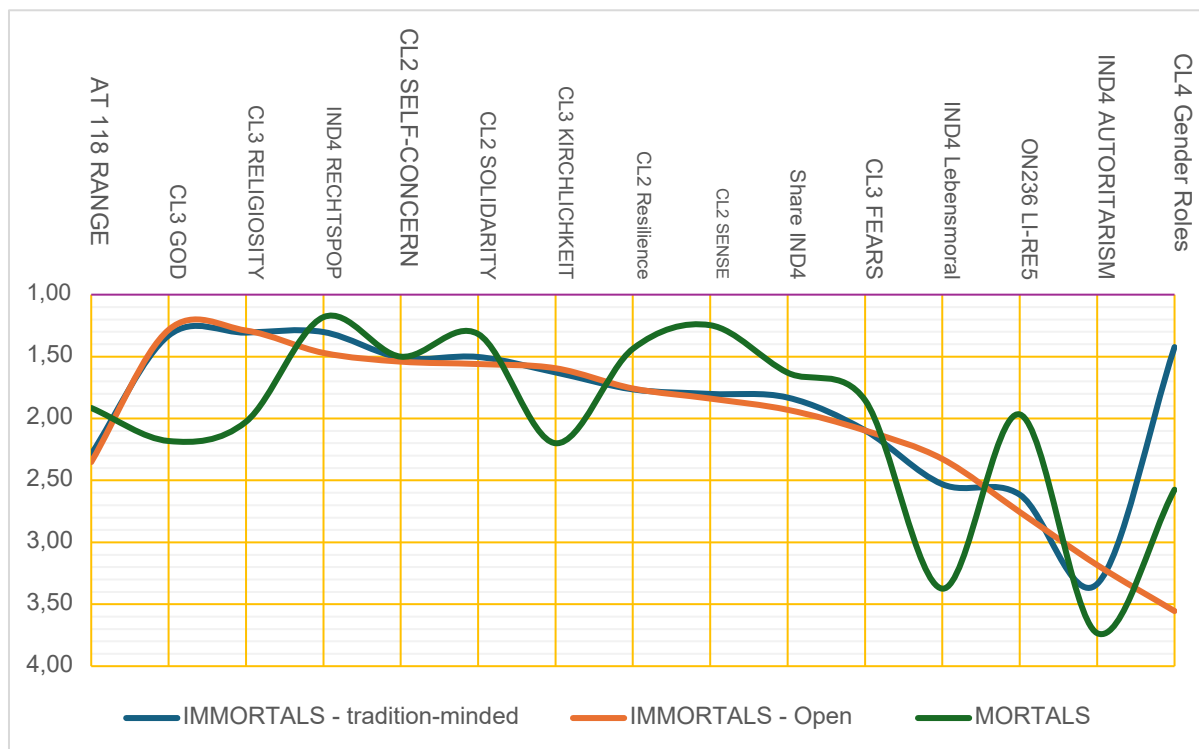
What remains are concrete aspects of life, such as moralities or political issues. Resilience is more pronounced in "immortals". They have more morality. They stand for a "Christian Europe", position themselves politically more to the right, are also two, but less concerned about a populist shift to the right than the "mortals", the proportion with traditional male roles is above average. This shows that the wide range of reality, the socio-religious and the politically conservative are close to each other. This also reinforces the assumption that the "religious revival" among young people assumed by some may be a factor in the political right-wing movement.

Table 42: Reach and social issues

RANGE	IND4 RESILIENZ	CL3 MORALE	IND4 EUROPE+ Christianity	Right-Left Scale	IND4 RIGHT-WING POPISM	CL4 Gender roles
	very strong	S.M., LM	(rather) unchristian	Rather left-wing	very worried	modern
Death is the end of everything.	26%	82%	82%	73%	81%	54%
I hope that there will be life after death.	50%	56%	56%	58%	77%	36%
People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	67%	36%	38%	41%	72%	24%
<i>beta</i>	.49	.31-	.29	.26	.08	.00

The result can also be condensed as follows: An analysis with three clusters is made with important variables both of the religious-ecclesiastical institution of reality and the effect on attitude and lifestyle. The starting point remains the variable MORTALS AND IMMORTALS. These are well depicted in the depiction: The IMMORTALS split into tradition-oriented and more open ones.

Figure 21: Cluster summary



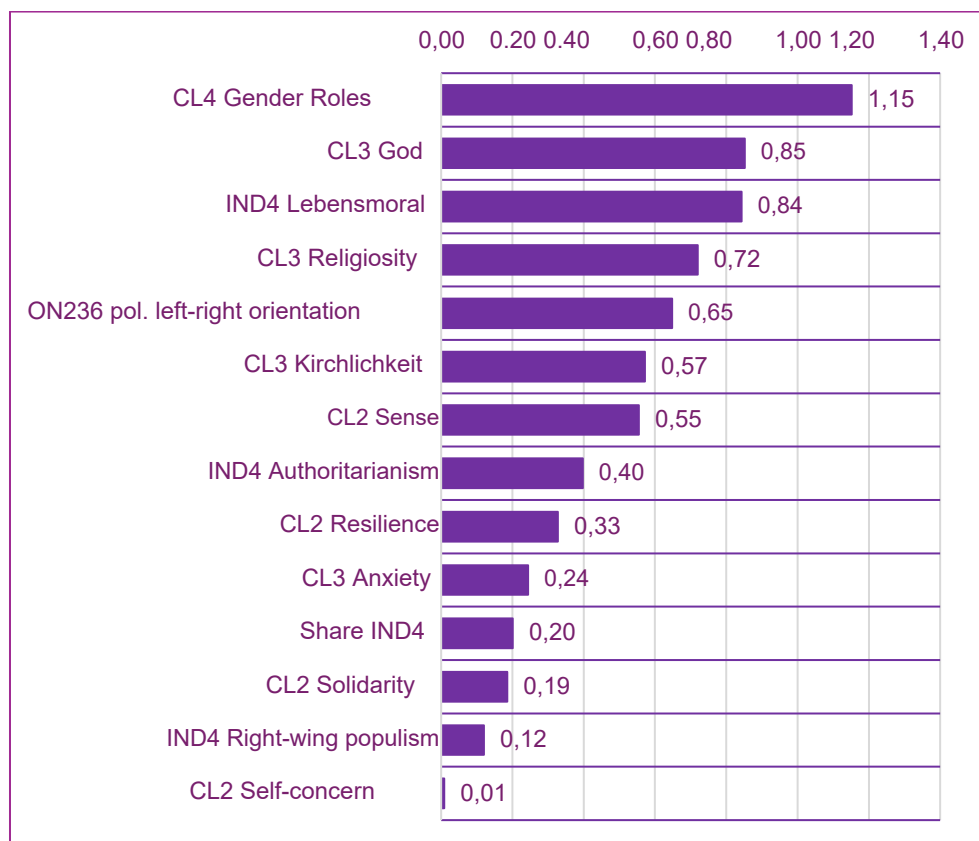
Now one can calculate the difference in the mean values between mortals and traditional immortals. This shows where these two groups differ strongly and in what respects rather little.

Overall, mortals prove to be politically rather "left-wing". This is reflected in their positioning on the left-right scale, continues in the stronger approval of a balancing social policy ("sharing") or in the weakened world of life. Mortals show less fear of social decline and represent modern gender roles.

The immortals, who are concerned about tradition, are more likely to be assigned to the conservative political camp. They are somewhat less concerned about right-wing populist developments. They are a little more supportive than mortals. Since there are two clusters of "immortals", it should not be overlooked that some of them are moving slightly towards more left-wing positions.

The basic assumption that the scope of reality has a clear impact not only on the religious-church equipment, but also on personal and political attitudes and positions, is well supported by the available data. Since the study is not representative, the question remains open as to whether these statements apply only to the sample at hand or whether they can be generalized.

Figure 22: Difference between MORTALS AND (tradition-worried) IMMORTAL CHEN



Difference in mean values

Finally, two original contributions to the open question:

The philosophy of Jean Gebser helps me to see what the future of religion could look like.

This includes, above all, that the development of consciousness is considered and that people are led beyond the rational into a holistic view of the world and the cosmos, and from this the material worldview is transcended with mechanization and mechanization. Technology and the digital need their place for the whole and in the service of the whole. Individualization must be seen as a blessing, but we must focus on the whole and put individual abilities at the service of the community, full congregationality through complete individualization. Above all, this also means respect for all life, for all creation and within it for every human being.

Religion in whatever form of organization can enable and lead people to do this.

Austria|Man|1963|City or small town|University|(almost) never|416

The classic secularization thesis (Weber, Berger) assumed that modernization inevitably leads to the de-churching and the loss of significance of religion. In fact, in Western Europe – and especially in Switzerland – we are seeing a far-reaching secularisation of the public sphere: the state, education, law, science and business have emancipated themselves from ecclesiastical authority. What comes after secularization? For me, there are three scenarios for this: (1) The post-secular scenario (Habermas): Religion returns to public discourse in a different form, not as an authoritarian authority, but as a resource for interpreting existential and ethical questions. The churches are becoming "communities of remembrance" and guardians of cultural memory. (2) The Spiritual Scenario (Taylor): The "Nova Effect" – an explosion of the most diverse spiritual quests beyond institutional religion. The churches become one option among many in a "spiritual supermarket", while at the same time being able to claim a certain authenticity and continuity. (3) The neo-liberal scenario: Complete secularization does not lead to the disappearance of the religious, but to its replacement by secular substitute religions – political ideologies, wellness cults, promises of salvation in technology, consumerism as a source of meaning.

In "The End of the Modern Age", Romano Guardini foresaw that the church would have to live its own character more strongly in a de-Christianized culture – not as a social power, but as a sign of contradiction. Some possible roles: (1) As a society of contrast: The churches could become places where alternative ways of life are practiced – community in isolation, slowness in acceleration, transcendence in immanence. However, this presupposes that they themselves are not completely secularized. (2) As cultural memory: preservation of educational traditions, art, music, literature – those treasures that you unearth in your publishing work. The churches as guardians of a language for transcendence in a culture that has lost it. (3) As a prophetic voice: criticism of the new idols – mammon, technological feasibility mania, totalitarian individualism. However, this requires intellectual and spiritual substance, which is lacking in many places. (4) As a sacramental presence: For Bernanos, whom you know well, it was crucial that the Church is not primarily a moral or cultural institution, but the mystical body of Christ. In a thoroughly rationalized world, it is precisely the sacramental, which eludes functional grasp, that could once again develop attraction.

The biggest problem is that many churches have reacted to secularization with self-secularization – through adaptation, functionalization, trivialization of faith. They are then only weak echoes of secular culture and no longer have anything independent to say. After secularization, a time of clarification could come: What will remain of Christianity if all social, political and cultural support functions cease to exist? Perhaps its core – the radical message of the Incarnation, the Cross and the Resurrection, which resists any secularization because it does not rely on human self-empowerment but on divine initiative. The role of the churches will then not be that of a social great power, but rather that of the early church: small communities that bear witness to a reality that is greater than the visible world.

other Western European country|Woman|1975|Suburb or suburb of a large city|Hochschule|sonntags|5899

Appendix

(ANNEX 1) Questionnaire with data (N=6869)

ON THE FUTURE OF RELIGIONS IN EUROPE

Thank you for participating in this survey and giving half an hour to research. They also have the opportunity to contribute further thoughts on the topic at the end of the survey. Please fill out the questionnaire completely. Unfortunately, half-filled sheets cannot be evaluated. Paul M. Zulehner Thank you for participating, Paul M. Zulehner

Trust What do you think of the following statements?

1 Totally Applies

2 Applies

3 part-part

4 does not apply

5 is not true at all

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[9] As a child (in the family, in a kindergarten, at school) I learned to trust.	50	25	14	5	4	2
[10] I live in a partnership that trusts me.	54	15	5	5	11	11
[11] I have strong faith in God.	43	30	14	5	5	1
[12] I envy people who have strong trust in God.	23	16	17	12	16	16

Could you please tell me at each point on this map how much trust you have in everyone, whether there is a lot of trust, quite a lot, little or no trust at all?

1 very much

2 Quite a lot

3 part-part

4 little

5 None at all

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[13] Church	7	29	40	18	5	1
[14] Armed Forces, Bundeswehr	3	20	41	24	8	4
[15] Education	3	31	48	15	2	2
[16] Case law, laws, courts	14	48	26	9	2	1
[17] Newspapers	2	21	44	23	9	1
[18] Trade unions	3	24	40	32	7	5

[19] Police	9	50	31	8	2	1
[20] National Council, Parliament	5	33	41	16	4	2
[21] Administration	3	29	47	17	3	2
[22] large commercial enterprises	1	7	32	39	19	37
[15] Social security	7	40	36	12	3	2

Fears Experts in the social sciences are increasingly referring to our modern, wealthy societies as "societies of fear". What fears do you feel in yourself?

1 Strongly agree

2 Agree

3 part-part

4 Disagree

5 Strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[23] Today, many people are afraid that they will descend socially.	15	40	26	12	5	2
[24] Refugees can be abused as cheap labour and thus depress the income for poorly paid work.	9	25	30	22	11	3
[25] I feel diffuse fears within me.	4	11	22	31	28	3
[26] I am afraid of death.	4	10	22	30	32	3
[27] I am afraid of losing relatives.	15	27	25	20	11	3
[28] I am afraid of getting sick.	6	22	34	25	11	3
[29] I am afraid of being abandoned by my partner.	4	4	6	21	49	18
[30] I am afraid of falling short in the search for happiness because I do not believe in life after death.	2	1	3	13	71	0
[31] I can be satisfied with less.	35	42	14	4	4	2
[32] Young people are afraid of the ambition that arises from the refugees' strong will to survive.	1	8	26	24	24	17
[33] People who cannot believe in life after death must seek all their happiness on earth. This makes you afraid of being neglected in the search for happiness.	16	28	21	13	15	8
[34] Many are afraid for the prosperity they have achieved.	17	42	25	8	5	3

Resilience

Many people today experience personal crises that throw them off balance. When you encounter such crises, how do you react?

1 This is completely true for me

2 That's true for me

3 part-part

4 That doesn't apply to me

5 that doesn't apply to me at all

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[35] I faint, and I hope it will pass.	2	5	21	35	31	4
[36] I am working to achieve my goals.	19	53	20	5	2	3
[37] I analyze the situation in order to understand it better.	32	49	11	3	2	2
[38] I pray / meditate more intensively.	26	34	22	10	7	2
[39] I know who to turn to for help.	30	42	21	5	2	2

Morals

[40] Here are two opinions that people sometimes express when discussing good and evil. Which one comes closest to your point of view?

1 There are perfectly clear standards of what is good and what is evil. They apply to everyone and under all circumstances.	21
2 There can never be perfectly clear standards of what is good and what is bad. What is good and what is evil depends solely on the circumstances.	56
3 None applies	21
kA	0

Could you please tell me for each of the following points whether you think this is okay in any case, or under no circumstances, or anything in between.

1 this must not be done under any circumstances;

10 that's okay in any case

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	kA
[41] Taking a stranger's car for a spin.	42	12	4	3	5	2	1	2	1	4	3
[42] Abortion	17	14	15	8	19	7	5	6	3	4	1
[43] to divorce	3	5	9	7	20	9	8	11	8	15	3
[44] driving a car even though you have drunk too much	70	14	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	1
[45] Do not report parking damage	40	18	8	3	2	1	1	1	1	4	1

[46] Receiving stolen goods	75	12	4	1	1	0	0	0	1	4	3
[47] Homosexuality	5	2	3	2	6	3	2	6	11	52	8
[48] Damage the environment	35	25	15	5	5	2	1	2	2	4	2
[49] to put power above law	73	9	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	10	2

Shortage of jobs

Below are some statements. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements.

You can differentiate between them.

1 I fully agree,

5 I strongly disagree.

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[50] If there are few jobs, men are more likely to have a right to work than women.	2	2	7	7	80	3
[51] If there are few jobs, younger people are more likely to have a right to work than older people.	3	11	28	18	38	3
[52] If there are few jobs, healthy people are more likely to have a right to work than disabled people.	3	5	15	16	59	4
[53] If there are few jobs, nationals are more likely to have a right to work than foreigners.	6	10	18	16	47	4

Gender roles: What do you think of the following statements?

1 I fully agree

2 I agree

3 part-part

4 I don't agree

5 I strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[54] It is best if the husband and wife both work part-time and both take care of the household and children equally.	26	21	35	10	5	4
[55] Both men and women were supposed to contribute to household income.	39	29	24	5	2	2
[56] Employment is the best way for a woman to be independent.	40	31	18	6	3	2
[57] The profession is good, but what most women really want is a home and children.	3	8	22	25	38	4

[58] The man experiences his personal meaning in his work.	5	19	39	16	16	5
[59] The woman is supposed to be there for the household and the children, the man is responsible for the job and for financial care.	2	4	11	16	64	4
[60] Women's emancipation is a very necessary and good development.	63	21	9	3	3	1
[61] Women's emancipation weakens and damages our society.	3	2	7	11	73	5
[62] A toddler is likely to suffer if the mother is working.	8	15	29	20	25	3
[63] A working woman can give her child just as much warmth and security as a mother who does not work.	37	26	19	10	6	2
[64] A woman must have a child to have a full life.	2	5	14	17	57	5
[65] Women are naturally better suited to raising children.	6	17	24	19	31	3
[66] Women's emancipation is a very necessary and good development.	62	21	10	3	3	2
[67] For a man, it is an enrichment to go on parental leave to look after his young child.	58	28	9	2	2	2
[68] Being a housewife is just as satisfying for a woman as a job.	6	11	42	20	17	5
[69] Men can give a woman the feeling that she is in charge, but in the end what he wants happens.	1	2	9	13	69	7
[70] When a man and a woman meet, the man should take the first step.	2	4	24	16	47	6

Development of religion in Europe [71] What would you say?

1 Today more people are religious than 10 years ago.	5
2 as many	18
3 Fewer people are religious today than they were 10 years ago	76
kA	2

[72] And what do you think it will be like in 10 years?

1 In ten years, more people will be religious than today.	15
2 as many	25
3 in 10 years fewer people will be religious than today	53

kA 6

What do you think of the following statements?

1 Strongly agree

2 Agree

3 part-part

4 Disagree

5 Strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[73] Europe is increasingly becoming a secularized continent.	29	43	20	4	2	2
[74] There are signs among young people of turning to religious communities, prayer and faith in God.	5	26	45	17	5	3
[75] Modern culture seems to me to be increasingly exhausted.	12	28	32	16	7	6
[76] I observe a political development of the right in Europe.	55	31	7	2	3	1
[77] I am concerned about the combination of religious fundamentalists and political populists.	71	18	5	2	3	1
[78] Religion is increasingly being used for political purposes.	25	32	30	8	3	2
[79] If a cultural development is sufficiently saturated, it can easily tip over into the opposite.	13	29	32	7	4	14
[80] Europe is becoming increasingly powerless in the face of the global centers of power (America, Russia, China).	28	36	24	8	2	2

When young people become religious today, what motivates them to do so?

1 Strongly agree

2 Agree

3 part-part

4 I reject

5 Reject it completely

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[81] They want to experience community.	41	45	9	1	1	4
[82] They are looking for values.	41	45	9	1	1	4
[83] They seek religious experience in communities and celebrations.	28	45	20	3	1	4
[84] They want to escape the banality of their current lives.	14	34	32	10	3	6
[85] They want to be competently supported in their search for meaning in life.	10	45	23	6	2	4

[86] They want to stand up for others.	21	44	25	5	1	4
[87] They want to get involved in projects of the religious community for peace, justice and the integrity of creation.	22	43	23	6	2	4
[88] They are looking for orientation.	37	46	11	2	1	3
[89] They also want to support "right-wing" to "right-wing populist" movements.	2	6	23	27	33	9

Coming to terms with the past: What do you think of the following statements?

1 Strongly agree

2 Agree

3 part-part

4 Disagree

5 Strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[90] Our people have suffered too much injustice in the course of history.	3	6	28	29	29	5
[91] Society must never forget the tragedies of our past.	67	20	7	2	2	1
[92] Our country is in a very precarious position in world politics.	14	26	35	18	5	2

Briefly asked: What do you think of the following statements? You have five levels available.

1 Strongly agree

2 Agree

3 part-part

4 I reject

5 Reject it completely

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[93] Where there is strict authority, there is also justice.	1	1	13	30	54	2
[94] The most important thing children need to learn is obedience.	1	3	20	28	46	2
[95] One should only have a say and participate in decision-making when one has achieved a position through hard work.	1	3	12	30	52	2
[96] The freedom that young people have today is certainly not good.	3	10	35	27	24	2
[97] The meaning of life is to gain a prestigious position.	1	2	10	27	58	3
[98] Security and prosperity are more important than freedom.	1	3	11	29	53	3

[99] The profession is primarily intended to guarantee a secure income.	5	19	39	23	13	2
[100] One must make life as pleasant as possible.	2	10	33	31	22	2
[101] The important thing is that people become happy. How, that's his business.	8	18	31	23	17	3
[102] Everyone has to solve his/her own problems.	2	12	37	30	18	2
[103] Foreigners should adapt their lifestyle a little better to that of nationals.	9	23	39	18	9	3
[104] If jobs become scarce, the foreigners should be sent back to their homeland.	2	3	13	29	50	4
[105] Foreigners should be prohibited from any political activity at home.	2	4	13	25	52	4
[106] Foreigners should choose their spouses from among their own compatriots.	1	2	8	21	64	5
[107] One should be allowed to take something away from those who have more in order to distribute it to those in need.	12	24	31	17	12	3
[108] Income differences are to be reduced.	35	35	19	6	3	2
[109] If we all gave up a little, there would soon be no more poverty.	19	34	28	10	6	3
[110] The most important thing children need to learn is how to share.	23	48	23	4	1	1
[111] The best way to learn to share is in the family.	32	43	19	3	1	2
[112] Without a family, one cannot learn to resolve conflicts.	10	25	33	19	11	2
[113] Death is the end of everything.	5	4	7	15	63	6
[114] I hope that there will be life after death.	62	18	6	3	7	4
[115] People will rise from the dead with body and soul.	22	15	14	13	25	12
[116] Life has meaning only because God exists.	28	23	20	11	12	5
[117] The meaning of life is to try to get the best out of it.	6	12	26	25	27	5
[118] I do not know what man lives for.	3	5	12	21	52	7
[119] I can best experience God in great love or in great suffering.	17	27	30	10	10	6
[120] Through the abuse of children, the Church has lost much prestige.	74	18	3	1	3	1

[121] The media have additionally inflated the abuse in the Church.	14	19	23	17	24	2
[122] By focusing on abuse in the church, abuse in other institutions and in families has been overlooked.	14	25	31	15	12	3
[123] The Church has responded in an exemplary manner to the abuse of children in its ranks.	3	19	29	25	30	3
[124] Jesus, the Christ, rose from the dead.	64	16	6	3	5	6

Scope of reality [125] What is closest to your personal convictions?

1 Death is the end of everything.	6
2 I hope that there will be life after death.	70
3 Men will rise from the dead with body and soul.	23
kA	2

Your own religiosity [126] How would you rate your religiosity?

1 very religious	20
2 Religious	68
3 indifferent	1
4 Rather non-religious	3
5 Non-religious	2
6 not specified	1
kA	4

[127] How often do you pray?

1 daily	55
2 once or several times a week	25
3 at least once a month	5
4 times a year	3
5 less common	4
6 No	3
kA	4

Task of the church In your opinion, which of the following church tasks are very important, or not important at all?

1 Very important
2 Important

3 part-part

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[128] Baptizing Children	47	30	14	4	3	2
[129] Performing Weddings	36	34	20	5	3	2
[130] Holding funerals	50	33	11	3	2	1
[131] Giving religious instruction	49	33	12	3	2	1
[132] To stand up for the poor	83	14	2	9	1	0

God

[133] Please tell me how important he seems to you personally for a happy and meaningful life, believing God?

1 Very important

2 Important

3 part-part

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
Please tell me how important he seems to you personally for a happy and meaningful life, to believe God?	56	28	9	4	2	1

4 Not important

5 Not important at all

[134] Which of the statements comes closest to your convictions?

1 There is a personal God.	64
2 There is some higher being or spiritual power.	25
3 I do not know what to believe.	3
4 I do not believe that there is a God, any higher being, or any spiritual power.	3
5 I don't know	2
kA	3

Churchliness - Commitment [135] How often do you receive Communion?

1 once a month or more	66
2 a few times a year	19
3 once a year	3
4 rarely, once in several years	6
5 No	6
kA	2

[136] In your opinion, how well do the churches fit into our time?

1 do not fit at all	2
2 2	3
3 3	9
4 4	10
5 5	18
6 6	14
7 7	15
8 8	10
9 9	5
10 fit very well	10
kA	3

Expectations of religious communities People expect different things from religious communities and churches. In my opinion, the churches and the religious communities are there to...

For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with them.

1 fully agree

2 agree

3 part, part

4 disagree

5 .

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[137] to educate in the faith	31	36	23	5	3	3
[138] to promote human relationships	45	40	10	1	1	1
[139] to alleviate social hardship	54	34	9	1	1	1
[140] to educate people in mutual respect	61	40	6	1	1	1
[141] to participate in the public life of the place	27	40	25	5	2	1
[142] to strengthen the national spirit	3	6	15	21	52	4
[143] to give spiritual comfort	70	24	4	1	1	1
[144] to stand up for morality	32	33	24	6	3	2
[145] To reconcile people with one another	64	29	5	1	1	1
[146] to take a public stand on socially important issues	44	37	13	2	2	1
[147] to educate people to help those in need	54	32	10	2	1	1

Unity [148] Do you feel at home with your church or religious community...

1 very closely connected	24
2 Closely connected	48
3 loosely connected	23
4 not connected at all	4
kA	1

The churches and religious communities have opened various institutions in recent years. Would you say that the churches and religious communities still have too few, or already too many, from the following institutions?

1 far too little

2 too few

3 part-part

4 too many

5 way too many

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[149] Kindergartens	9	28	49	4	2	8
[150] Schools	7	23	61	7	3	8
[151] Retirement Homes	12	34	41	3	1	8
[152] Hospitals	9	24	49	8	3	9
[153] Clubs	4	13	52	14	9	13
[154] Media	6	21	48	9	4	11

Churches in the world : What do you think of the following statements?

I don't agree at all

I don't agree

part-part

I agree

I totally agree

Note the reverse order of the answer options!

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[155] For the consolidation of democracy, it is important that the churches are assured of a role in this.	9	12	27	32	18	3
[156] Europe needs Christianity for the preservation of social sentiment.	9	10	17	34	27	3
[157] In order to be truly democratic, Europe should recognize Islam as a religion with equal rights!	9	15	29	27	16	4

[158] Christianity strengthens peace in Europe.	8	11	26	31	22	2
[159] It would be appropriate for European history if God were mentioned in the European Constitution.	15	16	22	21	20	6
[160] The churches are financially corrupt.	23	28	25	9	8	8
[161] The government uses churches for money laundering.	47	15	6	4	12	17

Church and public sphere

[162] Have the major Christian churches expressed too much or too little in public in the past decade?

1 too much	4
2 Just right	37
3 too few	56
kA	3

Tasks of the Church Do you believe that the Catholic Church in general can provide an answer to...

- 1 I don't agree at all
2 I don't agree
3 part-part
4 I agree
5 I totally agree

Note the reverse order of the answer options!

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[163]... moral problems and needs of the individual	7	12	32	31	15	3
[164]... Problems in family life	7	17	41	25	8	3
[165]... Questions about the meaning of life	8	8	13	34	34	3
[166]... Current social problems of our country	6	11	25	36	19	3

What are churches and religious communities for?

- 1 I don't agree at all
2 I don't agree
3 part-part
4 I agree
5 I totally agree

Note the reverse order of the answer options!

	1	2	3	4	5	kA
[167]... to educate in the faith	7	8	18	33	30	5
[168]... to promote human relationships	6	6	11	39	33	5
[169]... to alleviate social hardship	7	5	9	31	43	5

[170]... to educate people in mutual respect	9	5	6	29	48	5
[171]... to participate in the public life of the place	4	9	28	35	19	5
[172]... to strengthen national sentiment	45	18	15	8	9	6
[173]... to give spiritual comfort	9	4	4	22	55	5
[174]... to stand up for morality	4	9	23	30	26	5

Do you think it is appropriate for the major Christian churches to comment on the following topics?

1 and
2 uncertain
3 Yes

Attention order!

	1	2	3	kA
[175] Unemployment	73	8	14	5
[176] Abortion	61	14	20	5
[177] extramarital relations	23	46	25	6
[178] Same-sex relationships	27	47	20	4
[179] Growing social differences	86	2	8	4
[180] Situation der Zigeuner (Roma)	63	9	22	7
[181] Government policy	43	19	33	6
[182] Opposition policy	41	21	33	6

Church satisfaction [183] If you look at the major Christian churches in your country, you are satisfied with their development over the past 10 years.

0 uninterested	3
1 extremely dissatisfied	11
2 dissatisfied	57
3 satisfied	24
4 Completely satisfied	0
kA	4

About you

This data is helpful for the evaluation. They can help to clarify whether women and men, young and old, urban or rural dwellers, etc. have different points of view.

[184] In which country do you currently live?

1. Austria	40
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2 Germany	48
3 other Western European country	4
4 in an Eastern European country	1
5 elsewhere	1
n/a	3

[185] Gender

1 male	
2 Female	
3 diverse	
n/a	

[186] What is your year of birth?

Please write the year of birth with four digits in the form field, e.g. 1967 or 2000.

up to 40	
40-49	
50-59	
60-69	
70-79	
80 and more	
n/a	4

[187] What is your state of life?

1 married	61
2 Widowed	8
3 divorced	5
4 in a partnership	7
5 Living alone	12
6 not specified	3

[188] How did you get married?

civil and ecclesiastical/with a religious ritual

1 only civil	70
2 only church/only with a religious ritual	8
3 not specified	14

kA 9	
----------------------	--

[189] How many children do you have?

0 none	
1 1 child	9
2 2 Children	30
3 3 Children	22
4 4 Children and more	12
n/a	26

[190] Which of these designations best describes your residential area?

1 major city	19
2 Suburb or suburb of a large city	20
3 Town or town	32
4 Village	22
5 Farm or house in the countryside	3
n/a	4

[191] What is your highest educational qualification?

1 primary school	1
2 Vocational school	12
3 Gymnasium	13
4 University	70
n/a	4

[192] To which religious community do you belong?

1 Catholic	87
2 Protestant	4
3 Islamic	0
4 Jewish	0
5 Other	1
6 none	4
kA	4

[193] How often do you go to a church service?

The answer to this question is meaningful for the evaluation: Feel free to answer.

1 weekday	9
2 Sundays	60

3 monthly	18
4 festivities	7
5 (almost) never	13
kA	4

[194] In politics, one speaks of right and left. How would you describe your own political position in general?

Where would you rank yourself on this scale?

1 links	4
2	7
3	21
4	20
5	25
6	10
7	5
8	2
9	0
10 right	0
n/a	5

[195] *Open question*

Here is space where you can give us your thoughts on the topic. It is about how you assess the future of the religion(s) and the church(s). Is the development going in the direction of de-Christianization? Will Europe become God-free? Do you have any experience or information about counter-trends of a "de-secularization" (Peter L. Berger) of secularized cultures? What do you think of the theory that a sufficiently saturated development can turn into the opposite? Could it be that the increasing individualism is tipping over into a new solidarity? That young people are looking for physically tangible community from the loneliness of their Tik-Tok bubble?

(Appendix 2) Table volume (N=7336)