

Socially Engaged Lutheranism

Finnish attitudes to faith
and the Church in the light
of surveys and statistics



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INTRODUCTION

In the past few years Finns have faced a world that has changed in many ways. Although the events that have caused the changes are usually part of long-term developments, the most recent of them have changed the world in ways that few people could have foreseen even as recently as at the beginning of this decade. Some of the most prominent of these events include: the crisis of global finance systems and the consequent increase in inequality; the rise of right-wing populist parties in Western Europe; increased numbers of refugees in the world; increased religious terrorism throughout Europe; and the worldwide growth of the political influence of religion. In Europe, particularly in Finland, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and the economic sanctions that the European Union (EU) imposed on Russia following their occupation of Crimea have also contributed to a sense that Europe is no longer what it used to be.

The global development arcs described above are not likely to be temporary or fleeting. Many of these turns of event are likely to have a long-term influence on society in Finland. Which is why we need to look at how the Lutheran faith and Finnish culture sit within these global lines of development. What does being Lutheran in Finland mean in the present day? What societal values hold true for today's Finns who have Lutheran values or whose world view is coloured by the Lutheran faith? And how has the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (ELCF) in its own actions or its statements reacted to the changes we have seen around the world and in Finland?

Based on empirical survey data, this study gives a view of what it means to be Finnish and Lutheran, what the Lutheran faith means in Finnish society, and of the Lutheran Church's role in society and as upholders and shapers of the Finnish Lutheran tradition. This report is based on the ELCF's four-year report for the years 2012–2015.¹ The four-year report aims to serve the planning and development work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and its parishes.

This report is divided into five chapters. The first chapter looks at the role of religious communities in Finland, at how and why their membership has evolved and changed over time. The second chapter describes the key aspects of Finnish Lutheranism in the light of survey data gathered in Finland. Through statistical analysis we strive to give an exact image of how Finns relate to core Lutheran beliefs and how these beliefs are interconnected.

In the third chapter we consider a wider breadth of Finnish religiosity. The chapter not only looks at key tenets of Christianity, but also at new spiritualities

1 Osallistuva luterilaisuus 2016.

and thoughts on life after death. Furthermore, the chapter looks at religious practice and taking part in public religious events or services.

Chapter four focuses on the relationship between the churches and interreligious dialogue. This chapter also looks at the attitudes of Finns regarding various religions and their visibility within society.

The fifth chapter studies the impact and expression of the Lutheran faith and religious or church life within Finnish society. Particular emphasis is placed on helping, volunteer work and diaconia in the field of social services both within non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and in parish work. This chapter also looks at the attitudes Finns have towards Christian traditions which are visible within Finnish society, and towards the Church's work within the various structures of society. The position of religious and belief communities and the safeguarding of religious freedom is discussed in the light of survey results.

This book does not attempt to be a final list or assessment of what sort of theological and Church-guiding conclusions can be drawn from the material. In any case the Church must define its relationships to global development trends that are key to the future of the world. For the future of the Church, it is important how it meets the changes that follow from these trends and what sort of participation it supports and fosters among its members. In short, what is engaged Lutheranism of today's Finland like?

Tampere, 30 May 2017

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1 RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN FINLAND

1.1 Religious diversification

Mobility in general has increased and will continue to do so. Migration changes Finland, whether it is internal migration or immigration. Migration increases cultural diversity and also impacts on regional differences.

In terms of world views, changes occur in numerous directions. People's faith in many traditional authorities is weakened and this is reflected in their relationship to the Church and religion. The growing number of non-believers is a challenge to the Church and the Christian message. However, it is not merely a question of religion going out of favour. Rather, it is a matter of changes within religion and religiosity. Diversity poses a challenge to the big stories. More and more, the Finnish national [hi]story and/or Lutheran traditions are joined by other traditions. new spiritualities, for instance, is an influence both within the Church and outside it. Faith, including the Christian faith, is finding new forms and becoming more diverse.

Through increased international contacts, Christianity is becoming more diverse and in immigrant communities the common language is often something other than Finnish. Religion is also more visible in public life and debates. As diversity increases, all dialogue between various world views becomes increasingly important. Combined with a weakened financial situation in the Church, the changes in society and in people's faith lead to changes in the activities of the Church, in its organisational structure and its position within society.

This chapter looks at the range of religious communities and membership of those communities in Finland. Of particular interest are questions and observations regarding membership of the Lutheran Church.

1.2 Finns as members of religious communities

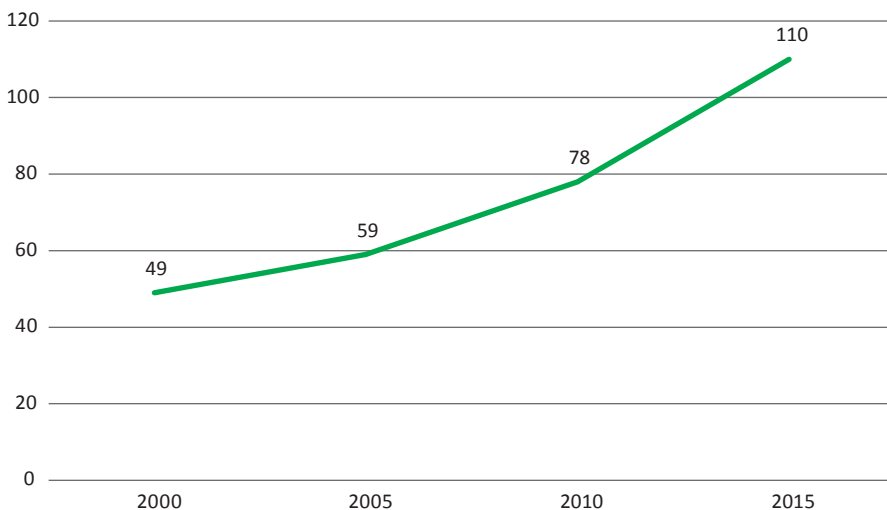
Religious diversity and multiculturalism are visible in religious communities as well as in society at large. The number of registered religious communities in Finland has grown steadily throughout the 2000s.¹ In 2000 there were 49 independent registered religious communities, and by the end of 2015 there were 110 (Figure 1.1). During the four-year review period of 2012–2015, 32 new independent religious communities were added to the register kept by the Finnish Patent and Registration

1 In Finland, religious communities are registered with Patentti- ja rekisterihallitus [Finnish Patent and Registration Office]. To register, a community requires a minimum of 20 adult members, and must comply with the criteria stated by the Freedom of Religion Act. A registered community can, for instance, apply for the right to contract marriages.

Office.² Excluding members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Orthodox Church of Finland, 88,500 people or 1.6% of Finns belong to a registered religious community. Most of these are members of Christian or Christianity-based communities. During the period 2000–2015, the total number of members of registered religious communities grew by more than 30,000.³

Figure 1.1

The number of independent religious communities in 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015. Patentti- ja rekisterihallitus 2016.



The Orthodox Church in Finland had some 58,000 members, corresponding to 1.1 per cent of Finns. In 2015, the largest religious communities were: the Jehovah's Witnesses (18,200), the Evangelical Free Church of Finland (15,000), the Catholic Church in Finland (13,000), the Pentecostal Church of Finland (8,300), the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (3,200), and Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Finland (3,200).

Approximately one third of the registered religious communities are Christian in orientation or have Christian roots. Of the communities registered from 2012–2015, 17 were other than Christian or Christianity-based. More than half of those were Islamic communities. The number of Islamic communities was 42 at the end of 2015, with a combined member count of more than 13,000. Most of these communities represented Sunni Islam.

Statistically, some two-thirds of immigrants are not members of any registered religious community. Most Islamic immigrants have also not joined any registered

2 Väestö uskonnollisen yhdyskunnan mukaan [Population by religious community] 2015.

3 Väestö uskonnollisen yhdyskunnan mukaan [Population by religious community] 2015.

Islamic community. However, it is important to note that membership is an alien concept to some immigrants as, for them, being engaged in a religious community does not necessarily presuppose registered membership.

In 2015, there were 11 Buddhist communities and four Hindu communities in Finland. Usually, the process of registering a religious community is not seen in the mass media. Nonetheless, the registration of a religious community called *Karhun kansa* (People of the Bear) in December 2013 received quite a lot of attention. *Karhun kansa* is the first neopagan group registered as a religious community in Finland. It had 35 members.⁴

Table 1.1

Percentage of population by religious community, 1920–2015. Väestö uskonnollisen yhdyskunnan mukaan. Tilastokeskus 2015.

Year	Lutheran	Orthodox	Other	Not members of any registered religious community
1920	98.1	1.6	0.3	0.0
1930	96.3	1.6	0.3	1.5
1940	95.9	1.8	0.3	2.0
1950	95.1	1.7	0.4	2.7
1960	92.4	1.4	0.6	5.5
1970	92.4	1.3	0.6	5.2
1980	90.3	1.1	0.7	7.8
1990	87.9	1.1	0.8	10.2
2000	85.1	1.1	1.1	12.7
2010	78.3	1.1	1.4	19.2
2011	77.3	1.1	1.5	20.1
2012	76.4	1.1	1.5	21.0
2013	75.3	1.1	1.6	22.1
2014	73.7	1.1	1.6	23.5
2015	72.9	1.1	1.6	24.3

⁴ Väestö uskonnollisen yhdyskunnan mukaan [Population by religious community] 2015.

Table 1.2

Population according to religious tradition and birth country in 2015. Väestö uskonnollisen yhdyskunnan ja syntymävaltion mukaan maittäin. Tilastokeskus 2015.

Religious tradition	Birth country		Total	Share of members born outside Finland
	Finland	Outside Finland	All	Percentage
CHRISTIANITY	4,048,797	63,884	4,112,681	1.6
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	3,959,214	45,155	4,004,369	1.1
Orthodox Churches	51,776	9,914	61,690	16.1
Free Churches	14,783	626	15,409	4.1
Catholic Church	6,626	6,443	13,069	49.3
Pentecostals	8,116	646	8,762	7.4
Adventist	3,227	231	3,458	6.7
Baptists	2,160	497	2,657	18.7
Methodist Churches	1,340	75	1,415	5.3
Evangelical Lutheran Free Churches	942	35	977	3.6
Other Christian denominations	548	176	724	24.3
Anglican Communion	65	86	151	56.9
ISLAM	5,379	7,910	13,289	59.5
JUDAISM	851	282	1,133	24.9
BUDDHISM	425	531	956	55.5
HINDUISM	133	191	324	58.9
INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS AND NEOPAGANISM	35	–	35	0.0
OTHER COMMUNITIES	21,817	967	22,784	4.2
Jehovah's Witnesses	17,864	421	18,286	2.3
LDS Church	3,124	135	3,259	4.1

(continued)

Table 1.2
(continued)

Religious tradition	Birth country		Total	Share of members born outside Finland
	Finland	Outside Finland	All	Percentage
Bahá'í Communities	391	279	670	41.6
The Christian Community in Finland	275	15	290	5.2
Free Catholic Church	137	2	139	1.4
Other	25	115	140	82.1
UNAFFILIATED	1,072,709	263,397	1,336,106	19.7
Total	5,150,146	337,162	5,487,308	6.1

A good 1.3 million Finns are not members of any religious community (not the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, the Orthodox Church of Finland, nor any other registered religious group). However, all those who are not members of a religious community are not necessarily non-believers. Most Muslims, some Pentecostals, some Charismatic Christians, some Catholics, most Buddhists and representatives of other religious traditions are not officially members of any religious community.

When looking at religious communities in Finland, it is important to realise that registered communities only form part of the picture. Most religious communities function as registered or unregistered associations or other communities. The Religions in Finland (*Uskonnot Suomessa*) database of The Church Research Institute lists approximately a thousand independent religious or religion-based communities in 2015. More than half of all the Christian communities listed are Pentecostal and New Charismatic congregations.

1.3 Membership in the Evangelical Lutheran Church

Church membership and the reach of church services

At the end of 2015, Finland had 5.5 million inhabitants. During 2015, the population grew by a total of about 16,000.⁵ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had just under four million members among those who lived permanently in Finland at the end of 2015, corresponding to 72.9 per cent of the entire population. At the end of 2011, 77.2 per cent of Finns were members of the Church, which means that membership dropped by 4.3 percentage points in the 2012–2015 period. In 2008–2011 the corresponding drop in membership was 4.5 percentage points.⁶ The regional differences in Church membership have increased in Finland.

The highest percentages of Church membership were found among the older age groups and the confirmand age group (Figure 1.2). Of 15-year-olds, 87 per cent were members of the Church. Among people who were 65 or older, Church membership was also above the population average. In the 22–64 age range, however, membership was lower than the population average. The lowest incidence of Church membership was found among those in the 28–34 years age bracket, among whom less than 60 per cent were members of the ELCF. There was also a significant difference in Church membership between men and women; some 76 per cent of women and not quite 70 per cent of men are members of the Lutheran Church.

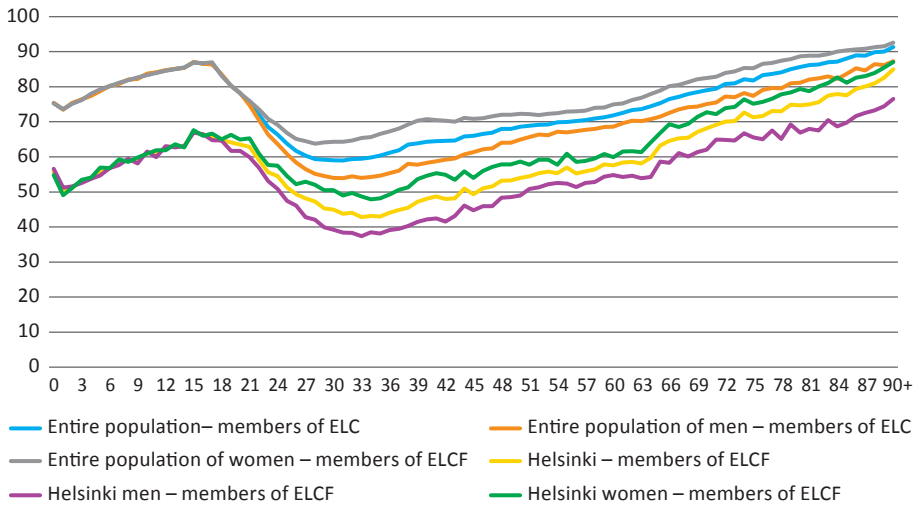
Therefore, a graph of Church membership in Finland makes a gentle S curve, with the highest percentages of membership being 15-year-olds and people in the older age range; and the lowest percentages are those aged around 30. In Helsinki, where the Church membership percentage is the lowest in the country, this means that less than 50 per cent of those aged from 26–45 are members of the ELCF. In 2015 the lowest membership percentage was among 34-year-olds, with some 43 per cent in Helsinki being Church members. Among men aged 29–34 in Helsinki the proportion was below 40 per cent.

5 Suomen virallinen tilasto (SVT): Väestörakenne [Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Population structure] 2015.

6 Community, Participation and Faith 2013, 50–51.

Figure 1.2

Percentage of Church members in different age groups in 2015 in all of Finland and in Helsinki. Väestö ev.lut. kirkkoon kuulumisen mukaan: Helsinki ja koko maa. Tilastokeskus 2015.

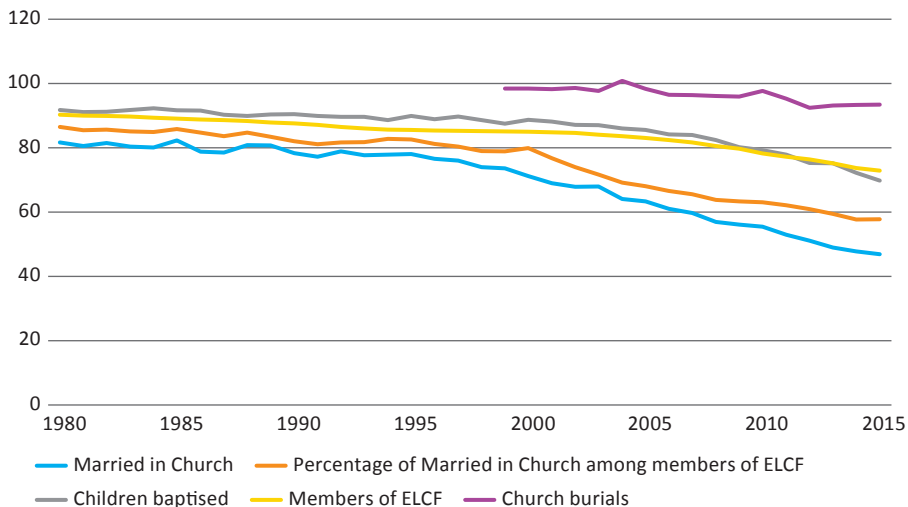


The fact that the lowest percentages of Church membership are in the age groups when people have a family naturally also impacts on the popularity of Church weddings and baptisms. The number of Church weddings took a downward turn around the new millennium, with the percentage of couples getting married in Church starting to decrease faster than the Church membership percentage (Figure 1.3). The share of children baptised has long corresponded to the percentage that are members of the Lutheran Church, but since the 2010s the percentage of baptised children has been lower than the percentage for Church membership. The percentage for Church burials, however, has remained high, which in part is explained by the higher Church membership figures of the older age groups.⁷ Despite this, there is also a slight downward trend in Church burials in the 2000s.

⁷ Numbers giving the percentages of Church burials are not exact, as some people who die in a given year are not buried until the following year. This explains the anomaly in 2004, when the proportion of Church burials exceeds 100 per cent.

Figure 1.3

Percentage of Church members and baptised children, Church burials of all burials and Church weddings of all weddings and of weddings in which at least one party is a member of the Church in 1980–2015, %. Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja.



Migration also impacts on membership development in the Church, as relocation severs people's ties to their former local parish and it requires effort to form social attachments in a different parish. Moving during the busiest years in particular can cause a distant relationship to the parish.

Migration between parishes decreased by some 8 per cent in the 2012–2015 period. A total of 1.1 million people moved to a different Lutheran parish within Finland. In 2015 the people who moved to a new parish constituted a full quarter (27%) of the entire Church population. The decrease in the number of people moving is mainly caused by the decrease in Church membership but also by the decrease in parishes, as there was no corresponding decrease in migration between municipalities. In reviewing the migration figures it is important to note that one person may move more than once during each review period.

Number of children baptised and population changes

Nativity in Finland decreased during the years 2012–2015 by some 11,000 children. Nearly 230,000 children were born during the period. Nativity was at its lowest in 2015, with the birth of only 55,000 children. The total fertility rate in Finland was 1.65, when it should be approximately 2.1 children per woman to keep the population at its current level. Since 1969, nativity figures in Finland

have been below the population regeneration level. The average age of first-time mothers was 28.8 years.⁸

One reason for the decrease in fertility is that families delay having children. Finnish families develop at the same rate as in the rest of Europe: the oldest first-time mothers are found in Spain, Italy and Switzerland, where the average age of first-time mothers is 29–30 years. The polarisation of society has also contributed to a decrease in birth rates. More people end up not having children, while the more well-off people do have children. Expectations regarding one's employment and income levels are reflected in the number of children considered ideal. People on small incomes, people who aren't working, are unemployed or under the threat of unemployment are more prepared than others to put off having children and even to forego parenthood altogether. This means recession and in particular youth unemployment has long-term consequences.⁹

The percentage of children born and subsequently baptised decreased (Figure 1.4). In 2015 only slightly under 70 per cent of newborns or some 39,000 children were baptised. This means that more than 61,000 children were not baptised in Finland during 2012–2015. The relative share of baptised children decreased by 8.8 per cent over the four-year period.¹⁰ The share of children baptised has decreased by 20 percentage points in 20 years.

As Church membership decreases it is likely that in ever more families one or both parents will not be a member of the Church and their child will remain unbaptised. Finding someone who is a member of the Church to be a godparent to a child also becomes more difficult as membership and the number of baptised people goes down.

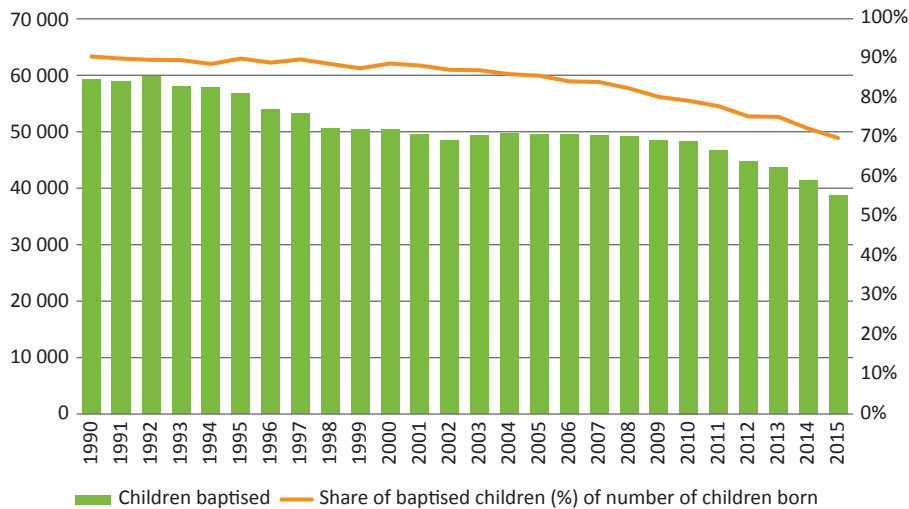
8 Suomen virallinen tilasto (SVT): Syntyneet 2015 [Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Births in 2015]; Seurakuntien jäsenistö [Parish membership] 2015: Seurakuntien väestömuutokset [Population changes in parishes].

9 Miettinen 2015, 11–13, 28–30, 70–78.

10 Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja [Statistical yearbook of the ELCF] 2015, Table 3; Seurakuntien jäsenistö 2012–2015: Seurakuntien väkiluvut ja väestömuutokset [Parish membership 2012–2015: Parish population change]; Community, Participation and Faith 2013, 54.

Figure 1.4

The number of children baptised in the years 1990–2015, %. Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja 2015.



However, the percentage of children being baptised is not decreasing only because people leave the Church or are not members of it. According to a study in 2012 the key reason to not have one's child baptised is to let the child choose at a later date whether or not they want to become a member of the Church. The second-most cited reason was that the mother's partner or the father of the child did not want the child to be baptised. In quite a few families the child had followed the father's religious affiliation and been baptised or had otherwise joined some community other than the Lutheran Church. The abovementioned study also suggests that a Christian upbringing will generate a positive attitude towards Church membership and that a Church wedding is a likely predictor that the children will be baptised.¹¹

Whether or not a child is exposed to religious symbols apparently has a strong influence on their religious development. If a child lacks religious experiences in the early stages of their development, producing them later on through cognition, for instance, tends to be difficult.¹²

However, an attitude to religion is most clearly passed on through the atmosphere at home. Because children do not grow up in a vacuum, each family gives their children a religious upbringing – whether or not they do so consciously. Experiencing silence or feelings of distress in relation to religion is also part of upbringing.¹³

¹¹ Rönqvist 2012, 10–11, 23–28, 47–48.

¹² Lindfors 2008, 279.

¹³ Pruuki 2010, 224.

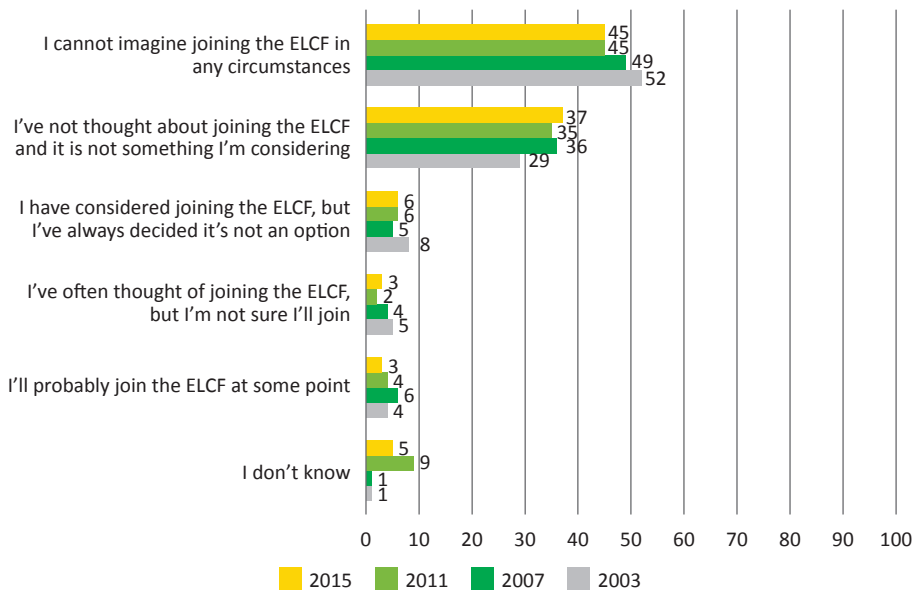
Matters regarding baptism – the ability to be a godparent and to have one's child baptised – are still significant reasons for Finns to be members of the Church. Being able to have their child baptised was considered either very important or quite important to the 76 per cent in favour of Church membership, while 73 per cent said the same of being able to be a godparent.¹⁴

Joining the Church

The number of people who joined the Church increased during the 2010s. In 2012–2015, some 62,000 people joined the Church. The *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey 2015* shows that interest in joining the Church has not changed much in recent years (Figure 1.5). Some three per cent of the population considers it likely that they will join the Church. A total of some nine per cent of non-members say they have considered joining the Church. About one third of those who are not members said they have not considered joining the Church and that it is not topical for them. Nearly half said that they would not in any circumstances consider joining the Church.

Figure 1.5

The attitude to joining the Church among non-members in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, N = 1,009; 1,030; 1,195; 1,120.



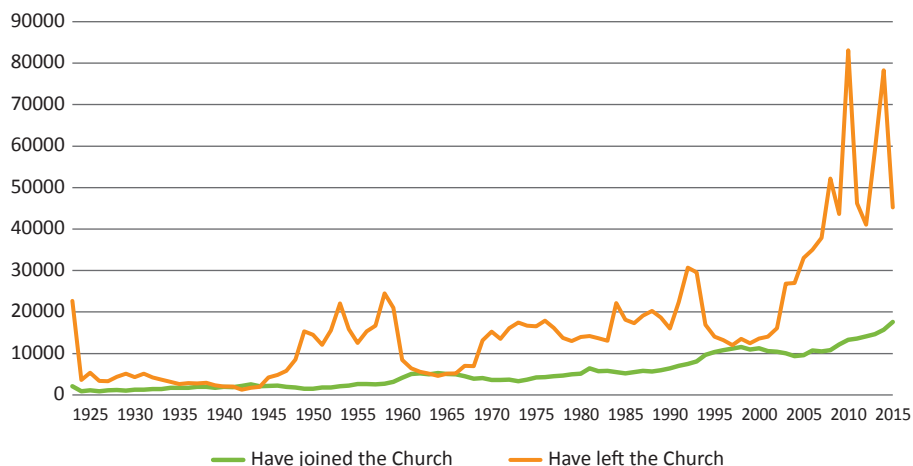
¹⁴ Gallup Ecclesiastica (GE) 2015.

Leaving the Church

During the 2012–2015 period, 223,600 people left the Church. Compared to the number of members in 2011, this corresponds to 5.4 per cent of Church membership. The number of leavers was highest in 2010 and 2014, when some 80,000 people left the Church (Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6

Number of people joining and leaving the Church from 1923–2015. Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja.



The exceptionally large number of people leaving the Church in 2014 was brought on by the Finnish parliament deciding to change the Marriage Act. Parliament voted on a proposition based on a citizens' initiative to make the Marriage Act gender neutral.¹⁵ The result caused a surge in the numbers leaving the Church, which was almost as big as the 2010 surge.

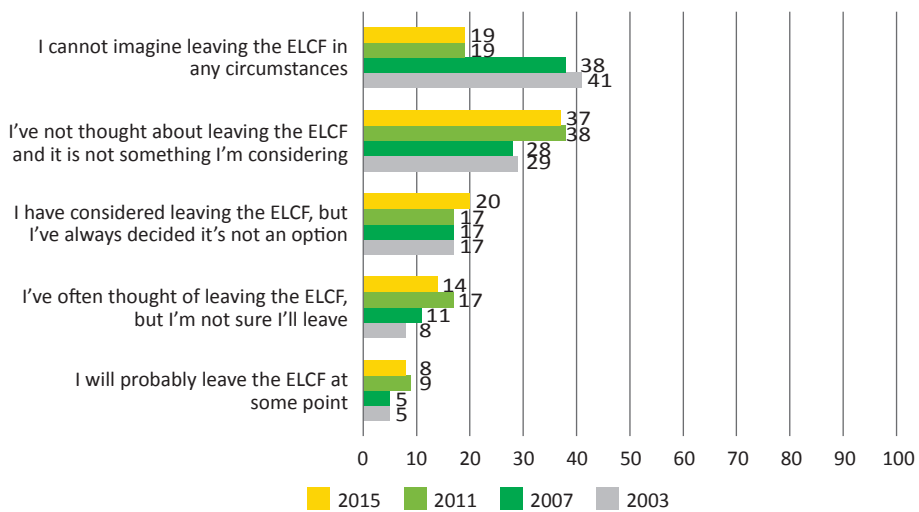
The attitude of Church members to leaving the ELCF has not changed significantly in four years. According to the *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey*, 2015, eight per cent of respondents thought it likely that they would leave the Church, which was only one percentage point less than the corresponding figure in the 2011 survey (Figure 1.7). Some 14 per cent of respondents said they often thought about leaving the Church, which is also only three percentage points less than in the previous survey. In total, approximately one fifth (22%) of Church members are seriously considering or likely to leave the Church.

¹⁵ The new Marriage Act came into force in March 2017.

Equally, there had been no shift in the number of people who are strongly committed to the ELCF. The number of people who would not under any circumstances consider leaving the Church had stayed at 19 per cent. More than one third (37%) of Church members hardly ever think about leaving the Church, nor think it a question that might come up. Again, there was little change in that percentage.

Figure 1.7

Attitude towards the thought of leaving the Church among members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015. N = 827, 793, 3,613, 3,155.



Statistical analysis was used to examine the profile of those closest to leaving the Church.¹⁶ The group of respondents who said they are likely to leave the Church was analysed through a statistical model which presented predictive factors for group membership. A key finding was that even though it was possible to standardise many background factors connected to population and religiosity, age remained a very strong factor in who considers leaving the Church. When those born in the 1930s and 40s were set as the reference group, all other age groups were many times more likely to belong to a group that considers it likely they may leave the Church. The greatest likelihood of belonging to a group expecting to leave the Church was for those born in the 1980s or 90s.

Education also proved to have an independently significant impact on people's interest in leaving the Church. Those who had only finished basic education were

¹⁶ Appendix 3. Table 1.1.

most likely to belong to the group expecting to leave the Church. In contrast, those who had finished secondary education, but also those with higher education, were less likely to be found in the likely leavers group. Unemployment and level of income, however, did not have an independent impact on interest in leaving the Church.

Where people lived in Finland was not statistically significant to their interest in leaving the ELCF. This is a significant finding in itself, as it shows that the phenomenon of leaving the Church is relevant to all of Finland, not only to the Helsinki metropolitan region and other large cities, even though the figures for leavers in those areas are higher than in the rest of the country. By inference, the larger proportion of leavers in big cities is most likely due to demographics.

Faith had a double effect on the likelihood of people leaving the ELCF. While a belief in the tenets of Christianity lessened interest in leaving, a conservative view of the role of the Church and its mission led to an increased interest.¹⁷ Contrary to expectation, a religious upbringing also increased the likelihood of people being in the likely leavers group.

However, it was entirely expected that those who consider themselves non-believers were many times more likely than others to be close to leaving the Church. As was also expected, Lutheran values and a positive attitude to the presence of the Church in public life significantly lessened the likelihood of a person being part of the group who were considering leaving the Church.¹⁸

Among the respondents to the *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey* were some 900 people who had left the Church. When they were asked to state the reasons for their leaving, three things stood out: whether they considered themselves religious, whether they believed in God, and whether they considered the Church as an institution to be significant for them (Figure 1.8). Nearly half the respondents stated that a decisive reason for their leaving the Church was that they were not religious or did not believe in God. Approximately a third said the decisive reason was that the Church as institution lacked meaning for them.

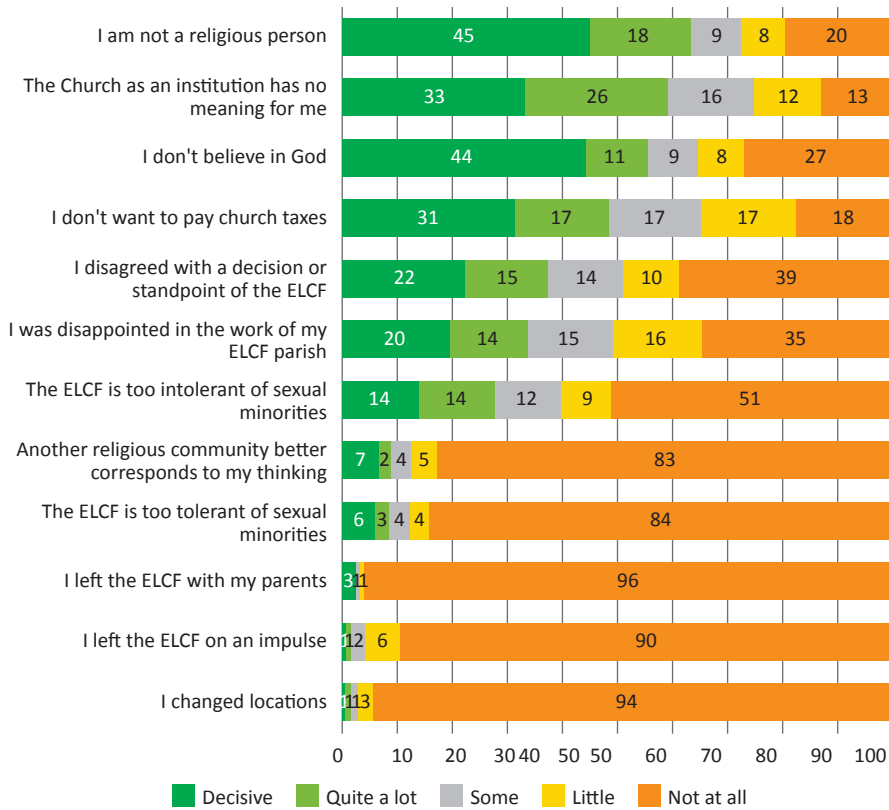
These figures strengthen the view that a person's world view is an extremely important factor influencing their likelihood of leaving the Church. Compared to the 2011 poll, reasons related to world view seem to have become even more important. For instance, the proportion of those who said that not being religious had quite a lot or a decisive impact on their decision to leave the Church had grown by some five percentage points, which put that at the top of the list of reasons for people leaving.

17 Those who support a conservative role for the Church were in agreement with statements that the Church should focus only on its spiritual mission, stick more clearly to what the Bible teaches, and spread the Gospel more actively within Finland; while being more likely to disagree with statements that the Church should be more tolerant of sexual minorities and reform its teaching in the light of present-day knowledge.

18 Lutheran values are looked at more closely in Chapter 2.

Figure 1.8

Reasons for leaving the Church, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 934.



A desire to avoid paying Church tax was the key reason for a third of members leaving. Approximately one in five said the key reason for them was that they disagreed with a decision or statement by the Church or were otherwise disappointed in the activities of their parish. For some 14 per cent, the key reason was that the Church is too intolerant of sexual minorities, while some 6 per cent found the Church too tolerant in that regard.

1.4 Conclusions

Finland becoming more international and more culturally diverse will have an ever-increasing impact on the cultural environment of the Church and the Church itself. Big changes have occurred in areas of faith and world views in Finland, and such developments will continue. Growing diversity of religions and beliefs increases the need for dialogue. Traditional world religions, Islam in particular, are part of Finland's religious landscape just as much as the new religious movements and modern forms of indigenous beliefs. The number of unaffiliated and the

nonreligious have increased markedly. Growing diversity also concerns Christianity. It is important that members of the ELCF are familiar with the diversity of Christianity and find ways of cooperating with various Christian communities.

The Church's mission to evangelise is increasingly present in an environment where the imagery, language and practices of the Christian faith are no longer so obviously familiar. Younger age groups in particular have become alienated from Christian traditions. The Christian faith must be interpreted in a time that is characterised by rapid change, meetings of cultures, and a diversity of world views.

Migration and increased urbanisation challenge the Lutheran Church to ensure that the Church is able to serve its members equally both in cities and regional growth centres. In large parishes, creating a functioning and genuine community is in itself a challenge when its members have very different backgrounds.

2 BEING LUTHERAN IN PRESENT-DAY FINLAND

2.1 Lutheran values

Measured by the membership share of religious communities, Finland is one of the most Lutheran countries in the world. In Finland, the Church has long played an important role in both private and public life through its emphasis on home and family as well as on nation and Fatherland (*isänmaa*). This has anchored the Lutheran tradition deep within the Finnish mental landscape and in the structures of Finnish society. The cultural importance of the Church and its impact on society will therefore continue to be visible in the future, despite the increasingly multicultural aspects. However, there are many differing views of the nature of this impact on society.

According to sociologist of religion, Steve Bruce, religious traditions are more significant for politics than is generally thought. For instance, Bruce observes that with the exception of Germany most Protestant countries avoided the rise of both Communism and Fascism in the 1920s and 30s and remained democracies, whereas these forms of political extremism gained a much stronger foothold in Orthodox and Catholic countries.¹ Of Europe's Catholic countries, only Belgium and Ireland were spared right-wing authoritarian rule. Correspondingly, political scientist Michael Minkenberg has focused on the stability of politics and society in the Lutheran countries of Northern Europe in combination with their ability to adapt to diversity in religions and world views.²

Recent studies have further found that in Lutheran countries people's trust in each other and in the institutions of society is very high in an international comparison. For instance, Harri Palmu's analysis of survey data from more than 30 countries shows that all Nordic countries are among the ten countries in which more than half of the population say they trust other people nearly always or most of the time. In this study of trust in human beings, the top three countries were Denmark, Norway and Sweden, where 67–78 per cent of the population said they trust others always or most of the time. In Finland, the corresponding number was slightly lower, some 56 per cent, but in many other surveys Finland has come very close to the top-scoring Scandinavian countries.³

Most noteworthy about the trust expressed by Finns is that it has stayed high until quite recently despite the fact that, due to globalisation, economic inequality

1 Bruce 2003, 206.

2 Minkenberg 2013.

3 Palmu 2011.

has been shown to have increased since the 1980s in almost all Western countries. Development in the Nordic countries has been along the same lines: the share of the income has grown drastically among those with the largest incomes – though it must be remembered that the numbers in 1980 were very small, which means the top earners in Finland are still earning far less than their peers in most other industrialised nations.⁴ However, growing inequality has been shown to correlate strongly with a lessening of trust between people.⁵ This observation has interested many researchers: what are the factors that may explain the continuity of trust between people in the Nordic countries compared to that in other post-industrial societies of the West?

Klaus Helkama has studied values and in his recent book *Suomalaisten arvot* [Finnish Values], he points to two factors. Finns being exceptionally active in associations helps to maintain their trust in other people. And second, they benefit from the value traditions of the Protestant faith:

*Protestant Europe, which includes Finland, the other Nordic countries and the Netherlands, is at present the only part of the world where the majority of people believe they can trust other people. Equality, work and integrity support one another here. European values, equality and freedom have been realised better here than in other parts and the political system exhibits 'high-level balance'. Even though religion is not a visible part of everyday life in Protestant Europe, its invisible tradition is present in Helsinki as well as in Stockholm and Amsterdam.*⁶

This chapter looks at the religious beliefs of Finns today. Emphasis is placed on which visible and invisible ways a Lutheran world view, in particular, has an impact on the lives of Finns. What does being Lutheran mean in present day Finland? We will also look at how being Lutheran impacts on other values, such as how one appreciates work or is motivated to help others.

2.2 The elements of a Lutheran world view

Even though the theology of Martin Luther is important, with regards to today's Lutheranism it is necessary to remember that it is formed not only by the teachings of Luther and other Reformers, but also by those of subsequent generations. To pin down the world view of a modern-day Lutheran, the *Gallup Ecclesiastica*, 2015, poll contained a number of statements to chart various widely-held beliefs associated with the Lutheran faith or Lutheran values. The statements were formulated to

4 Roine 2014, 32.

5 Halpern 2005, 271.

6 Helkama 2015, 235.

express widely accepted Lutheran views that did not require theological expertise to understand nor fine-tuned theological definitions to express them. For instance, the concept of a merciful God is a common idea in the Lutheran world, which made it meaningful to measure the prevalence of such a belief. The following sixteen statements were formulated for the survey:

1. Grace turns a person's eyes from their own imperfections to serving others
2. Deeds have nothing to do with salvation
3. One should not try to further one's own interests but strive for the common good
4. We must all take responsibility for one another
5. God cares for us in the form of a good partner, reliable neighbours and good friends
6. By working, a human being fulfils one's calling
7. It is each person's duty to work
8. There is nothing one can have that is not a gift
9. Each person knows by their own reasoning what is right and wrong
10. Everyone has both good and evil in them
11. Parents must take care of their children's Christian education
12. Each child has the right to be educated in their own religion in school
13. We must uphold our tradition of singing hymns
14. The Church should stay out of matters of society
15. State laws, whether good or bad, should be obeyed
16. Women and men have equal value

The idea that God takes the initiative and has primacy in a person's salvation, while at the same time dismissing the thought that a person could approach God through their own efforts and sacrifices, also has a fundamentally Lutheran emphasis theologically.⁷ This can reasonably be expected to be expressed in the views of many Finns (Statements 1, 2).

Among basic Lutheran beliefs is also the idea that the world is part of God's good Creation, despite its limitation and conflicts.⁸ Connected to this is also the idea that Christians have an earthly responsibility to take part in God's work of maintaining and renewing the world. These ideas too can be considered to have Lutheran theological roots, whether or not people are aware of them. These views emphasise the importance of the worldly life and thereby the invitation that is extended to each Christian to take part in the upkeep of God's creation through their own worldly efforts. One of what may be the most characteristic features of the

7 For an analysis of the factors of a present-day Lutheran identity see, for instance, Gassman & Hendrix 1999, 180–182; Mäkinen 2010; Kopperi 2015; Jolkkonen 2016.

8 Gassman & Hendrix 1999, 180–182.

Lutheran faith is that everyday work benefiting one's fellow humans and society is seen as an area of the spiritual life. This is seen in exhortations to take responsibility for the people around you. For instance, in the most recent Catechism of the ELCF this is stated quite seriously: 'We are to protect and defend our neighbors even if it means giving up our own rights. God forbids us to seek our own good at the expense of others, even if the means are legitimate.'⁹ (Statements 3–8.)

Characteristic of Finnish Lutheranism has also been the idea of a Natural Law of morality.¹⁰ That is, there is a strong tradition of Lutheran interpretation that says ethics are universal, that each person has an inborn sense of morality whereby they can know what is right and what is wrong. This emphasis is a natural corollary to the emphasis on God's initiative and primacy. Striving to live a highly moral life to please God contains the danger of deluding oneself, because it can tempt people to place themselves above others. The principle of Natural Law makes morality a universal trait, of which people of faith have no special knowledge. However, as a result of the Fall, if people's moral compass is not always working as it should, they can fall again into selfish behaviours. This is why the Lutheran view is that humanity is always, regardless of their strength of faith, a mixture of good and evil or, as in the traditional phrase, sinners and righteous at the same time.¹¹ (Statements 9–10)

In addition to theological views, Günther Gassman and Scott Hendrix, among others, have listed a number of features that they consider characteristic of the life and thought of Lutheran churches in general. Among these they mention the importance of a Christian upbringing, an appreciation of church music and hymns, and a separation of worldly and spiritual rule.¹² (Statements 11–15.)

It is important to note that the aim of the survey was not to measure the Lutheran orthodoxy or otherwise of Finns. For instance, Statement 15 is not at all theologically unproblematic. The Catechism, for example, emphasises that good government is among God's best gifts, but that 'being faithful to God is, however, more important than obeying people'.¹³ Despite this, Lutheranism has often been accused of leading to an exaggerated faith in authority and passivity within society.¹⁴ Because of this, there is reason to look separately at the connection between this statement and other views that characterise the Lutheran faith. The Church may have taught or the people may have embraced one-sided interpretations of the Lutheran faith.

In addition, a number of international comparisons have shown that equality is a value that is characteristic of the Lutheran countries in northern Europe.¹⁵ Even

9 Katekismus [Catechism] 1999, The Ninth Commandment.

10 Kopperi 2015.

11 See, for instance, Heinimäki & Jolkkonen 2008, under etiikka (ethics).

12 Gassman & Hendrix 1999, 182–183.

13 Katekismus [Catechism] 1999, The Fourth Commandment.

14 See, for instance, Hagman 2016.

15 Helkama 2015.

though the roots of Nordic equality can be sought in many places, one explanation can be found in the Protestant Reformation striving to break the special position of the estate of the clergy and see all people, regardless of estate or position in society, as equal before God. The fact that Lutheranism broke the justification of hierarchy in the spiritual field no doubt had wide-reaching consequences in society by removing the founding religious justification for all sorts of inequalities. Later, the striving for increased equality may have been reflected into many other fields of life, particularly views on gender equality (Statement 16).

Figure 2.1

Lutheran views among Finns, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.

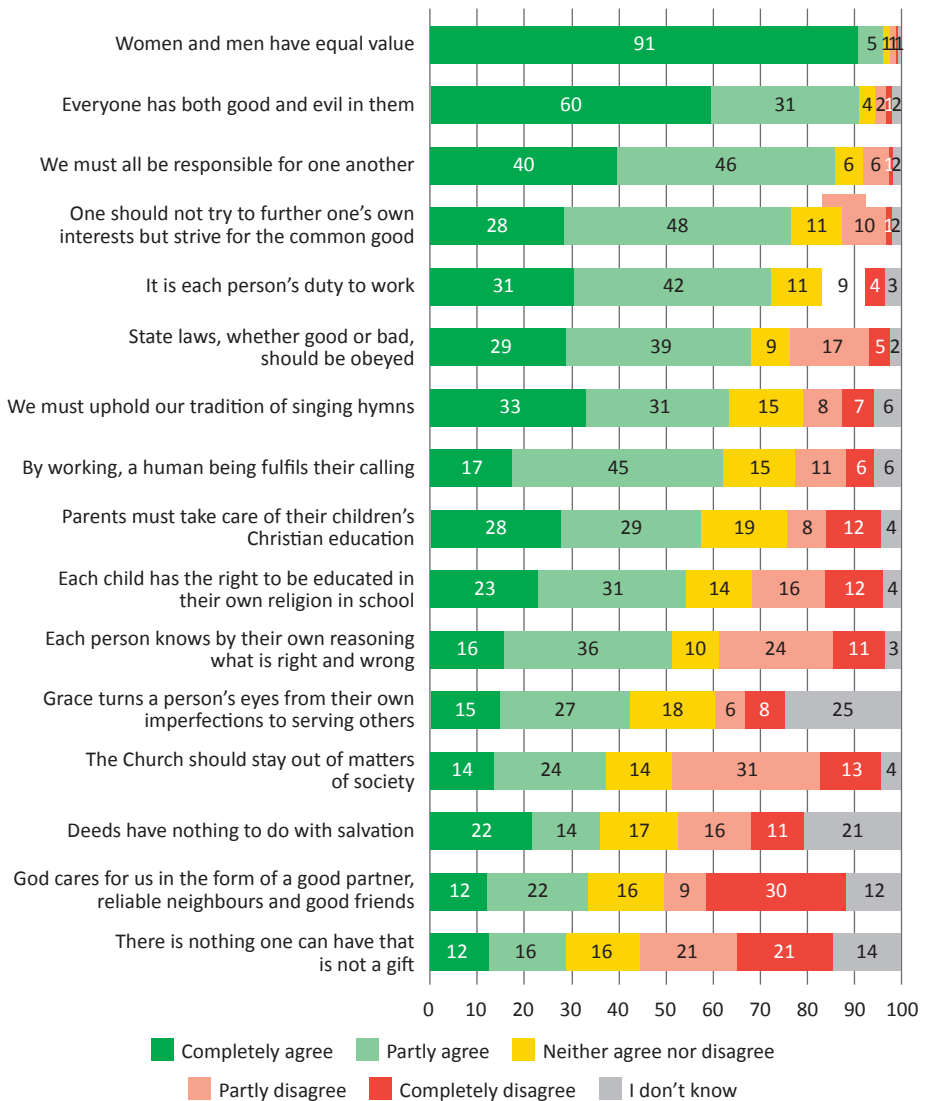


Figure 2.1 presents the spread of answers regarding the statements in the *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey*, 2015. As the graph shows, acceptance of the statements varied greatly. The statement on equality between men and women was supported by a great majority of Finns. Only a tiny fraction, some four per cent, disagreed. The statement on the two-fold moral nature of human beings was also one that people agreed on. Finns were also very supportive of the idea of taking responsibility for one another and striving for the common good at the expense of one's own gain. Approximately three out of four respondents agreed with these statements. Large sections, more than two thirds, also agreed that work is everybody's duty and that one ought to obey the law.

The statements with obvious religious content, however, did not garner as much support. Despite that, it is noteworthy that nearly two thirds of Finns expressed their support for the tradition of singing hymns and that more than half of them cared about the religious upbringing of children, whether in the home or at school. Also, more than two fifths agreed with the statement that connects God's grace with service. The other statements with theological content found opinions more divided between those who agreed and those who did not.

But more important than studying the spread of responses to the individual statements is to look at whether there is a connection between the beliefs. In other words, can a respondent's reaction to other statements be predicted on the basis of their reply to one specific statement? If the assumption of Lutheran cultural impact is correct, the basic theological views should correlate positively with other Lutheran views and attitudes.

A correlation analysis (see Table 2.1) revealed that nine of the statements, that is approximately half of them, show a reasonably solid correlation with one another. Therefore it is reasonable to say that Finns today are still impacted by a world view that can be said to be strongly influenced by the Lutheran faith. For instance, Statement 1 – 'Grace turns a person's eyes from their own imperfections to serving others' – showed a reasonably strong positive correlation with the statements regarding the goodness of this earthly life and its importance for the spiritual life (Statements 3–8). The strongest correlation was with the statements regarding God's care for us and the gifts of life. There was also a reasonably strong correlation to the statements regarding the common good and taking responsibility for others; and a positive correlation between the statements on grace and service to others with the statements on the meaning of work. In particular, the statement on work being a calling correlated reasonably strongly with the view on the meaning of grace. Defining work as a duty, however, did not correlate quite so strongly with the statements on grace and service to others. Nonetheless, there was a positive connection, which was statistically very significant. The statements on religious upbringing and the hymn-singing tradition also correlated reasonably strongly with the emphasis on grace (Statements 11–13).

But the view on grace and service to others did not correlate with the suggested views on morality (Statements 9–10). There was no statistical connection to the view on Natural Law.¹⁶ Instead, there was a weak connection to the view of everyone being both good and evil,¹⁷ and the view that men and women are equal.¹⁸ Emphasis on grace and taking care of others had no impact on the statement about being law-abiding.¹⁹

Furthermore, it is worth noting that most of those who exhibited Lutheran views disagreed with Statement 14, which claimed ‘The Church should stay out of matters of society’. The view that the Church should not get involved in society’s business actually correlated negatively and rather strongly with the emphasis on grace.²⁰ This means Finnish Lutheranism cannot be described as a passive world view in regard to society. This result fits in with the fact that engagement in voluntary work is higher in Protestant countries than in other European countries. Among a list of more than 40 European countries, Finland comes third highest in numbers of people who volunteer in relation to the population of their country, after the Netherlands and Luxemburg. All five Nordic countries are included in the top 11 countries listed.²¹

16 Statement 9: Each person knows by their own reasoning what is right and wrong / Spearman $r = .006$; $p = .746$.

17 Statement 10: Everyone has both good and evil in them / Spearman $r = .213$; $p = .000$.

18 Statement 16: Women and men have equal value / Spearman $r = .066$; $p = .000$.

19 Statement 15: State laws, whether good or bad, should be obeyed / Spearman $r = .023$; $p = .173$.

20 Statement 14: The Church should stay out of matters of society / Spearman $r = -.388$; $p = .000$.

21 De Hart & Dekker 2013.

Table 2.1
Connections between Lutheran views that correlated best. Spearman’s rank-order correlations.
All correlations $p < .001$. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 3,036–4,492.

	We must uphold our tradition of singing hymns	Grace turns a person's eyes from their own imperfections to serving others	One should not try to further one's own interests but strive for the common good	We must all be responsible for one another	God cares for us in the form of a good partner, reliable neighbours and good friends	By working, a human being fulfils their calling	It is each person's duty to work	There is nothing you can have that is not a gift
Grace turns a person's eyes from their own imperfections to serving others	.546							
One should not try to further one's own interests but strive for the common good	.265	.459						
We must all be responsible for one another	.231	.396	.564					
God cares for us in the form of a good partner, reliable neighbours and good friends	.554	.638	.294	.274				
By working, a human being fulfils their calling	.370	.383	.244	.227	.441			
It is each person's duty to work	.263	.191	.104	.113	.236	.507		
There is nothing one can have that is not a gift	.420	.481	.246	.197	.573	.304	.171	
Parents must take care of their children's Christian education	.573	.502	.208	.194	.582	.360	.305	.456

2.3 Who are the Lutherans?

What sort of people are those Finns who exhibit Lutheran values? This question can be considered through a statistical model. In order to study the impact of a Lutheran world view, the correlating statements of Lutheran faith (see Table 2.1) were combined into a composite measure (a scale).²² By using the scale it was possible to separate those who on average agreed on the statements (which scored an average of four or more on a five-point scale) into a clearly Lutheran group. Comparing this group to other Finns made it possible to draw conclusions on what a typical Lutheran is like.²³

The statistical model thus generated showed that gender, education, domicile, unemployment, or membership of a religious community did not have an independent effect on the likelihood of people being among Finland's most Lutheran in their values and convictions once the impact of other factors had been controlled for.²⁴ However, age and level of income did have an impact: in particular, the generations born in the 1960s and 70s were considerably less likely to agree with the Lutheran Statements than those who were born before 1960. Those who were born in the 1980s were also less likely to agree, but the difference was less significant. Conversely, people with large or middle incomes were more likely than those with small incomes (households earning less than EUR 20,000 a year) to be part of the group holding Lutheran views.

Being religious had an expected and clear impact on commitment to Lutheran views: commitment to Christian teaching, a conservative view of the role of the Church, membership of a Christian revivalist movement, taking part in Church services, and a Christian upbringing all predicted Lutheran beliefs. Praying actively, however, did not impact on the likelihood of anyone being part of the group of core Lutherans. Being proud of being Finnish and positive about the Church's presence in the public sphere were also clear predictors of Lutheran values. It is worth noting that views in support of an unequal treatment of social groups within society were found to predict a lack of Lutheran values.²⁵ This suggests that the Lutheran faith can have a positive effect on views defending equal treatment of minority groups.

As shown by the results presented above, the expression of Lutheran views and values among Finns is closely connected to the Christian faith. This is underlined by the fact that such views are more likely to be held among those who have a conservative view of the role of the Church and/or are members of revivalist

22 The variables used to create the sum of the variables are presented in Appendix 2.

23 In this analysis, Statements 6 and 7 were removed from the scale to avoid making artificially positive connections. In other analyses they were retained in the scale.

24 Cf. Appendix 3, Table 2.1.

25 This was measured through a scale measuring the Social Dominance Orientation, see Appendix 2.

movements. The Christian faith supports and maintains a Lutheran world view and Lutheran values in Finland and vice versa. It is notable that private spirituality, measured according to prayer activity, did not independently impact on Lutheran beliefs. This means that Lutheran beliefs are also expressed to a considerable degree outside the most pious part of the population. Also, taking part in religious services did not show an especially strong connection, even though it was statistically significant.

2.4 Lutheran work ethic

The above observations bring up the old question of the Protestant work ethics. Lately, there has been a sense that people within the Church have tried to distance themselves from the idea of a Protestant work ethic, because of the negative connotations of the concept. The idea of a constraining Lutheran work ethic is largely based on misinterpretations of a classic of German sociology, Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.²⁶ Weber's theory of the birth of the spirit of capitalism is based mainly on an analysis of a Calvinist interpretation of the Christian faith. In Calvinist theology a person's worldly success was enough to surmise their position in Eternity. This meant that success at work became a measure of a person's worth. The Lutheran view, however, is that the value of work is based only on the good it produces for others; that the good produced through work is an indirect expression of God's care for all humanity and Creation.

In the *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey*, 2015, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a number of statements regarding the value of work. The distribution of the answers is presented in Figure 2.2 which shows, for instance, that approximately nine out of ten Finns consider it important that working provides them with a sufficient livelihood and that it gives satisfaction. More than four fifths considered it important that work allows one to express oneself. Career opportunities were important to almost two thirds of the respondents and more than half thought it important that wealth can be amassed through work.

It is notable that three out of four respondents saw being able to help and serve other people as an important aspect of work. In addition, almost half of them considered it important that their job be a calling, while slightly fewer of them found it important that a job be their mission in life, something to which they could dedicate themselves. Having such values are definite markers for a Lutheran view that work ought to be meaningful.

²⁶ Weber 1980. See interpretations of Weber in for instance, Peura 2007.

As Figure 2.2 shows, people with a Lutheran world view²⁷ considered all statements regarding the meaningful nature of work to be more important than did other Finns.²⁸ The biggest differences concern the statements that focus on work as helping others and serving (4), as a calling (7), and as one's mission in life (8). For all these statements the proportion of respondents agreeing or agreeing completely was around 20 percentage points higher in the Lutheran group than among other Finns. Statistical models showed that even when various background factors (gender, age, education, income level, membership of religious communities, and various factors measuring religiosity) were controlled for, a Lutheran world view predicted in a statistically significant way whether the respondent considered these aspects of work important.²⁹ Furthermore, the Lutheran group was also clearly distinct from other Finns in how they rated the importance of work satisfaction, with a 15-point gap in the share who agreed completely. Those with Lutheran views were also more likely to find it important that a job provides opportunities for self-expression. For these statements too, having Lutheran beliefs was a statistically significant predictor of whether or not a respondent agreed.

In their rating of career progress and wealth the Lutheran group did not differ from other Finns. Statistical models show the same thing, that Lutheran views did not have an independent effect on how these questions were answered. This result is consistent with the fact that in Lutheran ethics, these are not key motivating factors for work. Individual values of work based on competition are in direct contrast to Lutheran work ethics, which emphasise work that contributes to the common good.

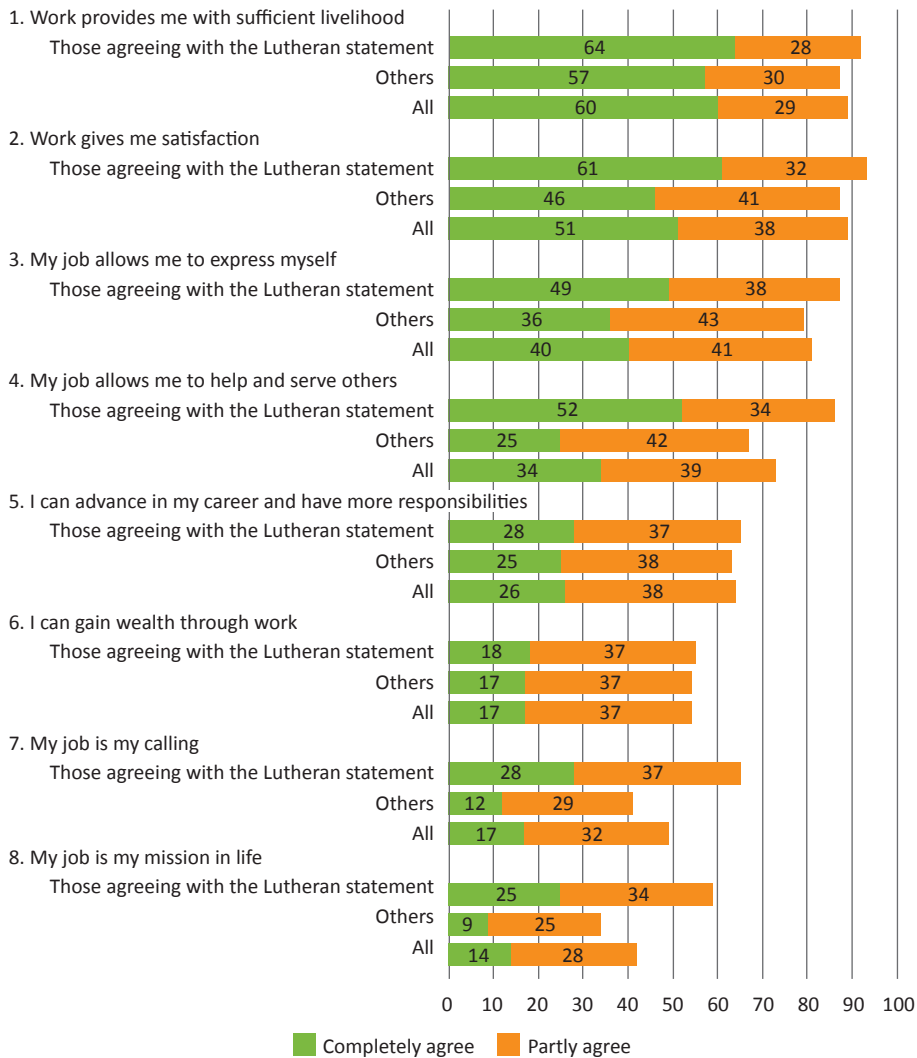
27 For the variable components, see Appendix 2.

28 The question was formulated as: 'Next up is a series of statements regarding the importance of meaningful work. You can answer them whether or not you are currently actively employed.': 'For me it is important that ...'

29 See Appendix 3, Tables 2.2.–2.4.

Figure 2.2

The importance given to different motivations of work among those with Lutheran values and other Finns, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,247–4,250.



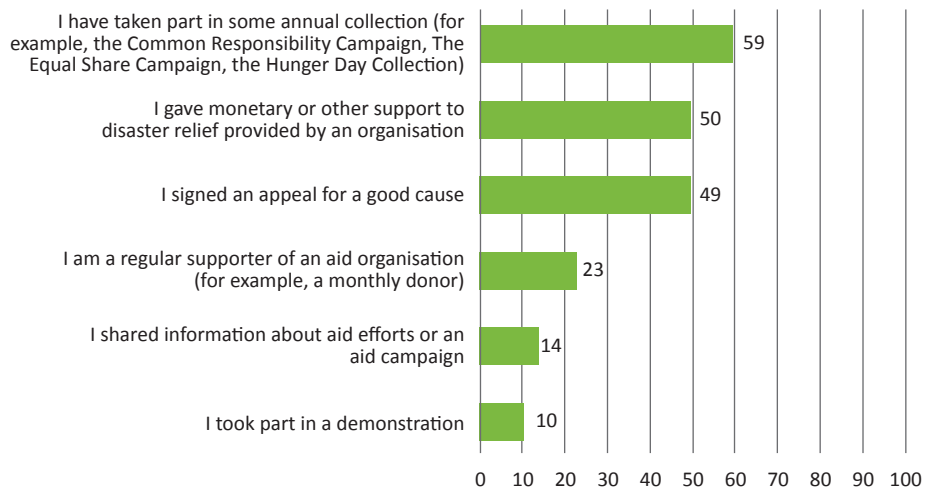
2.5 Helping and active citizenship as part of the Lutheran faith

According to a voluntary work study published in 2015, approximately one in three Finns say they volunteer. By far the most common voluntary work was some form of *charitable helping*, which had been done by 42% or almost half of the respondents who said they had volunteered (45% of women and 38% of men).

The *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey*, 2015, charted active citizenship in Finland to find out to what extent Finns are involved in associations and aid work or other civic activities.³⁰ The engagement profile proved to be in line with other national studies of voluntary work. Most Finns (86%) were members of at least one association. Another common feature was that people had multiple memberships, even though they were actively involved in fewer associations than they had been previously. Volunteering was mostly about donating money or materials, which approximately half of the respondents said they had done in the previous year. Almost as many said they had signed an appeal or petition as said they had donated to a collection, but only one in four said they regularly support a charity or charities. Actively disseminating information about aid work or a campaign or taking part in a demonstration were activities ticked by a considerably smaller number of Finns.

Figure 2.3

Engagement in charitable work and active citizenship in the past year, % of respondents who answered 'Yes'. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



Female respondents were more likely to be involved in helping people. Helping out was also clearly age-related. People over 50 and 65 were considerably more likely to donate money to a cause than were the younger respondents. However, sharing information, signing a petition, or taking part in a demonstration were more common among young adults aged between 25 and 34. Members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland did not differ much in these respects from members of the Orthodox Church of Finland nor from those who did not

30 GE 2015.

belong to any other religious group. But members of other religious groups were far more likely to have regularly donated money to a charity, shared information about campaigns, or signed a petition.

The survey showed that in the past year, individual Finns donated on average EUR 155 to charities, collections and aid.³¹ The amount varied significantly according to age and income level. Those who were members of religious communities other than the ELCF or Orthodox Church had also donated considerably larger sums than the others. Notably, the activities of smaller religious communities are often financed by membership donations, which means that those who pledged a tithe to their own communities may have included this as part of other donations. An interesting aspect is also the impact of the Lutheran world view, as it applies to donating in particular. Those respondents who were closest to the Lutheran statements donated considerably more in 2015 (on average EUR 249) than Finns in general. This difference remained even when age, income level and education, factors that might otherwise explain people's preparedness to donate, were controlled.

Motivation behind helping

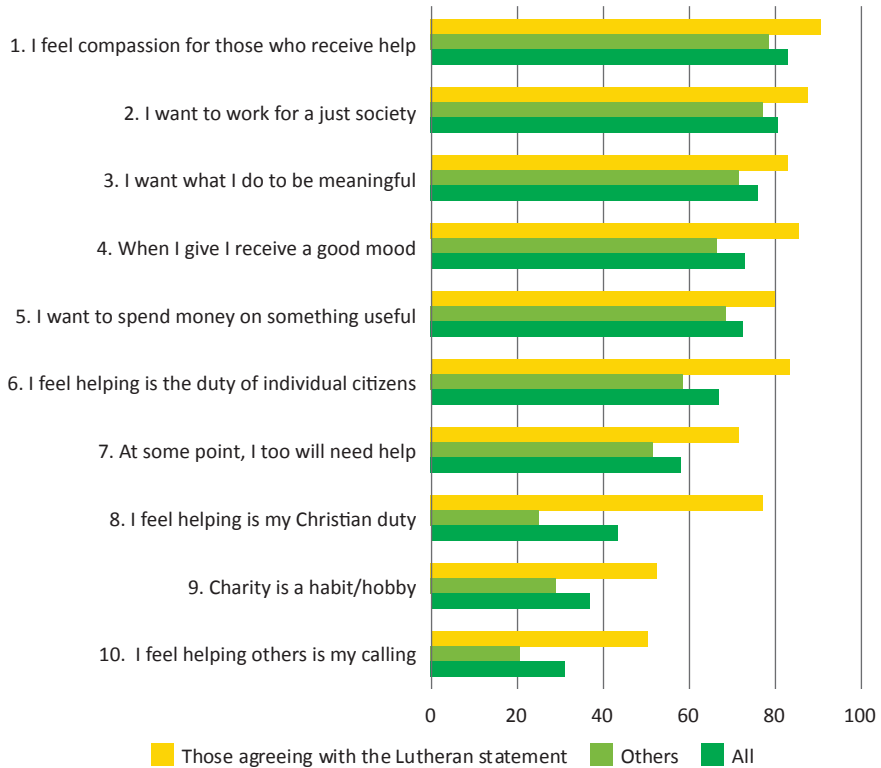
The *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey* charted the factors that impact on helping and support for aid work. Figure 2.4 shows how various factors correlate with taking part in aid work according to what extent one's world view is Lutheran.³² The figure shows that in helping, Finns mostly focused on the empathy they felt with people in need. Helping was almost as motivated by a desire to promote justice in society. For these two main reasons, there was not a particularly big difference between those with Lutheran world view and others. The factors were pretty much as important to all people, regardless of religious affiliation. There was some difference between the groups with regard to whether people felt good about giving. Apparently the motivation for giving and receiving has a religious tinge, because those who were members of some religious community emphasised this factor more than those who were not.

31 GE 2015; average when age, gender, income level and domicile have been standardised.

32 GE 2015.

Figure 2.4

The importance of various factors for being involved in helping as they pertain to Lutherans and others; % share of those who replied *very important* or *rather important*. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,249.



The desire to spend money on something useful and experiencing helping as a civic duty represent a more norm-following motivation for helping. Fulfilling one's civic duty is not among the top reasons for wanting to help, but it is still a reason given, which supports a view of active citizenship that emphasises *civic virtue*.³³ Those representing a Lutheran world view identified far more closely with the statement than did others. As expected, the biggest differences between the groups concerned whether people felt that helping is their Christian duty. This was important to three quarters of the Lutherans and one quarter of others. A corresponding difference was also visible between the members of the ELCF and those who were not members of any religious community.

According to this analysis, helping is not connected to an especially strong sense of calling. Christian duty is more likely to be a motivating factor than a calling. Only those who were not members of any religious community saw a

³³ For example, Putnam 2000; Pessi 2011, 180.

calling as a more important factor than Christian duty. Naturally it is possible that some who feel that helping is a calling expressed it as a duty of the Christian life. Among the top-ranked motivational factors, a just world and doing something meaningful could also tie in with a calling.

What explains engagement?

To indicate engagement in associations and voluntary helping, a scale was created from the *Gallup Ecclesiastica* material. Statistical models were used to look at the impact of general demographical factors, religiosity as well as values and attitudes about activity in associations and helping.³⁴ This allowed a study of the possible impact of religiosity on civic activities while controlling the background factors, but also how religiosity, a Lutheran world view and, for instance, New Age spirituality related to each other in relevance for civic activities.

First, the analysis of *civic activity* showed that the 50+ age group were the most active participants in associations. Those born in the 1960s and 1970s and particularly those born later, were considerably less likely to be active in associations. Another group of people who were passive in associations were the unemployed. In the 2010s, active participation of the unemployed weakened, in contrast to the recession of the 1990s, when the unemployed were very active in organising themselves into associations.³⁵

When other background factors were standardised, being religious correlated with activity in associations mainly for those who actively attended religious services, were not members of a religious community, and had a liberal view of the Christian faith. Support for new spiritualities also shows up. This supports an observation made through international materials that those who embrace new spirituality are active volunteers.³⁶ National pride and acceptance of social inequalities predicted less engagement in associations. A Lutheran world view, however, did not have an impact one way or the other.

The strongest connections to volunteering to help are found in gender, opposition to inequality in society and membership in another religious community. Women are clearly more likely to engage in helping than are men. A large income and higher education also increase the likelihood of people choosing to help out, which is somewhat as expected. The strongest religion-related factor that increases the likelihood of helping is membership in another religious community.³⁷ However,

34 Appendix 3. Tables 2.5–2.6.

35 Siisiäinen & Kankainen & Luhtakallio 2015.

36 De Hart & Dekker 2013, 176–177.

37 Members of other religious communities have a high odds ratio of participation, but the connection is just under the 0.05 limit for statistical significance.

those who are not members of any religious community are also more active helpers than are the members of the ELCF. Fascinatingly, those who define themselves as non-religious are more active than others in helping.

This means there is no obvious connection between being religious and volunteering to help. The non-religious are active, but then so are those who actively take part in religious services but are not conservative Christians. Having a Lutheran world view also increases the likelihood of a person being involved in helping, which is also evident in a comparison of average donation sums. Among attitude factors, opposition to social inequality and a critical stance towards nationalism were also characteristic of active helpers. These attitude factors, including the Lutheran world view, can be found among the religious and the non-religious alike, so in that respect the analysis is understandable.

The impact of religiosity is divided, so that being involved in parish activities corresponds to being involved in associations and helping. Those who pray frequently, however, are not significantly more active participants than those who pray rarely or never. Those committed to the Christian faith and those who have a conservative view of the Church are even less involved than others. This corresponds in part with Purdam and Storm's analysis of the European Values Survey material. According to their observations those who were and those who were not members of religious communities only differed in how much they were willing to help others. There was no difference between them in how actively they took part in local or other helping efforts. The most active helpers were those who took part in the activities of religious communities.³⁸ So, in practice, an attitude that supports helping grows stronger among those who belong to religious communities, but the impact of their faith can be indirect. A helping attitude can explain engagement even without a connection to religion, as this analysis shows that those without religious affiliations are active in helping.

Naturally, Europe is not uniform when it comes to the connection between religiosity and civic activities. De Hart and Dekker's study shows that in the Netherlands, for instance, members of religious communities, particularly in local Protestant churches, are more involved in voluntary work both in secular and religious settings, while members of religious communities in Turkey were least inclined to take part in voluntary work. Meanwhile, in Greece, engagement in a parish lessened people's engagement in voluntary work.³⁹ On the basis of *Gallup Ecclesiastica* it seems that in Finland only those who are not members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church or the Orthodox Church are more active helpers than the general population. More indicative for engagement is whether one is active in a parish and has a world view that emphasises universalism and solidarity.

38 Purdam & Storm 2013, 154–155.

39 De Hart & Dekker 2013, 176–177.

2.6 Conclusions

The observations presented in this chapter show that among Finns there is a clear group of world-view related beliefs that are both closely connected and express a Finnish Lutheranism of today. At their core is a view of grace that sets people free to serve others, rather than use resources on shaping one's own life to suit God. Striving to live a pure or perfect individual or community life to make it acceptable to God is an alien concept for Lutheran religious life. However, this does not mean that Lutherans become fatalists or are passive within society. On the contrary, the Lutheran interpretation of the Christian faith is strongly anchored in the here and now. Although it is expressed as a practical mindset, it is partly paradoxical in its spiritual search for holiness in everyday life. Life and its gifts are seen as gifts of a good God and everyday relationships as tools of God's care. Lutheran values are also very communal. They emphasise striving for the common good, taking responsibility for others, work as a calling and as service, and the importance of bringing up children. All these values combine to make Lutheranism a faith that has a clear yet often imperceptible impact on society through familiar habits and views that are internalised within everyday actions, rather than driven by external constraints or demands based on religious mores.

Lutheran beliefs were strongly connected to basic Christian tenets and a faith in God. Even though the beliefs were held they did not correlate with a concern for the hymn-singing tradition, were not strongly dependent on taking part in religious services, and had no correlation to people praying. These observations show that a Lutheran world view is not only common among active parishioners and those who emphasise their religious life. It is also widely accepted among Finns who rarely take part in religious activities in a church and may feel that a prayerful spiritual life is alien to them. To a large extent, this explains why various concerts and hymn-singing events draw large crowds. At the same time, there are a number of signals that a Lutheran world view is less common among people born during and after the 1960s. This observation suggests there are particular challenges for a Christian upbringing.

On the basis of these observations it is clear that the Lutheran faith still has a significant cultural and societal impact in Finland through the grassroots, individuals with a Lutheran world view and the values that arise from them. It is not only a question of the Evangelical Lutheran Church having held a central position as an institution in Finland. A great deal of the Church's impact has been indirect: as a result of the Church having taught generations of Finns, many people in Finland have a stable set of beliefs and values that significantly influence Finnish culture and politics of today, even though the faith-based background of such attitudes is not always recognised.

Most obvious are the values connected to work. A lot has been written about Protestant work ethics and there are a number of negative connotations. This

study approached the question through empirical observations, which showed that almost three quarters of Finns thought it important that their work allows them to help and serve other people. This is also supported by observations that people with the most Lutheran world view donated more to charity than did others, and were more likely to give their reason for helping out as it being the duty of a citizen and a Christian to do so. Most of them also felt they gained something in helping and giving.

More than four out of five thought it important that they can express themselves through their job, and nearly nine out of ten thought it important that their work be satisfying. In these values connected to work there is nothing religious *per se*, and there is no particular reason why non-religious Finns could not see their work as an opportunity to serve others and to express themselves. Despite this, the group of Finns who were most Lutheran in their values displayed even higher rates than those listed before, which suggests a causal link. In other words, it is likely that Lutheran values in particular strengthen the view that a job which can be seen as serving and contributing to society is the job that is most rewarding and satisfying. Compared to other Finns, a significantly larger proportion of those whose world view was specifically Lutheran found it important that their work be a mission to which they could be dedicated.

This all suggests that a *Lutheran work ethic* is definitely a real thing, even though the connotations associated with it can be misleading. For Lutherans, a job that is done to serve others also needs to give joy and satisfaction, and more so than on average. Even though work is often also seen as a duty, the connection between this train of thought and other Lutheran values was weaker than the connection to work being rewarding.

3 FINNS AND FAITH

3.1 Faith in God

Surveys conducted for The Church Research Institute have used the same question to chart the faith of Finns for some 40 years, which allows long-term trends to be assessed from the answers. As Figure 3.1 shows, there the Christian faith undulates somewhat: faith in God as expressed in Christianity has been professed to by nearly a quarter of Finns at the low-water mark and up to approximately half at the high-water mark. From the mid-1970s until the beginning of the 1990s, faith in a Christian God weakened, but increased during the 1990s to levels similar to those of the 1970s. In the twenty-first century the trend has been mainly downwards. In the latest survey, from 2015, another upward turn was observed. But considering the whole picture, including those people who believe in God in some other form and those who are agnostic, the variation is much less. Almost a quarter of Finns (23%) stated that they do not believe in God.

The increase of faith in the Christian God during the 1990s can be explained in various ways. The recession at the beginning of the decade and the ensuing increase in unemployment and financial insecurity may have diverted people's eyes towards the Church and other institutions that represent tradition and safety. At the same time the Church's own reaction to the situation, that is actively providing assistance for people in need and taking part in the public debate, strengthened the Finns' faith in the Church and probably also in the faith it represents. Also, a similar upturn occurred in many other European countries, so it may have been due to a more general shift in world views after the boom years of the 1980s and the emphasis on individuality and commercialisation. We should also not ignore that this was a period after the fall of Communism and the fall of the Berlin Wall, when there was a lot of ideological reorientation. It is likely that all of these factors played some part in what happened in the 1990s.

In the new millennium, however, there is quite a strong downturn in the number of people who profess to a faith in God as taught by Christianity. This is also clear from the spread among the age groups (Figure 3.2). With the exception of the youngest, those aged 15–24, the share of people who believe in God as taught by Christianity drops steadily as we move from the older to the younger age groups. Among those aged 25–34 only one fifth say they believe in the Christian God, while twice that number, or 38 per cent, said they don't believe in God at all. Almost one third of the 15–24 year-olds also said they don't believe in God.

Figure 3.1
Finns' faith in God 1976–2015. Gallup Ecclesiastica and Kirkkomonitor, N = 992–4,930.

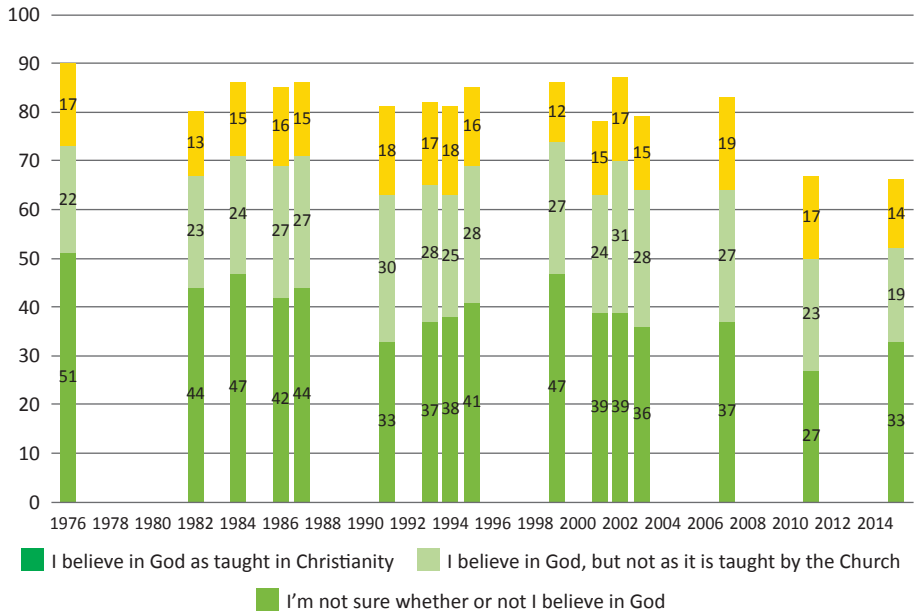
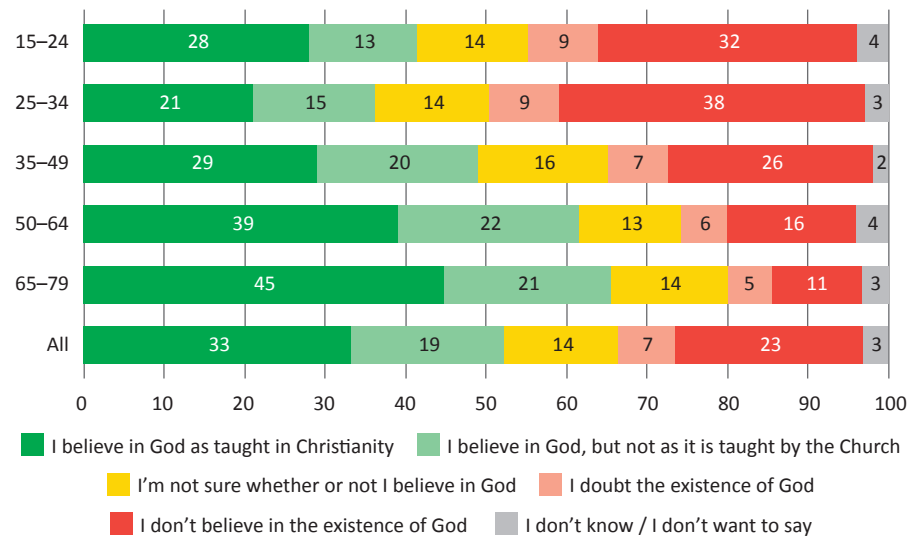


Figure 3.2
Finns' faith in God by age group, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



However, in addition to age, many other factors have an impact upon the Christian faith in God. Various demographic, religious and world-view factors connected to faith in God were studied separately using statistical models, which allows an analysis of the independent influence that individual factors have on the faith in question.¹

The analysis showed that there was a strong correlation between a Christian faith in God and how positive the respondents were about the presence of the Church in public institutions. The connection was nearly as strong between Christian faith in God and the holding of Lutheran values. In this context, it is interesting that national pride had no independent impact upon a Christian belief in God. In addition, the acceptance of inequality between social groups actually weakened the likelihood of a person having a Christian faith in God.

Factors measuring religiosity had the expected impact: taking part in prayer and worshipful services, having a Lutheran world view and a more conservative attitude towards the role of the Church all increased the likelihood of Christian faith among respondents. Correspondingly, New Age spirituality predicted a weaker commitment to the Christian view of God. As expected, those who weren't members of any religious community were less likely to believe in the Christian God.

Those who had had secondary and higher education were more likely than those with only primary education to believe in the Christian God. Gender, domicile and unemployment, however, had no independent effects on the content of a person's faith in God once the impact of other factors had been controlled for. Nor did conservative moral values (as measured by the respondents' views of marriage), religious upbringing, or membership of a Christian revival movement have any independent impact on people's view of God.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the impact of age was reversed once the effects of religiosity and different world views were standardised. Those born in the 1960s and later were more likely than the generations born before the wars (Winter War, 1939–1940, and Continuation War, 1941–1944) to exhibit faith in the God of Christianity. This may be explained by the fact that attending church services, praying and being a member of the Church is less common among younger people, so that when these factors are standardised the result is more faith than expected.² This means that among the younger age-groups, Christian faith in God is more independent of the above factors, whereas for other age groups these are the factors that strengthen faith. The faith of younger people is more likely to reflect other inputs from their social circle.

1 Appendix 3. Table 3.1.

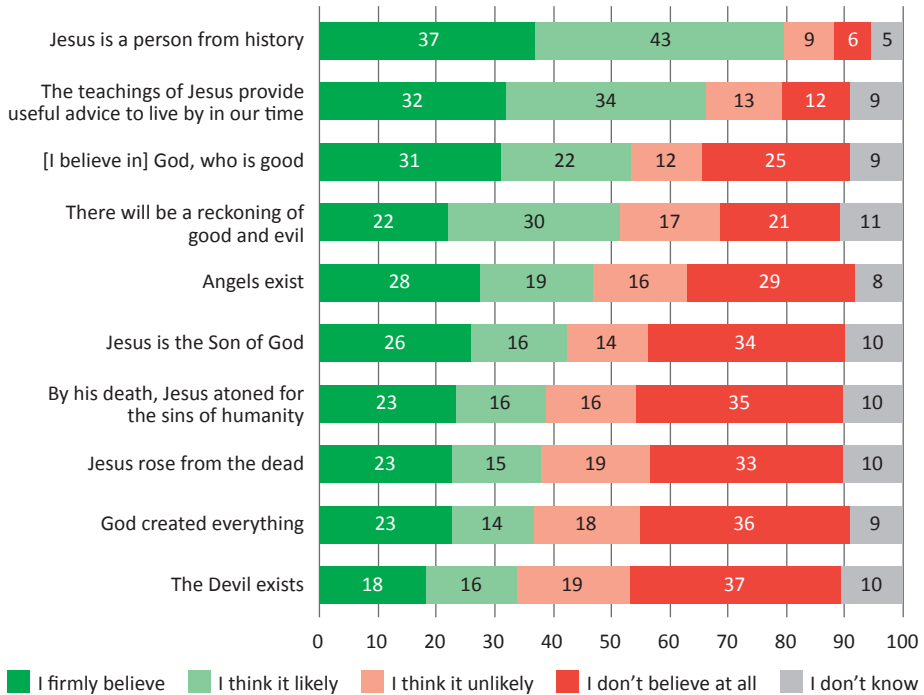
2 The phenomenon may also be explained by the fact that respondents to the online survey who were over 65 were atypical of their age group: less religious when other factors are standardised.

3.2 Christian beliefs and life after death

The Christian faith of the respondents was also measured by a number of other statements based on Christian tradition. Figure 3.3 presents those of the statements that correlated most strongly.¹ As the graph shows, apart from the statements on the historicity of Jesus and the timelessness of his rules to live by, the number of respondents who *agreed* with the statements varied from a third to slightly more than half of them. The number who *agreed completely* varied even less, staying roughly between 20 and 30 per cent. The respondents answered the questions in a very similar way. That is, those who agreed with one statement were very likely to also agree with the others.²

Figure 3.3

Christian beliefs among Finns, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



1 The form had a total of 13 statements, but three of them are not included in the analysis here, as they correlated considerably less with the other statements. The statements not included were: '[I believe in] some higher power'; 'God hears our prayers'; and 'things happen to people in accord with what they believe will happen'.

2 Cronbach's alpha = .97.

Beliefs about life after death are universal and often play a central role in the teachings of organised religions. An International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) in 2008 showed that Finns are near the European average in their faith in life after death. According to the survey some 16 per cent of Finns believed absolutely in life after death while a further 26 per cent thought it likely.³ However, in the past few decades, faith in a life after death has declined significantly in Finland.

Figure 3.4 summarises what Finns believe about life after death, as measured by their responses to various questions. It reveals that agnosticism is the most prevalent attitude to life after death. Nearly three quarters (71%) of the respondents felt that ‘nobody can know what happens after death’. It is worth noting that the view on the reliability of information regarding life after death is quite independent of whether or not somebody believes in the possibility of some sort of afterlife. More than half (52%) of those who completely agreed with the statement agreed, while about a quarter (24%) disagreed with the statement that there is something after death, even though they don’t know what.

This uncertainty about life after death is also expressed in the fact that nearly half (49%) of all Finns agreed with the statement that ‘there is something after death, but I don’t know what’. The opposite belief was held by approximately two fifths (39%) of Finns, who thought that death is the end. Gender and age had a significant impact on belief in life after death. Some 47 per cent of men and 31 per cent of women thought there is nothing after death. This view was most common among young adults, aged 25–34. Between other age groups, however, there were no significant differences.

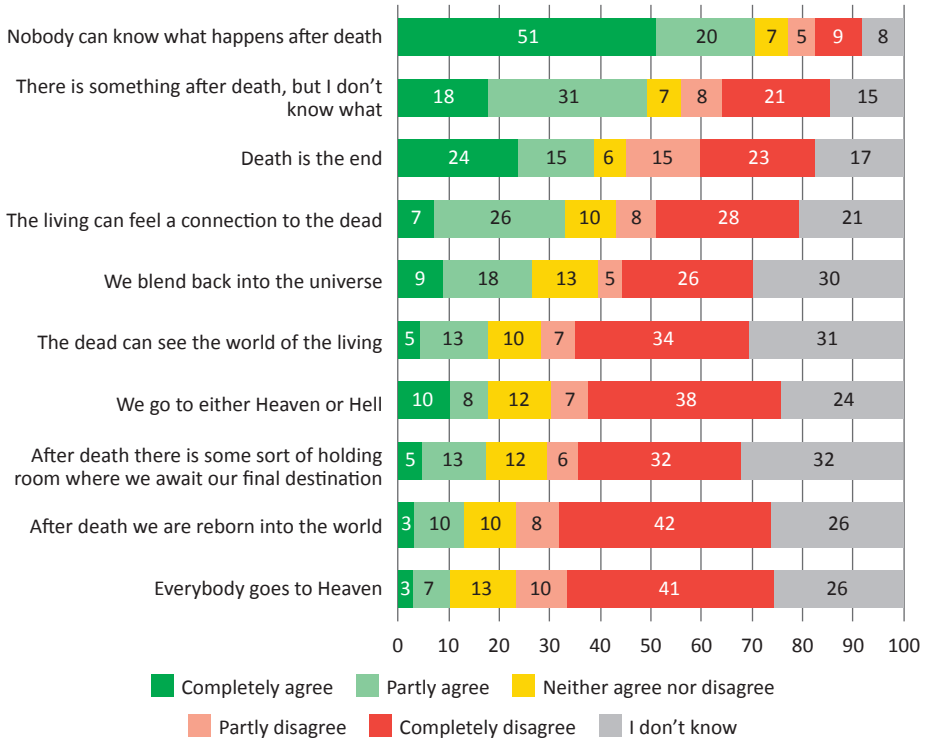
More specific beliefs about life after death were somewhat rare among Finns, with the adherents of various beliefs representing between one tenth and a quarter of the population. The most common belief was ‘we blend back into the universe’, which was agreed with, at least in part, by approximately a quarter (26%) of the respondents. Age and gender did not significantly affect the prevalence of this view.

Other non-traditional beliefs in life after death were held by approximately a tenth of the respondents. Some 13 per cent believed in reincarnation, while 10 per cent believed that everybody goes to Heaven. There was little difference between genders or age groups in these beliefs.

3 Ketola 2011a, 14–15.

Figure 3.4

Finns' views on death, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



About one fifth of Finns expressed faith in the views traditionally held by the Church: 18 per cent of Finns were at least partly in agreement with the statement that we go to Heaven or Hell after death, and as many believed that there is some kind of holding place where we await our final destination. Age and gender had little impact on these beliefs.

In part, Lutheran tradition itself can explain why Finns exhibit little faith in an afterlife. Characteristic of the Protestant Reformation was a dismissive attitude towards superstition, the veneration of saints, and to religious miracles, which has led to the practical disappearance from Lutheran countries of the various popular customs and traditions that had in the past been used to keep people feeling in touch with the dead. In an international comparison, Finns are among the people of other Nordic countries in being most sceptical when it comes to miracles or the supernatural powers of dead ancestors.⁴ Also, in the material at hand only a fifth (18%) of Finns expressed a belief in the dead being able to see the world of the living. Slightly more people believed that the living can feel a connection to

⁴ Ketola 2011a, 14–18.

the dead, but the phrasing of the question does not reveal whether respondents thought this merely a subjective experience.

From this it follows that a post-death reality is no longer expressed in customs and practices that are part of everyday life, which would remind people of the afterlife, so faith in a life after death has become an increasingly abstract tenet of faith. When people's relationship to the Church as a teaching authority is weakened and the belief becomes more and more distant from everyday life, views on what happens after death become increasingly uncertain and vague. The cherishing of the orthodoxy of the faith that is characteristic of the Lutheran Church, in combination with a strictly negative attitude to folksy religious traditions, may over a long period of time have also undermined the teachings of the Church.

3.3 New Age beliefs

Even though the Nordic countries, Lutheran as they are, display more than average scepticism regarding miracles and supernatural phenomena, here too there are alternative spiritual trends and networks where a very strong faith in miracles and the afterlife is prominent.⁵ Characteristic of this kind of alternative spirituality is a critical stance towards both scientific, naturalistic thinking and the more traditional religions. Rather than looking to the Christian tradition, people are increasingly looking to the religions of India, the Far East or of indigenous peoples and their new interpretations. Previously, the umbrella term 'New Age' was used to cover such trends. Today, they are more generally referred to as 'spirituality' or 'new spiritualities'. A quite diverse set of movements or communities tend to be gathered under these terms, and researchers have had some difficulty in finding a common denominator for them. For that reason it has been suggested that various customs and beliefs currently classed as New Age spiritualities should instead be interpreted as a new vernacular religion that builds on global influences and not be seen as a unified ideology or system of beliefs.⁶

In the *Gallup Ecclesiastica*, 2015, survey, participants were asked to respond to nine statements which strove to represent beliefs and views that are common in New Age literature (Figure 3.5). The highest degree of agreement was to the statement that 'each person should find their own way trusting their innermost being, even if they are rejected by society'. More than half the respondents agreed at least in part with this statement. Around two out of five respondents also at least partly agreed that 'alternative therapies and self-help methods can help us to become more whole as people'. Both statements express a world view that has faith in an individual's abilities and which, unlike Lutheranism, looks to faith

⁵ See Hulkkonen 2016.

⁶ On the interpretations of new spiritualities, see Sohlberg & Ketola 2015.

for support and resources to deal with what happens in life before death. One frequently postulated reason for the increase in the popularity of new spiritualities is their strong faith in each individual's resources and ability to grow, something which fits in well with our times in general. However, the faith in the individual that is exhibited in these new spiritualities is combined with non-materialistic beliefs and strivings, unlike other popular ideologies of today. Among these beliefs are faith in the spiritual growth of humanity and society, the reality of invisible worlds and supernatural beings, and various mediators (psychics, channellers), and the invisible energies that impact upon the material world (rocks and crystals).

Figure 3.5

New spirituality beliefs among Finns, % respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.

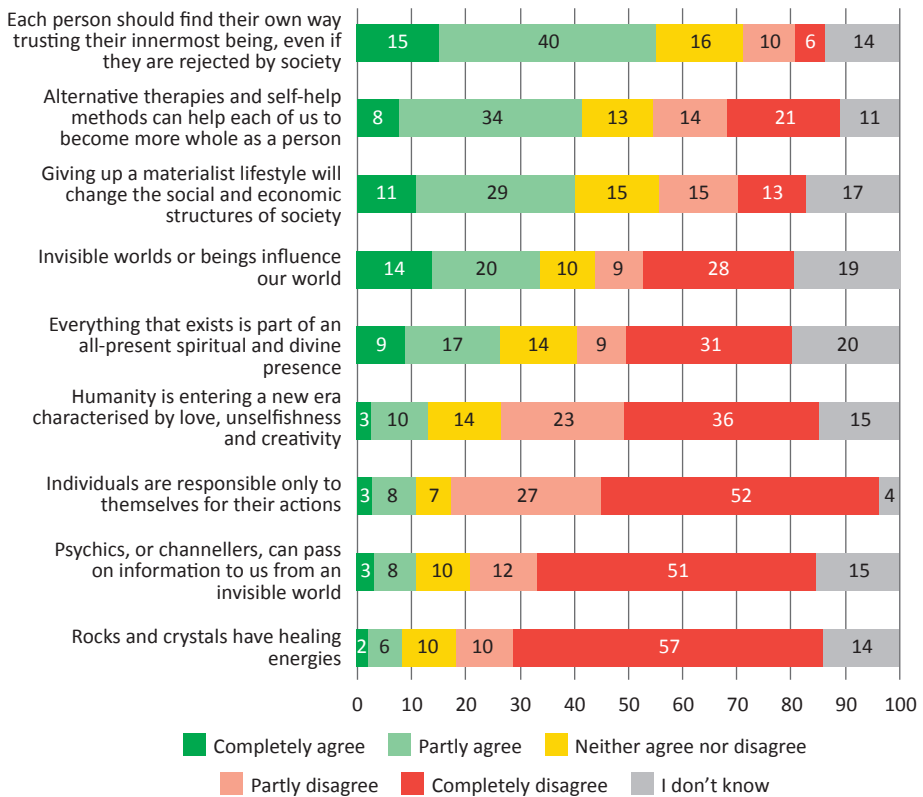


Figure 3.5 shows the acceptance of these beliefs among Finns. The statements about giving up a materialistic lifestyle and the existence of invisible worlds get most support, though it must be noted that people can agree with these statements even though they do not believe in the new spiritualities. Approximately a quarter also agreed at least in part that all that exists is part of an ever-present spiritual and divine reality. Beliefs that more clearly represent new spiritualities, however, are clearly less prevalent among Finns. Some 13 per cent at least in part agree that

we are entering a new era. A good tenth agree that psychics and channellers can pass on information to us from an invisible world. Less than one in ten believe in the healing energies of rocks and crystals.

This imbalance has made many researchers separate specific New Age spirituality from a more general flow of ideologies that emphasise spirituality, and in which the focus is not on the spiritual world but rather the development of a person's abilities and resources for an end in this life, such as the well-being of mind and body. For instance, the Norwegian researcher Pål Ketil Botvar has used survey data to suggest that people who believe in New Age tenets such as astrology, divination and spiritual guides can be clearly separated from those who are looking for a spiritually richer life, appreciate new emotional experiences and are interested in studying that which enriches their inner life.⁷ According to Botvar, the support of New Age beliefs is characteristic only for a small group of people and lessens with age, whereas a personal spirituality is wider in reach and connected to many indicators signalling social capital, such as engagement in volunteering organisations. Analysis of Finnish data has also shown that a more general spiritual orientation, characterised by a monistic (non-personal) deity and a pluralist theology of religion, which appreciates the experience of the individual and distances itself from organised religion, is much wider-spread than New Age spirituality in a more limited sense.⁸

However, the statements presented above correlate strongly with one another, with the exception of the statement that 'individuals are responsible only to themselves for their actions'. A sum of the variables of the remaining eight statements was made to measure faith in the beliefs of New Age spirituality. Using this sum of the variables identified a group of respondents who on average were at least in agreement with the statements (that is, they had an average of four or higher for the sum of the variables), which made it possible to statistically analyse what factors predicted membership of this group.

The statistical analysis showed that those who supported New Age beliefs were more likely to be women, born before the 1980s, recipients of primary education only, to have a small income, be unemployed and not be members of any religious community.⁹ When it comes to religiosity the results were interesting, as this group of people were considerably more likely than the average to believe in Christian teachings, but at the same time they rarely attended church services. They also disagreed with conservative views of the role of the Church. The strong role of Christian beliefs may be explained by the fact that many, particularly the older supporters of New Age ideals, have a background in theosophy or spiritualism, in which Christian themes and symbols are important.

7 Botvar 2007.

8 Sohlberg & Ketola 2015.

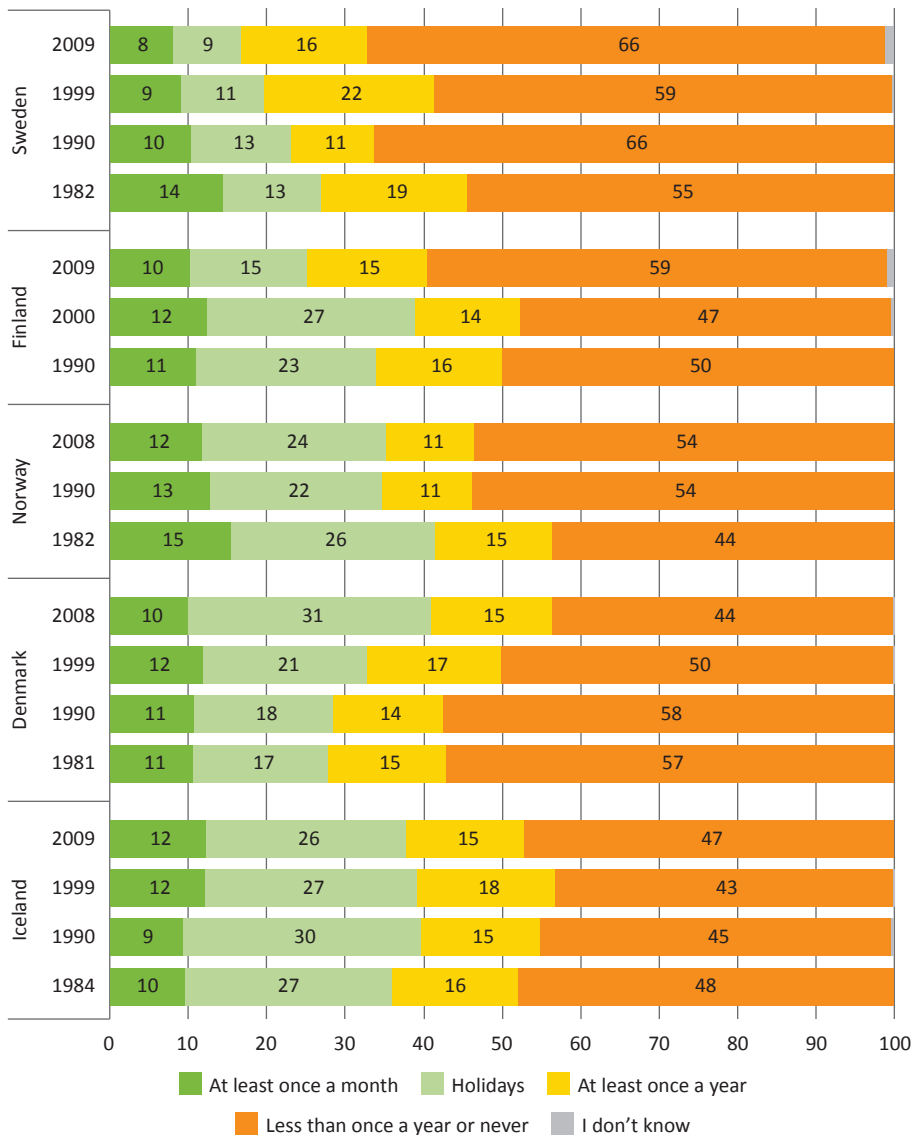
9 Appendix 3. Table 3.2.

3.4 Public practice of religion

Finns, along with other Nordics, are among the most passive when it comes to attending religious services. About one tenth of the people in Nordic countries attend services at least monthly (Figure 3.6).¹⁰

Figure 3.6

Participation in religious services in the Nordic countries 1981–2010, excluding weddings, baptisms and funerals, % of respondents. European Values Study 1981–1984, 1990, 1999–2000, and 2008–2009, N = 4,068; 4,558; 4,034; and 5,681.

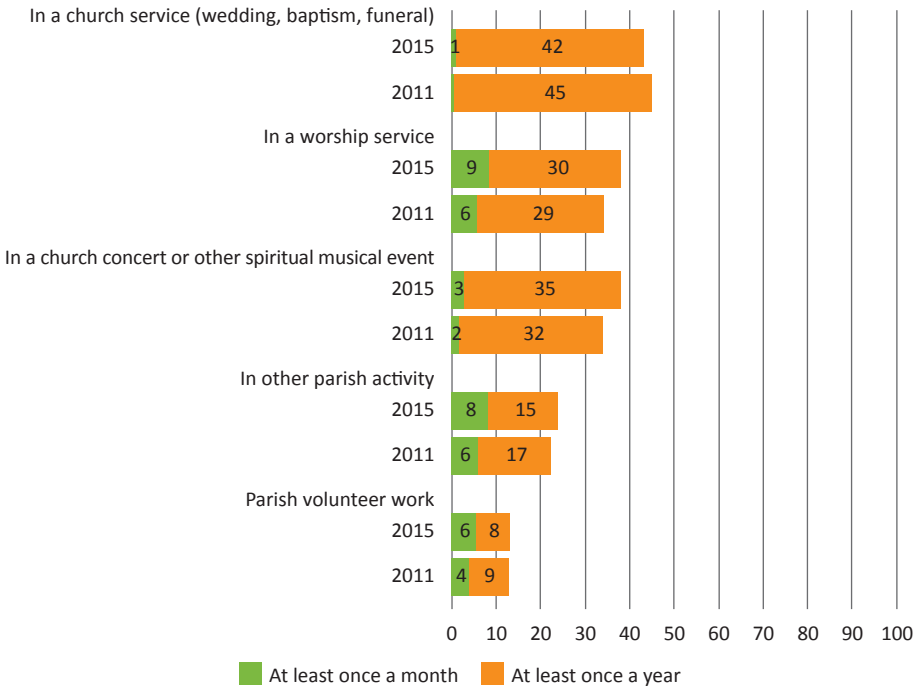


¹⁰ Also see Ketola 2011a, 18–19.

According to the *Gallup Ecclesiastica* surveys, the percentage of Finns who attend services monthly had increased from some 6 per cent to around 9 per cent in the period 2011–2015 (Figure 3.7). In addition to this group, about one third of Finns said they go to a service at least once a year, and a quarter (23%) went less often than yearly.

Because all Nordic countries very much resemble one another in their public practice of religion there is reason to look at a possible Lutheran background influence. The Lutheran view of the importance of divine service has an in-built tension. As we have shown earlier (sub-chapter 2.1), a characteristic of Lutheran beliefs is that the emphasis of the spiritual life has moved to the everyday life, to earthly work and serving your neighbour.

Figure 3.7
Participation in public religious activities among Finns, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2011, and 2015, N = 3,783–4,930; 4,275.



The Lutheran Reformation emphasised the equal participation of all members of the congregation in the Communion Service. The Communion Service stopped being a sacrificial service celebrated in expiation of the sins of the members of the parish, at which one did not necessarily even have to be present. Instead of seeing the Communion Service as a pious deed, pleasurable unto God, performed by the ministers for the entire parish, Luther emphasised that the parish is the recipient of

the gifts of God.¹¹ The parish can only direct prayers, thanksgiving and praise to God. Because of these theological shifts there was also an increased emphasis on the concrete participation of the members of the parish: texts in Latin were translated into the vernacular, parishioners partook of the communion bread but also the wine and the role of communal hymn-singing and a pedagogical sermon was strengthened.¹² According to the latest guidebook for worship (*Jumalanpalveluksen opas*) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, it is a celebration of the redemptive presence of God.¹³

3.5 Private practice of religion

In Finland, the private practice of religion is clearly more active than public practice. According to the *Gallup Ecclesiastica* survey 2015, a quarter (25%) of Finns prayed daily (Figure 3.8). There was even a slight increase in the number who prayed daily compared to those who did in 2011. About a third (34%) of Finns said they prayed at least weekly or more often. More than half of Finns (55%) said they prayed at least once a year.

Listening to sacred music and reading religious books is somewhat common compared to taking part in religious services. Approximately 28 per cent of Finns listened to sacred music at least a couple of times a month and around 16 per cent read some religious literature as often. Almost as many, 14 per cent of Finns, read the Bible at least twice a month.

In addition to traditional forms of spirituality, many spiritual exercises that originated from the East, such as meditation and yoga, have in recent decades become more widespread and found their way into the mainstream. According to the *Gallup Ecclesiastica* survey, some 12 per cent of Finns said they meditate at least a couple of times a month, while nine per cent practised yoga that often.

Using statistical modelling it was possible to define more clearly what factors impact on the private practice of religion.¹⁴ For instance, people born in the 1980s and 1990s were clearly less active than others about praying. Naturally enough, those who identify as being non-religious rarely or never pray. Whereas, acts of prayer were higher among members of other religious communities, those who had a strong commitment to Christian teachings, and those who took a more active role in religious services. Religious education also had an impact on prayer activity. The results indicate that prayer is something that is clearly anchored in a spiritual world view.

11 See Jolkkonen 2004, 128–143.

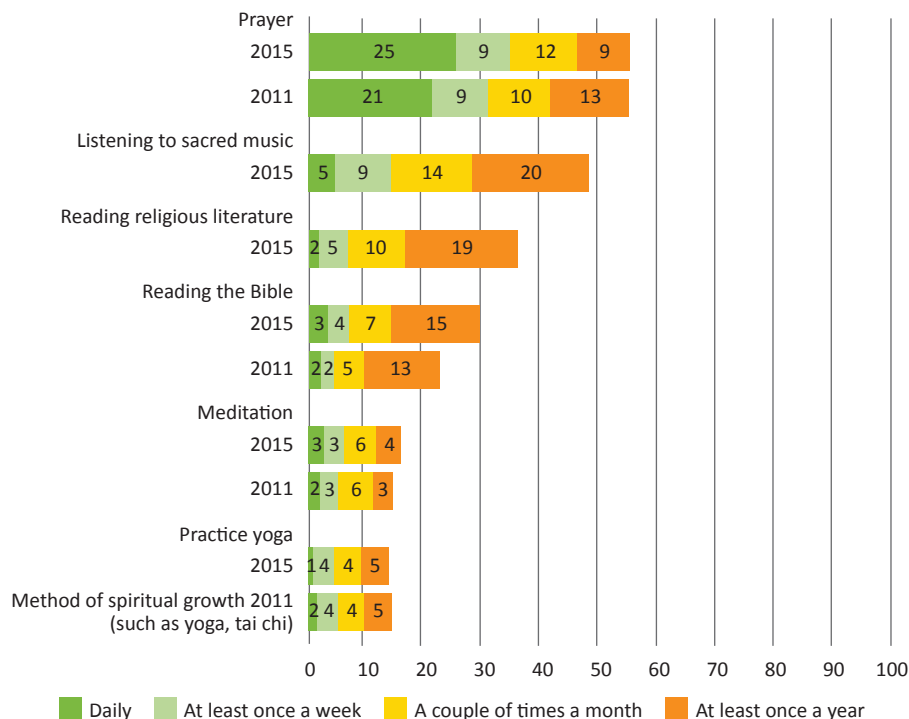
12 Kopperi 2015, 28–29.

13 Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten 2009.

14 Appendix 3. Table 3.3.

Figure 3.8

Finns' private practice of religion, meditation and yoga, % respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2011, and 2015, N = 4,930; 4,275.



3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has looked at the religiosity of Finns and the changes that have taken place, attempting to explain the latter. Departing from the general approach of the sociology of religion, we have sought reasons for the nature of religiosity in Finland and the trends that are visible within the Lutheran tradition itself. When looking at beliefs we found that Finns' faith in Christian beliefs has weakened considerably over recent decades and the severely weakening trend is also visible when looking at the age groups, as people in the younger groups are, for instance, considerably less likely to believe in the Christian God. Looking at the practice of religion, characteristic for Finns is a lower than European average participation in the public practice of religion, even though there was no such difference in the private practice of faith.

The nature of Lutheran religiosity offers likely explanations for these phenomena. Lutheranism is very much a faith of the Word, where the sermon and a commitment to the faith have been exceptionally important. Correspondingly, Lutheranism has distanced itself from many outmoded elements of faith, such

as miracles or keeping in touch with one's dead ancestors. Because there has apparently been no outlet for such expressions of human religiosity, the natural interest in them is diverted and expressed through alternative religiosity. Miracles and supernatural phenomena have been a significant area of interest within New Age spirituality or the so-called new spiritualities. By taking a negative attitude to alternative expressions of religion, the Church may over time have weakened faith in its own teachings, as the tenets of Christian theology are often expressly abstract or difficult to grasp.

Correspondingly, the Lutheran Communion Service has been cleansed of a more popular approach, where God is offered a sacrifice in the hope that it will bring blessings in this life. The idea of reciprocity and interaction with God through sacrifice, which is part of a popular religiosity, is expressly absent from Lutheran theology. The benefits of participation, on the other hand, are entirely spiritual and received through faith. This would explain why the number of people participating in services has declined to the most religiously active tenth in all the Lutheran Nordic countries, while the rest of the population participate even more rarely.

Observations also show that more than half of Finns agree with beliefs that are centred on the individual, such as that 'each person should find their own way trusting their innermost being, even if they are rejected by society'. Two in five also agree with the thought that alternative therapies and self-help methods can help us become more whole as people. These beliefs express the focus on the individual which has been strengthened in all areas of life. Analyses show that there is a strong correlation between the individualist approach and support of alternative religious and spiritual beliefs. Which indicates that a self-centred period is very challenging for Lutheranism, in particular, because it emphasises the importance of benefits and gain experienced by each individual. In contrast, abstract-seeming Lutheran theology can be seen as elitist and as emphasising dogmas defined by outside authorities while sidestepping that which is of concern to the individual. As such, the postmodern focus on the individual in combination with the emphases of Lutheran theology may well be the most central factors behind the increasing secularisation of northern Europe.

4 INTER-FAITH RELATIONS

4.1 Immigrant integration work in parishes

In 2015, there were 229,000 foreigners permanently residing in Finland. The number had grown by 4.6 per cent from the previous year. The largest groups were people from Estonia, Russia, Sweden, China, Somalia and Thailand. In all, some 152,000 of all foreigners in Finland came from the 15 largest ethnic groups.¹

According to the figures of the Finnish Immigration Service, a total of more than 42,000 asylum seekers came to Finland during the period 2012–2015. Most of them, more than 32,000, came in 2015. The largest group of asylum seekers came from Iraq. The next largest groups came from Afghanistan and Somalia. In the years 2012–2015, less than 4,000 quota refugees were resettled in Finland. Among them the largest group were Syrians.²

At the end of 2015, some 330,000 people with a foreign mother tongue were resident in Finland, that is some six per cent of the population. The number of foreign-language speakers had increased by around 19,000 more than the year before. The largest groups of foreign language speakers were those whose first language was Russian (72,000), Estonian (48,000) and Somali (18,000).³

Nearly 64,000 of the foreign-born people living in Finland are members of the Lutheran or Orthodox churches or some other Christian community. Most of them are members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. At the end of 2015 a total of 45,155 of them were members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Most of those who have joined the Lutheran Church were born in Sweden or the former Soviet Union. Of the other Christian communities in Finland the largest groups of foreign-born members were found in the Orthodox Church of Finland and the Catholic Church.⁴ The Finnish authorities do not register or compile statistics of the religious affiliation or background of immigrants to Finland as they arrive. Most of the foreign-born people in Finland are not members of any religious community.

The growing number of asylum seekers was visible in the work done in parishes. The Church Council sent the parishes a general letter with instructions in the form of recommendations about how they could get involved in helping asylum seekers. The parishes were informed that parish camp centres and parish halls

1 Tilastokeskus: Suomi lukuina [Statistics Finland: Finland in Figures] 2015.

2 Maahanmuuttovirasto: Tilastot [Finnish Immigration Service: Statistics] 2015.

3 Suomen virallinen tilasto (SVT): Väestörakenne [Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Population structure] 2015.

4 Väestö uskonnollisen yhdyskunnan ja syntymävaltion mukaan maittain 2015 [Population by religious community and birth country in 2015].

could be used for emergency accommodation.⁵ Church employees and volunteers were provided with online information on practical issues regarding providing assistance and support for asylum seekers, whether materially or socially.

Some 45 per cent of parishes had named a person or team to be responsible for immigration issues. In 2011 the corresponding number had been 30 per cent of parishes. The growth has been significant. In a quarter of parishes (25%), training was provided for multicultural work.⁶ In 2011, training was provided in 16 per cent of parishes, so there has clearly been growth in this field too.

A parish survey asked what sort of assistance the parishes have in the main provided for immigrants. A third of parishes said that a lot or quite a lot of the help provided had been advice. One in ten parishes said that a lot or quite a lot of the help provided had been spiritual support. Furthermore, parishes had also provided a significant amount of financial support. One third of parishes said they offer quite a lot or a lot of such support. Nearly half the parishes said that they had not offered any spiritual help.⁷

When asked about the different ways the parishes had reacted to the increase in numbers of refugees and asylum seekers, more than half (60%) of the parishes said they had organised drives to collect clothes and other items. More than half the parishes (54%) had also organised an extra collection during service to provide support. One fifth (26%) of parishes said they provided a food service, sports events and other activities. One in ten parishes provided financial support to ease the refugee crisis in Finland.⁸

A tenth of parishes (9%) had been able to offer premises for emergency accommodation. However, not all parishes have any suitable premises to offer. The largest percentage of parishes that offered premises for emergency accommodation were found in the dioceses of Tampere (15%) and Lapua (16%).

Multicultural integration work in cooperation with Christian immigrant communities has been a regular feature in nearly one in ten (9%) parishes and an irregular feature in about one in five (18%). Some 35 per cent of parishes occasionally worked cooperatively with other Christian churches and organisations, while 12 per cent did so regularly.⁹

When parishes were asked what ethnic and cultural groups they arranged activities for, some 70 per cent of parishes named a specific ethnic group in their reply. Most often mentioned were Iraqis, Afghans, Syrians, various African groups (particularly Sudanese), Russians, Estonians, Ingrians, Romani, Vietnamese, Burmese, Thai, and Chinese. Some 16 per cent of parishes also mentioned other

5 Kirkkohallituksen yleiskirje 2015.

6 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, Form B9].

7 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B5 [Parish Survey 2016, B5].

8 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B5 [Parish Survey 2016, B5].

9 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, B9].

ethnic and cultural groups or did not specify them. Nine per cent of parishes said they offer activities for asylum seekers without specifying their ethnic and/or cultural group. As most of the asylum seekers arriving in Finland were from Iraq and Afghanistan, it is obvious that these are the groups for whom the activities were tailored.

Some eight per cent of parishes arranged activities for groups from various African countries, such as Sudan, Somalia, Ghana and Nigeria. Seven per cent said they have activities for Iraqis, and five per cent for Russians. Approximately four per cent of parishes had activities for the established cultural minorities of Finland, the Romanies and the Sami. Some 15 per cent of parishes had no activities aimed at an ethnic or cultural minority.¹⁰

In addition to Finnish and Swedish, parishes provided activities mainly in English, Arabic or Russian. Nearly a fifth (17%) of parishes arranged activities in English. Some eight per cent offered activities in Arabic. Some five per cent had activities in Russian. The percentage of activities in other languages (such as Estonian, German, French) were considerably smaller.¹¹

In all parishes, meetings with Muslims in various aid and crisis situations have not, however, been seen as something connected to religious dialogue, where the emphasis is on religious and theological questions. To a large extent, the meetings have clearly evolved outside traditional forms of activity for religious dialogue.

4.2 Ecumenical activities in parishes

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland maintains its church-level relations through ecumenical dialogue with other Christian churches and inter-religious meetings with the leaders of other faiths.

The Parish Survey showed that ecumenism is also alive and well at the parish level. During 2015 a total of 68 per cent of parishes arranged ecumenical activities. Around a third (32%) of parishes are regularly involved in ecumenical activities. One-time activities have taken place in a good third (36%) of parishes. Compared to 2011, there had been a drop of six percentage points in one-off activities.¹²

The most popular form of ecumenical activity was to have a visiting speaker, which 40 per cent of parishes reported having done (Table 4.1). The global Week of Prayer for Christian Unity is one of the longest-extant ecumenical practices. A third of parishes (32%) have collaborated with other Christian communities to mark the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity. However, only 13 per cent of parishes worked together with others during the Ecumenical Responsibility Week.

10 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, B9].

11 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, B9].

12 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, B9].

A third of parishes shared premises with ecumenical partners. A third (35%) of parishes also took part in ecumenical meetings for employees in different parishes or congregations.¹³

Ecumenical activities on the parish level seem to have stayed pretty much the same during the 2010s, except for a change in one-time ecumenical activities. On the parish level, ecumenical contacts are quite close to the free churches, particularly Pentecostal congregations and congregations of the Evangelical Free Church of Finland, and the parishes of the Orthodox Church of Finland.

Nearly a fifth (18%) of parishes said they had engaged in one-off collaboration with a Pentecostal congregation in 2015. Some 17 per cent of parishes regularly cooperated with a Pentecostal congregation. One-off cooperation with an Orthodox parish had taken place in a good tenth (12%) of parishes. Regular cooperation with Orthodox parishes occurred in 12 per cent of parishes. Eight per cent of parishes reported a one-time collaboration with the Evangelical Free Church. Slightly more than one in ten (11%) parishes regularly cooperated with congregations of the Evangelical Free Church. A good two per cent of parishes said they occasionally cooperated with a Catholic parish, while less than two per cent did so regularly.¹⁴

Table 4.1

Prevalence of types of local ecumenical activity in parishes in 2015, % of parishes. Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9, N = 411.

Jointly arranged Week of Prayer for Christian Unity	32%
Other joint events	44%
Joint meetings of parish employees	35%
Visiting speakers from other parishes or congregations	40%
Cooperative organisation of Ecumenical Responsibility Week	13%
Joint use of premises	32%

¹³ Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, B9].

¹⁴ Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey 2016, B9].

4.3 Inter-religious dialogue in parishes

The inter-religious dialogue in Finland includes a number of participants, from local and national organisations and networks to international ones. The first initiatives for inter-religious dialogue on an organisational level came from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the late 1970s. In 1977, the Church Council for International Relations set up a working group on *The Church and Judaism*, and in 1988 a working group on *The Church and Islam*.¹⁵

Since the year 2000, Finland has been part of the grassroots-level of dialogue action of the United Religions Initiative. At the beginning of the millennium some local dialogue groups were also formed.¹⁶

The National Forum for Cooperation of Religions in Finland (CORE) was founded in 2011 by representatives of three religious traditions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In 2013, CORE joined the Religions for Peace network, which has cooperated with, among others, Finn Church Aid. There are also dialogue activities that are not specifically connected to any Finnish religious community. In 2015, a movement spread from Sweden to Finland which came to be called Together for Finland. The aim of the project is to fight prejudice and racism through, for instance, young people visiting schools.¹⁷

Parishes are also part of the religious dialogue. In 2015, eleven per cent of parishes arranged single events for religious dialogue, while five per cent of parishes reported arranging regular dialogue activities. Compared to the corresponding numbers in 2011, there do not seem to have been any big changes in this area.¹⁸ Most of the dialogue activities relate to the relationship between Islam and Christianity and questions arising from that. Most dialogue activities take place in growth centres. The majority of activities are about getting to know local communities.

It is worth noting, however, that despite the rather low figures above, more than a third (36%) of parishes said they had held activities for getting to know Muslims.¹⁹ This can be seen as quite a significant change. The change can be explained by the increase in the number of asylum seekers and refugees and the contacts with Muslims that have been established through parish efforts to help. Opportunities to meet may also have opened up as three out of five (38%) parishes said they had invited asylum seekers to religious events and joint prayer.²⁰

15 Illman & Rautionmaa 2016, 2.

16 Illman & Rautionmaa 2016, 7.

17 Illman & Rautionmaa 2016, 7–8.

18 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey, 2016, B9].

19 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B9 [Parish Survey, 2016, B9].

20 Seurakuntakysely 2016, B5 [Parish Survey, 2016, B5].

4.4 Attitude towards different religions

The attitude Finns have towards various religious groups varies considerably. In previous surveys attitudes were measured by asking the respondents how they viewed the different religious groups.²¹ On the basis of the replies, religions practised in Finland can be roughly divided into three groups. One group consists of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Orthodox Church and the Salvation Army, of which most Finns have a positive view and very few see negatively. The second group includes faiths and world views about which Finns' opinions are more or less equally divided between positive and negative. It includes most of the religious traditions which have a long and established history in Finland or the world and are therefore well known, such as Judaism and Buddhism. The third group includes a number of faiths and world views which, to many Finns, have negative connotations that outnumber the positives. In this group are communities with strict norms, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and the Conservative Laestadian movement.

The *Gallup Ecclesiastica*, 2015, survey approached this matter by asking how respondents would feel about having a representative of a particular faith or world view or such a community meeting place in their neighbourhood (Figure 4.1). This question is more tangible than previously and also connects to the current phenomenon of NIMBYism (not in my back yard), when local inhabitants protest against the placement of services for groups considered socially undesirable for their area.²²

Despite the change in the question, the results are very similar to earlier surveys. In most cases, 40–50 per cent of Finns are neutral, which shows that most Finns do not care passionately about the presence of different holy buildings or offices of a religious community in their neighbourhood.

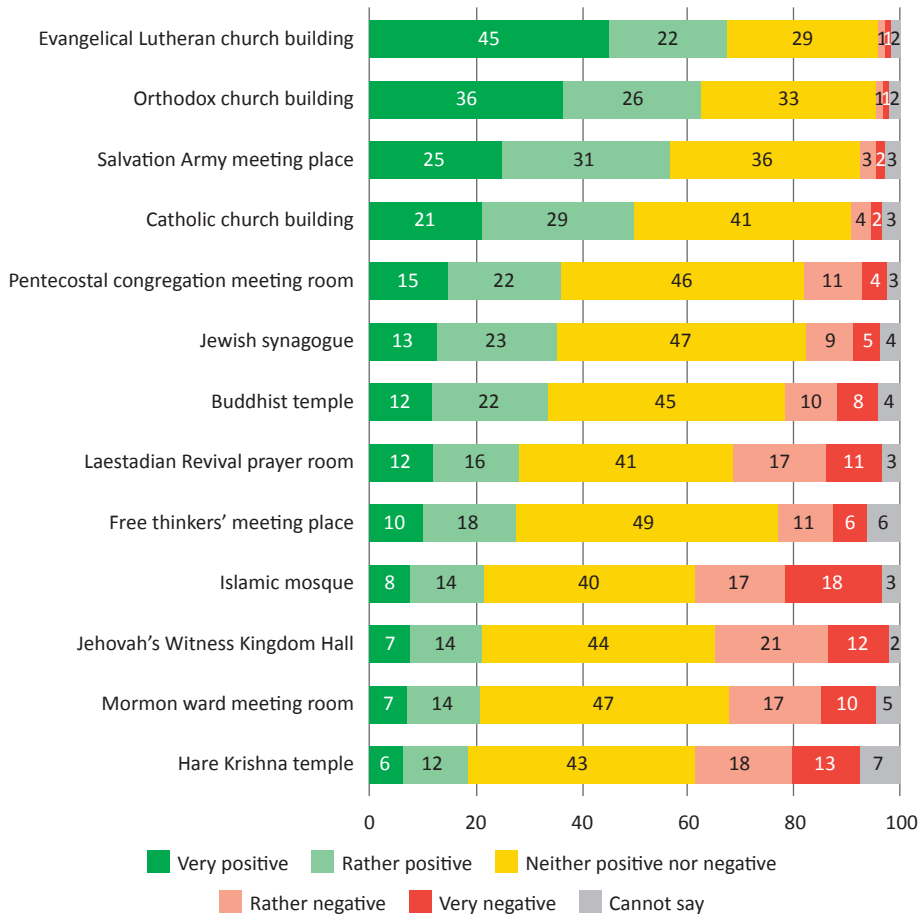
In general, people were more positive in their attitude to four specific communities. A clear majority of Finns are positive about having an Evangelical Lutheran, Orthodox or Catholic church or a Salvation Army community centre in their neighbourhood. Another third were neutral about these communities, while only a small percentage had a negative attitude.

21 For example, Haastettu kirkko 2012, 52–54.

22 See Kopomaa & Peltonen & Litmanen 2008.

Figure 4.1

Attitude of Finns to having buildings that represent different faiths or world views in their own neighbourhood, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



Positive attitudes towards having a Pentecostal meeting room, a Jewish synagogue, a Buddhist temple, or a free-thinkers' office also outnumbered negative views. About a third of respondents were positive about these communities, while most (nearly half) felt neutrally about them. The attitude towards having a prayer room of the Laestadian Revival movement nearby was pretty much equal, with the positive and negative camps each representing approximately one quarter of the respondents.

An Islamic mosque, a Jehovah's Witness Kingdom Hall, a Mormon ward meeting room, or a Hare Krishna temple, however, received more negative than positive views. Most negative was the attitude towards having a local mosque: about one third (35%) of Finns were negative about a mosque, with nearly a fifth (18%) being very negative, while a good fifth (22%) were either positive or very

positive. In these cases, too, nearly half were neutral about the matter: neutrals represented 40 per cent of respondents in relation to Muslims and 47 per cent in relation to Mormons.

Through statistical models it was possible to determine the factors that increased negativity.²³ A negative attitude to mosques was mostly connected to traditional moral values (measured here by views on marriage), national pride and social power orientation. The latter variable measures acceptance of inequality among social groups in society and typically correlates strongly with, for instance, prejudices such as racism, sexism and homophobia.²⁴ People born in the 1960s and 70s, the unemployed, and people who were not members of any religious community were more negative than the average about mosques.

Higher education, Lutheran values, New Age values, membership of a Christian revivalist movement or activity in associations are all predictors of a less negative attitude towards mosques. Variables measuring religiosity, such as commitment to Christian teachings or taking part in services, did not correlate with attitudes towards having a mosque nearby; even though an active life of prayer, conservative views of the role of the Church and knowing people who are members of Christian minority churches was connected to a small increased tendency to think negatively about mosques.

These results show that in Finland the resistance to Islam and mosques in particular is mainly non-religious. Mosques are seen as a threat to Finnish culture and a secular way of life, which is shown in the stronger correlation to negativity in nationalism, traditional moral values and non-membership of any religious community. Only very conservative Christian communities show some negativity towards Islam, whereas mainstream Lutheranism, including revivalist movements, seem to provide some sort of protection against experiencing Islam as a threat.

4.5 Conclusions

It is obvious that the need for religious dialogue and theology of religion increases at both the Church level and in local parishes. Increasingly often, the Church also sees areligious attitudes and ought therefore to seek opportunities for dialogue with the non-religious. Contextual missionary work will become increasingly important, a key part of which is expressing hospitality in meetings between different cultures and people. As Finland becomes more international the ELCF, too, is put more and more in touch with the global currents of Christianity.

²³ Appendix 3. Table 3.4.

²⁴ See Sidanius & Pratto 1999.

The growing number of immigrants also increases the need for multicultural work. The Church has an important role in the process of integrating immigrants into our society. Multiculturalism and the rapid increase in the number of immigrants together with the financial and social changes in Finnish society have brought with them increased tensions and confrontations between different groups of citizens. Such tensions and confrontations are not related solely to matters of immigration.

Analysis showed that being Lutheran has an interesting effect on attitudes to cultural diversity, which in this study were measured by the attitude respondents had towards the meeting places of various faiths and world views. For instance, on the topical question of the presence of Islam in Finnish society, those with the most Lutheran views were less negative than non-religious Finns. This observation confirms that of a previous study, which showed that countries where Protestant Christianity is the majority faith have been better than average at adapting to diversities of culture and faith.

However, the reason for this adaptability is not obvious, as it seems to be in conflict with popular images of religious faith. In the present debate, there is often a suspicious attitude towards religions and polls show that almost two thirds of Finns believe that religions in general cause more conflicts than peace.¹ This easily leads to the erroneous conclusion that social peace is best promoted by decreasing the influence religions have within society. This way of thinking seems to overlook the fact that, socially speaking, not all religions are the same. Lutheran Christianity has proved to be a world view that promotes a stable society. Secondly, such thinking forgets that an areligious secular space is not a vacuum of world views, but that society is impacted upon by a number of non-religious world views and ideologies in addition to the religious ones, and that like all ideologies they strive to increase their own impact on society. It is more than likely that as the influence of Lutheran Christianity wanes, it will be replaced by some other world view or ideology. However, nothing guarantees that it will be peaceful or tolerant. For instance, we are now seeing ideologies derived from nationalism growing all over Europe, and by their very nature they are far more conflict-seeking than many religions. On the basis of the above observations a non-religious-based nationalism seems to be on the rise in Finland too. Compared to the situation in the latter half of the twentieth century there is a clear change in the relationship between the Church and a Finnish nationalist identity.

1 Ketola 2011b, 76.

5 A CHURCH THAT ENCOURAGES SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT

Luther's de facto significant influence on culture and church life has been indirect and hidden.

Tuomo Mannermaa¹

5.1 Saved to serve

At the heart of Lutheranism is the view of redemption, which nobody can earn by their own deeds. In relation to God we are always the receiving partner and helpless to further our own cause in any way. However, this basic belief about the relationship between humanity and God does not translate into passivity and acceptance of fate in all areas of life. A second key idea of Lutheran thinking is making a clear conceptual difference between the spiritual and earthly kingdoms.² In theological language, Lutheran spirituality has often been characterised with the expression 'liberating grace'. In the book *Kristinoppi* [Christian Doctrine] from 1948 this was expressed as 'saved to serve'.³ In more sociological words this is a world view that radically supports and promotes a person's ability to act, as God's grace is seen to strongly legitimise engagement in common matters and realising one's own calling.

That is, the evolution to a wider engagement of citizens in society stems from integral elements of Lutheran theology – something which makes many characteristics of Lutheran culture understandable. The liturgy has in many ways been shaped to increase the ability of participants to understand it and to take part in it on an equal footing with those holding ecclesiastic office. Primarily, this was served by a pedagogical sermon in the vernacular and a strong emphasis on 'sung prayers' (hymns). The Bible was translated into the vernacular and as printing became more widespread, the ideal was launched that each home should have a Bible along with other spiritual literature, and that people be taught to read. This would ensure that everybody could have access to the Word of God. Christians shared this aim, as a Christian upbringing and outlook might provide a personal faith. All this was empowering for the individual, and it is no wonder that it also led to the birth of protest and popular movements within the Church in the form of Christian Revival.

¹ Mannermaa 1983, 5.

² For the two kingdoms doctrine and interpretations of it, see Vikström 1983.

³ Kristinoppi 1948, chapter 7.

Today's green civil society with its movements and associations most likely owes a lot to Lutheran tradition. In the Protestant countries a larger percentage of the population is engaged in voluntary work compared to other countries in Europe. There are some 100,000 associations in Finland and their members number more than four fifths of the country's population. Many people are active in more than one association. In this respect, Finns are highly active, and the same is true for the rest of the Nordic countries, all Lutheran. Even though commitment to large organisations, such as political parties and labour unions, seems to be on the wane, activity in associations as such seems to be doing fine: the years 1996–2010 saw the founding of nearly 40,000 new associations in Finland.⁴ However, this area too seems to be becoming more divided: surveys show that the number of volunteers is shrinking while the number of hours they work has grown.

Taking current ethical questions seriously or striving for justice cannot be seen as demands posed by a worldly society that is alien or external to the Church or Christian doctrine. Putting oneself in the situation of one's neighbour and using common sense are clearly attributable to Christian faith. For Church unity it is of the highest importance to be able to accept that both preservation and change-orientation are integral to Lutheran beliefs.

5.2 The invisible impact of Lutheranism

The core tenets of Lutheran theology have had far-reaching consequences for society at large. This study has shown that despite increasing secularisation, the impact of Lutheranism on Finnish values is still very strong:

- more than nine out of ten Finns (91%) thought that everyone has both good and evil in them
- almost nine out of ten Finns (86%) thought that we must all be responsible for one another
- three quarters (77%) agreed that people should not only work for their own good but strive for the common good
- almost three quarters (72%) thought that each person had a duty to work
- two thirds (68%) thought the laws of the state, whether good or bad, should be obeyed
- almost two thirds (64%) felt that the tradition of singing hymns should be maintained
- more than half (54%) thought that each child has a right to an education in their own religion at school.

⁴ Alapuro & Siisiäinen 2013.

None of the views presented above are in any obvious way religious. Even those respondents who do not believe in the Christian God, let alone take an active part in services, agreed with the statements. However, statistical analysis showed the correlation between these statements and a number of more clearly religious beliefs, such as: 'Grace turns a person's eyes from their own imperfections to serving others'; 'God cares for us in the form of a good partner, reliable neighbours and good friends'; 'Parents must take care of their children's Christian education'; 'By working, a human being fulfils their calling'; or 'There is nothing one can have that is not a gift'. All this means that the down-to-earth and balanced view held by most Finns ('Everyone has both good and evil in them'), their willingness to take social responsibility, their appreciation of work, their law-abiding nature, and emphasis on upbringing and education, are inherently connected to a Lutheran view of the world. The cherished images of Finnishness by which Finns compare themselves to other peoples are to a large extent based on the image of the human being as expressed in Lutheran tradition and theology.

Beliefs based on Lutheranism are likely to have been a strong if invisible influence also in the spiritual sphere. This study has looked at the connection between the rather low attendance figures for services and the theology of the Lutheran Communion Service, and the correlation between weakening concepts of the afterlife and a negative attitude towards today's alternative ideologies and supernatural beliefs. Also, behind the appeal of believing in New Age spiritualities, lie in part some of the characteristics of folklore, which the Lutheran faith has expurgated. Most people involved in the New Age spiritualities look to those rituals, customs and practices to express a desire to find a concrete use and resources for their daily life and management of their life through their faith. Meditation is seen as a pathway to peace of mind, while yoga is thought to provide health, energy and physical well-being.

5.3 Participation through the structures of society

Religion is invisible or unseen in the Lutheran Nordic countries in more than one sense. The influence of Lutheranism goes largely unnoticed because its impact is mainly as a background force that works through values and goals that are, on the surface at least, quite worldly. The two kingdoms doctrine has led to society being seen as enchantment-free, an arena ruled by secular reason. For example, Peter Berger, a sociologist of religion and a Lutheran theologian, has explained the secularisation of Northern Europe specifically through the long-term effects of the Protestant Reformation.⁵ The explanatory framework that Berger represents

⁵ In his early writings Berger saw secularisation as a part of modernisation and therefore more or less inevitable. Today, Berger sees the development in Europe as an historical anomaly, but he still sees the theological tradition as the reason for it. Cf. Berger 1967; 2014.

sees Lutheran tradition as the root cause of the secularisation process, which has gone further in Northern Europe than elsewhere in the world.

In one way or another, secularisation regularly causes a debate about the Church's role in society and legislation. In the 2010s, the relationship between the Church and the state in Finnish society and the role of religion in the public sphere has been looked at in particular through complaints to the authorities, which have outlined how freedom of religion, public expression of faith and the equality of religious and ideological communities can be realised. The role of Lutheran traditions in society has also been reviewed in these contexts. Confessional neutrality of the state has not in Finland translated into state nonchalance about religions or world views. Instead, what is meant by confessional neutrality in Finland is a practical approach to fairly guaranteeing the presence and prerequisites for different religions and ideologies to exist in society. It also means that the Finnish state strives to encourage religious communities to be visible, to influence and act for the good of people and society.⁶

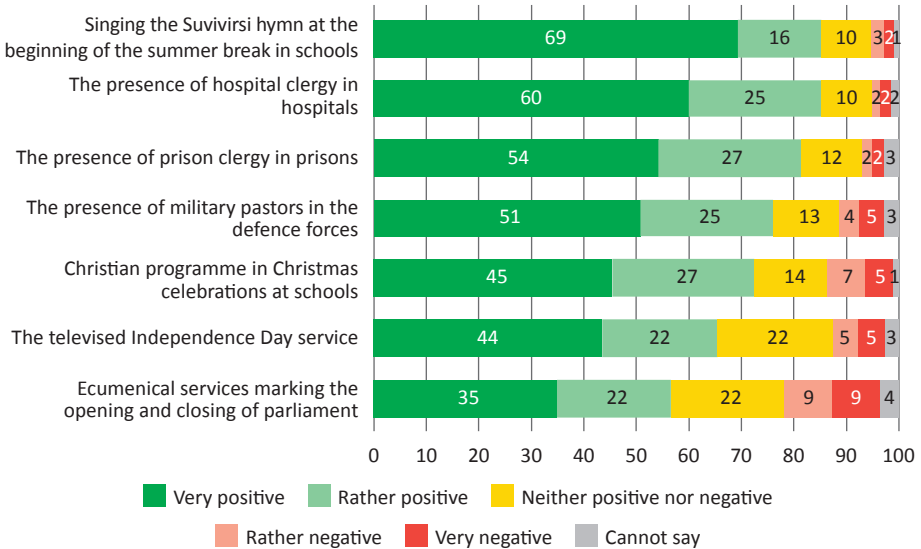
In Finland, Lutheran traditions and mores are still respected, even among Finns who are not members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Acceptance of Lutheran traditions is not seen as state support for Lutheranism or the Lutheran Church. Rather, its traditions are considered to be part of Finnish culture, history and social life. However, people are more critical when some form of cooperation between the Church and the state is interpreted as a signal that the Church has a privileged position or that the state only supports one religion.

In general, Finns are also very positive about the work that the Church does within organisations in Finnish society. Finns appreciate and respect the Church's work in prisons, hospitals and the defence forces because it provides a service and supports the welfare of people who are in difficulty.

6 Sorsa 2015, 44–50.

Figure 5.1

Finnish attitudes to religious events in schools, church services for state events and Church work in organisations in Finnish society, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



In the 2010s, people were increasingly positive about Christian customs and the work done by the Church in civil organisations. In many places, the number of Finns who felt supportive of this work and the customs is higher than the percentage who are members of the Church. Christian customs that are visible in Finnish society and the Church's work in organisations are accepted, provided they are not used to support the position of the Church or presented as an ideology of the state. Finns are reserved when it comes to those forms of cooperation between Church and state, or any religion and the state, that are somehow seen as a way to emphasise a position of power.

At the same time, Finns are quite critical of the presence of more alien religious traditions in schools and of the expression of religion in public office. However, it seems to be that Lutheran values in themselves support the public expression of other faiths as well, which is an important and significant factor for the realisation of freedom of religion.

Finns often want the state to take an active role in safeguarding people's freedom of religion. The state's role in both guaranteeing the safety of religious communities and in intervening to stop abuse within them is considered essential. Some 84 per cent of Finns agreed that the state should intervene in cases of abuse, such as coercion, within religious communities. Because of the different status churches and religious communities have *vis-à-vis* the authorities, the state's ability to oversee religious communities and churches varies.⁷

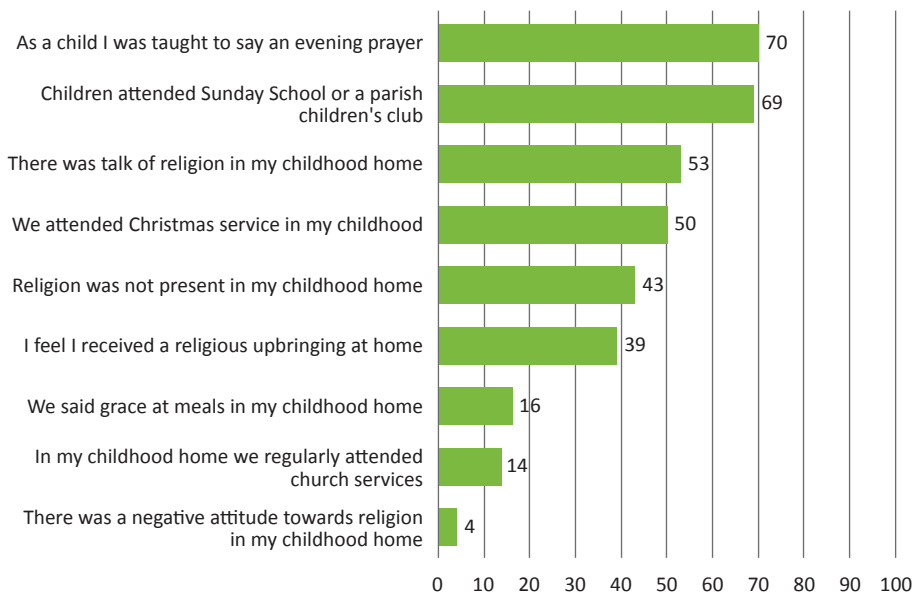
⁷ GE 2015.

5.4 Early participation in religious and cultural activities

Many Finns received quite a lot of religious education in the home (Figure 5.2). Two out of three Finns have been taught to say their evening prayers and have attended Sunday School or a parish children's club. About half the Finns had attended a Christmas service as a child or had heard talk of faith in their childhood home. Even without overt negativity towards religion in their childhood home, only two out of five said they had received a religious upbringing and a few more than that said that religion was not part of the home they grew up in. For some reason, evening prayers, Sunday School or the parish day club were not seen as a particularly religious activity, or are regarded as simply part of life in Finland. However, only a few people in Finland had learned to say grace at mealtimes as children, or to go to church services regularly.⁸

Figure 5.2

Religiosity in the childhood home, % share of 'Yes' answers among respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



Most of those who said they had received a religious upbringing had lived in municipalities in the countryside, especially in northern and eastern Finland. Farmers and pensioners were more likely than others to have had a religious upbringing. However, only among the 65–79-year-olds more than half felt they had received a religious upbringing (Figure 5.3). Of the members of the Lutheran

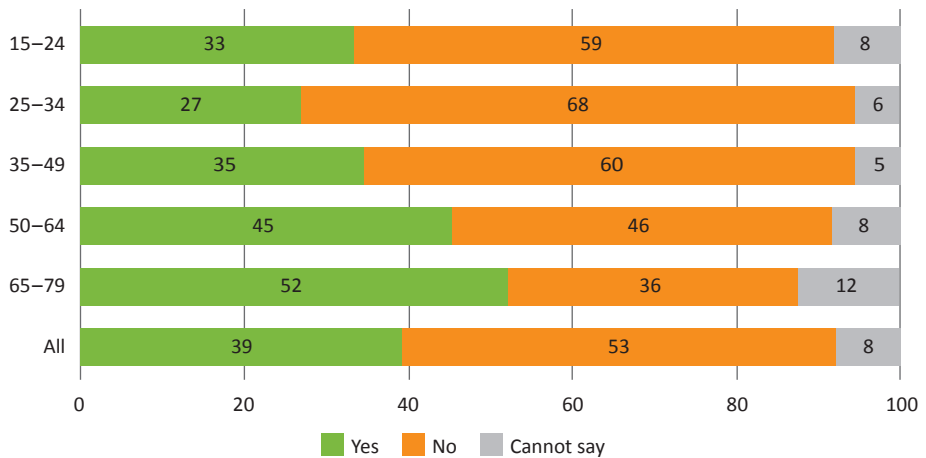
⁸ GE 2015.

Church, 45 per cent had received a religious upbringing, while the corresponding figure for members of other religious communities was 65 per cent.

Of Finns, 48 per cent have taught or plan to teach their children an evening prayer, while 37 per cent say they haven't or won't ever do so. Women were more likely than men to teach their children to pray, and older people were more likely than younger ones to do so. The under-50s are more likely *not* to teach their children to say an evening prayer. Passing Lutheranism on to Finland's younger generations is at risk: while 76 per cent of the members of the ELCF learned an evening prayer as children, only 58 per cent have taught or plan to teach their children the prayer. In cities, the least number of religious traditions are being passed on, and the younger the respondent, the more unlikely it is that they will have received a religious upbringing (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3

Religious upbringing in the home according to age group, % respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



In a global comparison, participating in public worship is rare in Lutheran countries. When other expressions of popular beliefs are also rare, it follows that a drop in the popularity of all church services can have severe consequences for the Church. The Christian tradition is no longer transferred to new generations, but requires active and individual efforts from parishes to support parents in providing a Christian upbringing. In practice, to participate in the raising of children one needs to meet people face to face and listen to the needs of families, and whenever possible respond to those needs.

The ELCF has a long tradition of providing practical and down-to-earth support for families. Many of the current forms of working with children and young people within the Church were born out of the practical needs of actual families: Sunday school, day, morning and afternoon clubs. When they began, they were trailblazing services that made everyday life significantly easier for families.

The fact that the welfare state has latterly taken responsibility for some of them (such as day-care for children, morning and afternoon clubs) gives the Church new opportunities for relevance. As resources are released, the Church can pioneer new trailblazing services by looking at the needs of families today. The challenges faced by families are numerous: children need to be cared for during school holidays; the importance of and making space for family time needs to be recognised; activities need to be provided for the entire family.

While the Church must respond to the current needs of families, the emphasis of its work can be based on Lutheran values. For instance, the parish can be a bold counterforce in a society that stresses competition, performance and excelling.

However, it is likely that the current situation cannot be fixed simply by focusing on the children. Today, a person's relationship to faith and the Church is increasingly likely to grow from an individual reflection of their view of the world. The reasons people leave the Church also highlight ideological factors, and young adulthood is the time when people are most likely to leave. Parishes therefore need to be able to offer people the building blocks of a Lutheran identity in a way that corresponds with the needs of young adults in search of a coherent world view. At its best, this can take the form of dialogue and interaction with other members of the parish.

5.5 Church participation in welfare work

When the Church works with the welfare services it actively impacts upon Finnish society. In Finland, the Church has a centuries-long tradition of helping the vulnerable. According to the Lutheran two kingdoms doctrine, people's need for help is part of 'this world', something that needs to be dealt with in practical terms. Which means that the Church should be an active part of society and respond to people's needs, while the state carries the main responsibility for securing welfare and justice within society. The Lutheran view is that a just society cannot be built on charity alone, but by working in tandem with publicly-financed welfare services. In line with this tradition, the ELCF has spoken out publicly to express its support for the welfare state and to criticise austerity measures that cut back on welfare.

In Finland, as in the other Nordic countries, there is generally a high level of confidence in institutions.⁹ However, a weaker socio-economic position generally corresponds to a lessening of trust in public services and a more critical attitude towards them. Divisions in the population are not only visible in attitudes to immigration or income levels, but Finns are also split about whether they are members of the Church and in their attitudes to it. The experience of being on

⁹ For example, Helkama 2015.

the outskirts of society can foster a harsher attitude to the Church. For those suffering from social exclusion, the Church is not necessarily a community they feel a part of, nor one that is capable of walking beside them.

The Church's mission as an influence in society and defender of those who find themselves in a weak position requires it to call out the evils within society. The Church, therefore, is not simply a last-resort provider of social services and servant of the welfare state, but must also point to that which is not working in the welfare system. It is likely that the Church will be assigned ever more areas where services are missing and for which it is hoped the Church will take responsibility. In this, the Church must act with caution, so that it is not faced with a greater responsibility than is manageable. In a harsher climate, the Church's role in helping the vulnerable will in any case be accentuated.

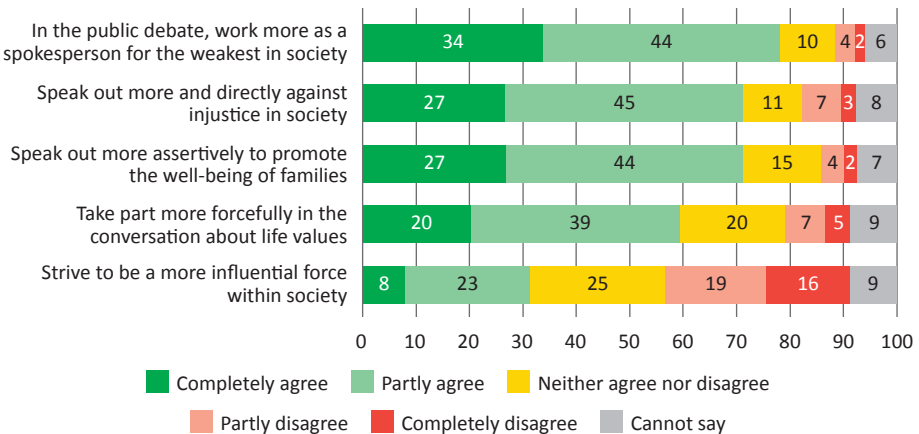
Most Finns are ready to help and motivated to do voluntary work. Compassion and the sense of a citizen's duty compel them to help others. This study found that people who are involved in their parish and support a Lutheran view of the world are often active helpers. Such helpers are found among ELCF members and other religious communities, but also among those who are not members of a religious community.

5.6 Taking part in the public debate

The Church takes an active role in the societal debate. In fact, it has been suggested that the Church's authority as a voice in the public sphere has grown stronger than hitherto. The Church's public comments have focused mainly on the things its members wish it to speak out about: defending the vulnerable, life values, and calling out abuses within society.

Figure 5.4

Finnish aspirations for the Church, % of respondents. Gallup Ecclesiastica 2015, N = 4,275.



Finns don't want to see the Church get involved in politics. However, that is often like a line drawn in water. From the Church's point of view, it is its job to speak out against evil in society wherever it occurs. Increasingly, this has led the Church to speak out in conflict with what the state authorities do: for instance, against the imposition of austerity measures or stricter immigration laws. In particular, those who share the values of the Lutheran Church want to see the Church more vocally engage with society. Although the survey shows that people under 35, those with small incomes, students, the unemployed and people who are not members of any religious community, were the most critical of the Church's voice in societal matters, they too wanted the Church to play a strong hand, particularly in defending the weaker members of society. The Church is expected to speak up and draw attention to what will support people's well-being and to offer a culture that counters harsh values. To focus on the theme of grace, or mercy, which is central to Lutheranism is key. This emphasises a human dignity that is independent of productivity within society. The strong support Finns express for the Church's voice being heard throughout society is also supportive of democracy and an open public arena, where there is room for different opinions and points of view.¹⁰

However, the voice of the Church is not always unanimous. This was particularly obvious in the public debate about gender-neutral marriage. Church media has been more active in covering internal Church matters, including doctrinal conflicts, for instance with the Firstborn Laestadianist revival. A change has taken place in that representatives of different religions have begun making joint statements.

5.7 Taking part in encounters

The 2016–2020 guidelines for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is called *A Church of Encounter – Guidelines for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland until 2020*.¹¹ It focuses on the thematics of people encountering one another in the work of the Church. As this study, too, has shown, there is a special place at the heart of Lutheran tradition for everyday encounters and relationships. The Lutheran Reformation also embraced a concept of endowing the love of God as the basis of all reality. In accordance with that concept, humanity is seen foremost as being a receiver of gifts who in turn passes on those gifts.¹² This passing-on of gifts is a worldly activity and something that occurs within the taking care of one's daily duties and everyday encounters with other people.

¹⁰ GE 2015.

¹¹ *A Church of Encounter*, first published in 2014 as *Kohtaamisen kirkko – Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon toiminnan suunta vuoteen 2020*.

¹² Raunio 1999, 94.

This offers a strong basis, too, for developing the work of the Church in the future. The importance of a high-quality encounter is vital in trying to resolve the integration of immigrants and asylum seekers. Parishes have, particularly during the period looked at in this study, shown that they were able to react quickly and appropriately to the rapid growth in the numbers of asylum seekers in late 2015. The palette of world views will grow in Finland both through immigration and as a result of choices made by native Finns. As a consequence, the practical and human approach to difference that is based on Lutheran values can be developed into an expertise in cultural encounters. The increased polarisation of society that we have seen over the past few years has shown that there is a need for cultural bridge-builders. In their world view Lutherans are in many ways already well placed to mediate between non-religious Finns and such religious cultures as are often perceived to be threatening, and this can be a special strength for the Church.

Recent trends have shown that Finns who risk social exclusion are adopting harsher attitudes towards the institutions of society. This study has shown that they are also more likely than the average Finn to be critical of the Church. Even though this study did not have sufficient scope to investigate the reasons behind such criticism, it is reasonable to assume that there is a general bitterness at work that is directed at all institutions of power in Finland. This kind of antagonism towards the Church can equally be directed at politicians or the mainstream media. For this reason, too, it is of primary importance for the Church to encounter and listen to these people. Only by acting for them can the Church dispel suspicions that grow into animosity towards apparently faceless holders of power.

This study has shown that Finns remain very open to the traditions of the Church and the actual work it does. A prerequisite, however, is that the Church interacts with its members as genuinely equal partners. There is still a great need for personal encounters and for the Church to listen to people's concerns, but if the Church seems authoritarian or to occupy a role of power, that can cause a strong adverse reaction. In general, it seems that justification for the work of the Church rests to a large extent on the same principles as the rest of civil society. For that reason, it is important that there are a significant number of volunteers in parish work. They too can help to bridge encounters between many different groups of people. Training and guiding volunteers is an important job and an area in which Church employees need extra advice. The Church can improve its skills by learning from what other NGOs do to coordinate the efforts of their volunteers. The entire arena of voluntary work is a key area of knowledge and skills for the Church and one in which the ELCF can promote practices more widely.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Survey materials used in the study

***Gallup Ecclesiastica* (GE) 2015**

The *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey* 2015, was intended to measure the religiosity of Finns, their activity in parishes and their attitudes to the Church, matters spiritual, and to religious communities. The survey was conducted by Taloustutkimus Oy commissioned by The Church Research Institute. The responses were gathered using the Taloustutkimus Oy online panel, which has more than 50,000 members. Participants responded to the survey in a CAWI (Computer Aided Web Interview) environment, which is protected by a user ID and password. From the panelists, a suitable target group of people aged 15–79 who live in Finland were selected for *Gallup Ecclesiastica*, 2015, using available background information. The invitation to the survey was sent to 19,119 people, of which 4,194 replied (21.9%). To analyse the results, the data was weighted to correspond to the population's 15–79-year-olds in age, gender, domicile and religious community membership. The weighted data's number of observations is 4,275. The margin of error is on average ± 1.5 percentage points (at a confidence level of 95%). The survey was conducted from 23 October–2 November 2015.

***Seurakuntakysely* [Parish Survey] 2016 (Forms B and C)**

In the spring of 2016, The Church Research Institute conducted a survey with parishes and parish unions for the ELCF's four-year report, gathering information about the work in parishes and parish unions during the year 2015 as well as the whole four-year period 2012–2015. Data was gathered through use of nine different statistical forms for the various branches within the Church. The forms covered general parish work (B1), work with children and families (B2), work with children, youth and confirmands (B3), work at schools (B4), diaconia and social work (B5), missionary work and international diaconia (B6), communications (B7), staff, development and administration (B8) and the work of religious movements and organisations as well as multicultural and partner parish work (B9). Data from parish unions were gathered on corresponding branch-separated forms (C1–C9). The Parish Survey forms were sent to all 412 parishes and 411 of them replied. All 32 parish unions filled in the parish union forms. For the first time, the survey data was gathered electronically.

***Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja* [Statistical Yearbook of the ELCF]**

The ELCF Church Council gathers data annually from all parishes and parish unions about changes in their membership population, activities and finances. The data from parishes and parish unions is gathered using statistical forms A3–A9. The A forms cover general parish work (A3), pre-school education and youth work (A4), diaconia (A5), missionary work (A6), parish finances (A7), the grave care fund (A8) and forestry and land use (A9). Information on population changes, marriages contracted, and confirmation classes are moved from the ELCF's membership data system *Kirjuri* onto forms A1, A2 and A4. The forms A12–A14 are used to gather information from parishes in conjunction with family counselling, the telephone hotline and healthcare chaplaincy. The forms are filled in only by those parishes and units that have the activities listed on the forms. The data for the year 2015 was gathered through electronic forms during January–February 2016.

***Kirkon työntekijäkysely* [Church Employee Survey] 2015, and *Seurakuntien luottamushenkilökysely* [the Parish Elected Officials Survey] 2015**

In the autumn of 2015 (12 November–1 December 2015) The Church Research Institute conducted a survey with Church employees and the elected officials of parishes and parish unions to ascertain the views of employees and elected officials on the future of the Church. The Church employee survey was sent to a random sample of 3,746 Church employees, of which 1,390 (37.1%) responded. The survey of elected officials was sent to a random sample of 2,592 elected officials of parishes or parish unions. A total of 1,185 of them (45.7%) replied. The Church employee and parish elected official surveys were conducted electronically.

***Gallup Ecclesiastica* 2011**

The 2011 *Gallup Ecclesiastica* survey was realised by TNS Gallup Oy, commissioned by The Church Research Institute. For the first time the poll was conducted electronically, using a platform for web-based data transfer, the TNS Gallup Forum, which at the time of the survey consisted of some 40,000 Finns aged 15–75 (excluding those from the Åland Islands). The invitation to the survey was sent to 7,663 people, 4,930 (64.3%) of whom responded. To analyse the data, it was weighted to correspond to the population's 15–75-year-olds with regard to age, gender, domicile and Church membership. The margin of error is on average ± 1.4 percentage points, at a confidence level of 95%. The survey was conducted from 18 November–2 December 2011.

Appendix 2. Background variables and the composite measures in attitudes and world views

Background variables used in the analysis of data from the *Gallup Ecclesiastica Survey 2015*

Background variables in the analyses are gender, generation, level of education, level of income, domicile, labour market position and religious community membership. For statistical analysis, the respondents were divided into age groups: those born in the 1930–40s, those born in the 1950s, those born in the 1960–70s, and those born in the 1980–90s. The education of the respondents was divided into three levels for analysis: primary education, secondary education and higher education. Those respondents who had finished their primary education in the days of the old elementary school (Finn. *kansakoulu*) were also grouped together with the primary education group. Among those who had received secondary education were those who had finished vocational training, technical or secondary business school as well as those who had finished general upper secondary school. Among the higher education group are students who have completed institute-level training or have a degree from a polytechnic, a university or some other college of higher education.

On the basis of their income levels, the respondents were grouped under low income, middle income or high income. In the low income group the annual income was less than €20,000 per year, in the middle income group €20,000–60,000 per year, and in the high income group more than €60,000 per year. Domicile was classified in four separate groups: Helsinki; towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants; small towns (less than 50,000 inhabitants); and country municipalities. On the basis of their position on the labour market, respondents were divided into unemployed and others. In the ‘others’ category of the labour market position were entrepreneurs, people working in management, other senior salaried staff and experts, salaried staff, employees, farmers, students, schoolchildren, pensioners, and stay-at-home parents.

In the analyses, religious community membership was also a background variable. The respondents were classified as members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, another religious community, or as not members of a religious community.

Variables of religiosity used in analyses

Activity in prayer as a variable was formed on the basis of the survey question, ‘And how often do you ... pray?’. The respondents were asked to assess their prayer activity by ticking one of the following alternatives: ‘Daily’; ‘At least once a week’; ‘A couple of times a month’; ‘At least once a year’; ‘Less than once a year’; or

‘Never’. The scale of the alternatives for the variable was translated into numbers so that a larger number reflects increased prayer activity (1 = Never, 6 = Daily).

Commitment to Christian doctrine as a variable was formed on the basis of the answers given by respondents to survey questions about their belief in various statements. The respondents were asked to rate how much they believed in the following statements. A composite measure was then created using the 11 statements that best correlated with one another: (1) ‘God, who is good’; (2) ‘God created everything’; (3) ‘God hears prayers’; (4) ‘Jesus is a person from history’; (5) ‘Jesus rose from the dead’; (6) ‘By his death, Jesus atoned for the sins of humanity’; (7) ‘Jesus is the Son of God’; (8) ‘Angels exist’; (9) ‘The Devil exists’; (10) ‘In the end, there will be a reckoning of good and evil’; and (11) ‘The teachings of Jesus provide useful advice to live by in our time’. The respondents assessed the statements on a four-point Likert scale. In the analysis stage the scale of variables was interpreted so that a variable of greater value expresses a stronger commitment to a Christian teaching (1 = Do not believe at all, 4 = Firmly believe). Cronbach’s alpha for the sum of the variables was .97.

Church orientation was established by asking the respondents to give their opinion on 25 statements. The sum of variables measuring *conservative religiosity* was based on the following five statements on Church orientation: ‘The Church should ...’ (1) ‘focus more on its purely spiritual job’; (10) ‘stick more clearly to Biblical teaching’; (14) ‘be more tolerant towards sexual minorities’; (15) ‘more boldly renew its teachings in the light of modern science’; and (17) ‘more actively spread the Christian message in Finland’. Variables 14 and 15 were interpreted so that disagreement with a statement signals increased conservatism. The Likert scale values of variables 1, 10 and 17 were translated so that the larger value corresponds to a respondent’s stronger view of the conservative role of the Church (1 = Disagree completely, 5 = Agree completely). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale measuring conservative religiosity was .83.

The variable to measure *traditional views of marriage* was based on questions designed to chart the views of respondents about how the Church ought to react to the new Marriage Act. The respondents were asked, ‘In 2017, Finland gets a new Marriage Act which does not specify the gender of the two parties. How do you think the Church should react to that?’ For the analysis, the traditional view of marriage variable was coded as a binary dummy variable, and given the value 1 when a respondent comments on the statement ‘The Church should still only marry a man and a woman’, with ‘Completely agree’ or ‘Partly agree’. In other cases, the value of the dummy variable is zero. The variable value 1 therefore signals that the respondent has a traditional view of marriage.

The composite measure for *Religious upbringing* was formed from nine statements about religiosity in the childhood home, to each of which respondents had to answer ‘Yes’, ‘No’ or ‘I can’t say’. The question asked, ‘Which of the following statements describe your childhood home?’: (1) ‘There was talk of religion in my

childhood home'; (2) 'As a child I was taught to say an evening prayer'; (3) 'I feel I received a religious upbringing at home'; (4) 'Children attended Sunday school or a parish children's club'; (5) 'We said grace at mealtimes in my childhood home'; (6) 'In my childhood we regularly attended Church services; (7) 'We attended Christmas service in my childhood'; (8) 'Religion was not present in my childhood home'; and (9) 'There was a negative attitude towards religion in my childhood home'. For analysis, variables 1–7 were coded to give 'Yes' answers the value 1, and other answers a zero value. The coding for variables 8–9 was inversed, so 'Yes' answers received the value 0, and other answers the value 1. The coding of the variables was inversed in these two variables so that all the variables used in calculating the sum of the variables would point to religiosity in the respondent's childhood home in the same way, that is, there either had or had not been religious upbringing in the home. The values for the sum of the variables for religious upbringing ranges from 0–9. A greater value for the sum of the variables signifies more active religiosity in the respondent's childhood home.

The variable depicting *Christian Revival Movement Membership* was formed from the question 'Are you a member of one of the revival movements within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (e.g. The Awakening, the Laestadian Movement, The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland)'. The respondents were asked to tick one of five options regarding membership: 'I am a steadfast member'; 'I am loosely a member'; 'I am not a member, but my thinking is influenced by it'; 'I am not a member'; or 'I can't say'. The variable was coded as a binary dummy variable in that the variable is given the value 1 when a respondent has chosen the options 'I am a steadfast member' or 'I am loosely a member'. Other variables are coded with a zero. A variable's value is 1 when the respondent is a member of a Christian revival movement.

In the analysis of a respondent's religious identity, a variable was used to illustrate their lack of faith. The *Non-believer* variable was made a binary dummy variable by giving the variable the value 1 when a respondent answered 'Yes' to the question 'Do you consider yourself ... a non-believer?'. The variable is valued at zero when a respondent answers 'No' or 'I can't say'. The variable value 1 identifies the respondent as a non-believer.

The respondents' *participation in religious services* was charted by asking 'How often do you take part in ... a religious service?' The respondents were asked to assess their participation by ticking one of the following options: 'At least once a week'; 'At least once a month'; 'A couple of times a year'; 'At least once a year'; 'Less than once a year'; and 'Never in recent years'. The scale for the variable was formulated so that a greater value for a variable indicates more active participation in services (1 = Never in recent years, 6 = At least once a week).

Attitude variables used in the analyses

The scale measuring *nationalism* was based on six possible answers to the question, 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?': (1) 'It is a blessing and a privilege to be a Finn'; (2) 'I'd rather be a citizen of Finland than any other country'; (3) 'Generally speaking, Finland is better than most other countries'; (4) 'The world would be a better place if people in other countries were more like Finns'; (5) 'You should support your own country even when it is in the wrong'; and (6) 'It is impossible to become completely Finnish if you do not embrace Finnish customs and traditions'. Respondents rated their attitude to the statements on a five-point Likert scale, which for analysis was formulated so that the highest value for a variable corresponds to being strongly nationalistic (1 = Completely disagree, 5 = Completely agree). Cronbach's alpha for the sum of variables for nationalism was .78.

The composite measure for *Lutheranism* was formed using the nine most-correlating statements regarding respondents' views on Lutheranism and Lutheran doctrine. Respondents were asked, 'What is your opinion of the following statements?': (1) 'We must uphold our tradition of singing hymns'; (2) 'Grace turns a person's eyes from their own imperfections to serving others'; (3) 'One should not try to further one's own interests but strive for the common good'; (4) 'We must all be responsible for one another'; (5) 'God cares for us in the form of a good partner, reliable neighbours and good friends'; (6) 'By working, a human being fulfils their calling'; (7) 'It is each person's duty to work'; (8) 'There is nothing one can have that is not a gift'; and (9) 'Parents must take care of their children's Christian education'. Respondents assessed the statements on a five-step Likert scale. For analysis, the scale was formulated so that the larger value corresponds to a deeper commitment to Lutheranism and the views of Lutheran doctrine (1 = Completely disagree, 5 = Completely agree). The statements were used to form a sum of variables for Lutheranism with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.84.

A second scale of Lutheranism was also used in the analysis, formed as described above but without the work-related variables: (6) 'By working, a human being fulfils their calling', and (7) 'It is each person's duty to work', which describe the Lutheran view and doctrine on work. This Lutheran sum of variables was used in analyses which looked at the statement on work. Cronbach's alpha for the alternative scale for Lutheranism was .84.

New Age spiritualities were described for analysis with a composite measure formed using the variables of the eight best-correlating statements about the beliefs of New Age alternative spiritualities. The respondents were asked to say if they agreed or disagreed with statements about New Age spiritualities. The respondents rated the statements on a five-step Likert scale, which was formulated for analysis so that the greater the value of the variable, the stronger the respondent's faith in New Age spiritualities (1 = Completely disagree, 5 = Completely agree). The

statements used in formulating the sum of variables were: (1) 'Invisible worlds or beings influence our world'; (2) 'Psychics or channellers can pass on information to us from an invisible world'; (3) 'Rocks and crystals have healing energies'; (4) 'Alternative therapies and self-help methods can help us to be more whole as people'; (5) 'Mankind is entering a new era which is characterised by love, unselfishness and creativity'; (6) 'Everything that exists is part of an all-present spiritual and divine reality'; (7) 'Each person should find their own way trusting their innermost being, even if they are rejected by society'; and (8) 'Giving up a materialist lifestyle will change the social and economic structures of society'. Cronbach's alpha for the sum of the variables was 0.81.

The respondents' *social dominance orientation* was charted in the survey by asking, 'The following list includes a number of statements with which you can agree or disagree. Tick the alternative among 1–7 according to which one best matches your opinion. Remember that your first reaction to a statement is often the most accurate.' The Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO) measuring orientation to relationships of power was formed using nine statements: (1) (1) 'Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups'; (2) 'No one group should dominate in society' (reverse coded); (3) 'In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups'; (4) 'It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others'; (5) 'We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible' (reverse coded); (6) 'It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom'; (7) 'Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place'; (8) 'We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups' (reverse coded); (9) 'We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally' (reverse coded).. The respondents were asked to assess the statements on a seven-point Likert scale. For statements 2, 5 and 8, disagreement was interpreted as supporting inequality. For the statements 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7, the values were correspondingly formulated so that the higher the value chosen for a variable, the more a respondent favoured inequality (1 = Completely disagree, 7 = Completely agree). Thus all the variables charting orientation of power describe changes in support for inequality in the same way. Cronbach's alpha for the scale describing support for inequality was .83.

Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions was measured by a composite measure based on the attitudes of respondents to 11 different situations. Respondents were asked, 'What is your attitude to ...': (1) 'religious education in schools?'; (2) 'a programme of Christian celebrations in schools at Christmas?'; (3) 'singing the *Suvisirsi* hymn at the beginning of the summer break in schools?'; (4) 'morning talks given in schools by a representative of the Parish?'; (5) 'the Parish providing an afternoon club service for school children?'; (6) 'the presence of military clergy in the defence forces?'; (7) 'the presence of prison clergy in prisons?'; (8) 'the presence of hospital clergy in hospitals?'; (9) 'religious programmes by the Finnish Broadcasting Company (such as devotionals on TV or radio)?'; (10)

'ecumenical services marking the opening and closing of parliament?'; and (11) 'the televised Independence Day service?'. Respondents were asked to rate their attitude to each situation on a five-point Likert scale. For analysis, the values of the variables were formulated so that the greater the value, the more positive respondents were to the situation described (1 = very negative, 5 = very positive). Cronbach's alpha for the sum of the variables formed was .96.

Participation in associations was measured in the *Gallup Ecclesiastica* poll by asking respondents to choose the one of four alternatives which best described their membership of and activity in any of 12 different associations during the previous year. The respondents were asked 'Are you a member of one of the following associations or have you taken part in their activities in the past year?'. The options describing membership of each association were: 'I am not a member and have not taken part in their activities'; 'I am a member, but have not taken part in their activities'; 'I have taken part in the association's activities'; and 'Can't say'. To form a composite measure the different answers were coded as binary dummy variables, meaning a variable equals 1 when a respondent said they were a member or had taken part in the association's activities. For other answers, the variable was given a value of zero. The composite measure illustrating activity in associations was formed by adding together the dummy variables, which gives a sum of variables of 0–12 (with a possible maximum membership or engagement in 12 different associations). The larger the number for the variable, the greater the activity in associations.

Like their activity in associations, the respondents' *participation in charity work* was also measured. Helping through charitable efforts were measured by responses to six different statements, for which respondents were asked, 'Have you, in the last 6 months, donated money for aid work or worked to have an impact on non-profit matters in one of the following ways?' The charity-charting statements are (1) 'I am a regular supporter of an aid organisation (for example, a monthly donor)'; (2) 'I have taken part in some annual collection (for example, the Common Responsibility Campaign, The Equal Share Campaign, the Hunger Day Collection)'; (3) 'I gave monetary or other support to disaster relief provided by an organisation'; (4) 'I signed an appeal for a good cause'; (5) 'I took part in a demonstration'; and (6) 'I shared information about aid efforts or an aid campaign'. The answers were 'Yes', 'No', or 'I can't say'. For the calculation of the composite measure, the replies were coded so that a variable had the value 1 when a respondent's answer was 'Yes'. For other answers the variable's value was zero. To formulate the composite measure for charity efforts the total of the variables was added together, giving a value of 0–6 for the scale. The larger the value of the variable, the greater the charitable activity, the helping and influencing.

The sum of variables for *negativity to religions* was formed on the basis of 8 statements, which the respondents rated on a five-step Likert scale of 1 = very positive to 5 = very negative. The statements describing negative attitudes to

religions were given in response to the question, 'What is your attitude to one of the following meeting rooms being in your neighbourhood?': (1) 'a Jehovah's Witness Kingdom Hall'; (2) 'a Pentecostal congregation meeting room'; (3) 'an Islamic mosque'; (4) 'a Jewish synagogue'; (5) 'a Buddhist temple'; (6) 'a Hare Krishna temple'; (7) 'a prayer room of the Laestadian Revival Movement'; and (8) 'a Mormon ward meeting room'. The variables of negativity to religion that correlated best with one another other were selected for the sum of variables. Cronbach's alpha for the sum of the variables formed was 0.91.

In addition to questions about the Church, religion and faith the *Gallup Ecclesiastica* survey also looked at the respondents' *work orientation* by asking: 'In the following are statements about the importance of work. You can rate them whether or not you are currently employed: "For me, it is important that ..."' In formulating the composite measure for work orientation, six statements on the importance of work were used, each of which the respondents rated on a five-point Likert scale. For the analysis, the values of the variables were specified so that the greater the value, the stronger the orientation for work (1 = completely disagree, 5 = completely agree). Included in the sum of variables for work orientation were the variables that best correlated with one another: (1) 'Work gives me satisfaction'; (2) 'I can advance in my career and have more responsibilities'; (3) 'My job allows me to express myself'; (4) 'My job allows me to help and serve others'; (5) 'My job is my calling'; and (6) 'My job is my mission in life'. Cronbach's alpha for the composite measure for work orientation was .83.

For the purpose of analysis, three dummy variables were also created to cover knowing Muslims, members of other religious communities, members of Christian minority churches, and immigrants. The respondents were asked, 'How many people who belong to one of the following groups do you know personally? By that we mean people who you would describe as former or present friends, acquaintances, neighbours, colleagues, etc.' The groups used in analysis were 'Muslims', 'Members of a Christian minority church (for example, Orthodox, Pentecostals)', 'Members of another religious community' and 'Immigrants'. Knowing Muslims or members of another religious community were analysed in one variable. The variables were coded as binary dummy variables so that the variable has the value 1 when a respondent answered, 'I know one or two', 'I know some' or 'I know many'. If the answer was 'I don't know any' or 'I can't say' the variable's value is zero. The dummy variable value 1 shows the respondents know people in the listed group.

Appendix 3. Tables of Analysis

Table 1.1

Logistic regression analysis: Those likely to leave the church.

Dependent variable: 'Have you thought of leaving the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland?' The category studied consists of those who chose the option 'I will probably leave the ELCF at some point'.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.77⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	3.60
	Born in the 1960s–70s	4.16
	Born in the 1980s–90s	6.71
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	4.18 ⁻¹
	Higher education	2.95⁻¹
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.08 ⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.65 ⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.56
	Small town	1.86
	Country municipality	1.49
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.13
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.18 ⁻¹
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.81⁻¹
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.95
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.45 ⁻¹
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.11
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.96
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	5.07
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.12
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.16 ⁻¹
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	2.26 ⁻¹
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.12
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.08 ⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	1.85 ⁻¹
	Participation in associations (values 0–12)	1.10 ⁻¹
	Charity (values 0–6)	1.01
	(Constant)	7.27
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.44
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	95.2
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.294
N		2,648
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 2.1

Logistic regression analysis: Those agreeing with Lutheran statements.

Dependent variable: A sum of variables regarding Lutheranism, including variables regarding work. The category studied consists of those for whom the sum of Lutheranism variables equalled four (4) or more.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.00
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.16 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1960s–70s	2.31⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.39⁻¹
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.37 ⁻¹
	Higher education	1.23 ⁻¹
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.37
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.61
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.11
	Small town	1.06
	Country municipality	1.16 ⁻¹
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.01 ⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.36
	Not a member of a religious community	1.20 ⁻¹
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.07
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.90
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.28
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.01
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.05
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	3.27
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.05
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.25
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.54
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.23
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.38⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	2.78
	Participation in associations (values 0–12)	1.03
	Charity (values 0–6)	1.11
	(Constant)	20070.08⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.59
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	83.1
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.256
N		3,581
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 2.2

Logistic regression analysis: For me it is important that ... *My job allows me to help and serve others.*

Dependent variable: 'In the following are statements about the importance of work. You can rate them whether or not you are currently employed. For me it is important that ... <i>My job allows me to help and serve others.</i> ' The category observed consists of those who opted for 'Completely agree' or 'Partly agree'.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.07 ⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.14
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.13 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.07
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.18
	Higher education	1.75
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.36
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.41
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.01
	Small town	1.13 ⁻¹
	Country municipality	1.06 ⁻¹
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.57⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.29
	Not a member of a religious community	1.07
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.03
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.07
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.19⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.25⁻¹
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.10
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.71
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.27
Attitude variables	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.09
	Lutheranism (values 1–5) without the variables concerning work	1.80
	(Constant)	6.54⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.16
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	75.6
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.258
N		3,617
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 2.3Logistic regression analysis: For me it is important that... *My job is my calling*.

Dependent variable: 'In the following are statements about the importance of work. You can rate them whether or not you are currently employed. For me it is important that... <i>My job is my calling</i> .' The category observed consists of those who opted for 'Completely agree' or 'Partly agree'.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.04
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.25 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.22 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.38
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.30 ⁻¹
	Higher education	1.06
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.02 ⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.13 ⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.05
	Small town	1.01
	Country municipality	1.13
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.91 ⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.07 ⁻¹
	Not a member of a religious community	1.07
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.06
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.01 ⁻¹
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.10 ⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.00
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.04
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.67
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.12
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.16
Attitude variables	Lutheranism (values 1–5) without the variables concerning work	1.55
	(Constant)	7.33 ⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.13
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	62.4
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.046
N		3,617
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 2.4

Logistic regression analysis: For me it is important that... *My job is my mission in life*.

Dependent variable: 'In the following are statements about the importance of work. You can rate them whether or not you are currently employed. For me it is important that... <i>My job is my mission in life</i> .' The category observed consists of those who opted for 'Completely agree' or 'Partly agree'.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.16
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.38⁻¹
	Born in the 1960s–70s	2.17⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.49⁻¹
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.57⁻¹
	Higher education	1.22⁻¹
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.10⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.12
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.12
	Small town	1.05⁻¹
	Country municipality	1.17
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.51⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.54⁻¹
	Not a member of a religious community	1.07
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.01⁻¹
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.00
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.04⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.11
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.07
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.78
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.04⁻¹
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.13
Attitude variables	Lutheranism (values 1–5) without the variables concerning work	1.54
	(Constant)	5.91⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.15
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	66.1
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.258
N		3,617
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 2.5

Logistic regression analysis: Activity in associations.

Dependent variable: A sum of the variables concerning activity in associations has been formed. The category observed consists of those who are members of four (4) or more associations.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.05 ⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.08 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.80⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	2.48⁻¹
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.07 ⁻¹
	Higher education	1.28
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.22 ⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.07 ⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.12
	Small town	1.02 ⁻¹
	Country municipality	1.20
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.57⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.06
	Not a member of a religious community	1.33
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.06
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.33
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.19⁻¹
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.08 ⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.00
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.08
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.23
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.04
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.17⁻¹
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	1.17
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.15
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.10⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	1.04 ⁻¹
	(Constant)	2.12 ⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.16
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	67.0
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.075
N		3,581

Notes: **Boldface** = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.

Table 2.6

Logistic regression analysis: Charitable helping.

Dependent variable: A sum of the variables concerning charitable helping has been formed. The observed category consists of those who have engaged in three (3) or more activities of charitable helping.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.50⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.07 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.10 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.10 ⁻¹
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.18
	Higher education	1.43
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.13
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.41
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.03 ⁻¹
	Small town	1.23 ⁻¹
	Country municipality	1.20 ⁻¹
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.09 ⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.54
	Not a member of a religious community	1.51
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.01
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.34
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.01 ⁻¹
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.19⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.16 ⁻¹
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.08
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.15
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.50
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.26⁻¹
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	1.46
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.07
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.53⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	1.08
	(Constant)	3.42⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.21
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	68.8
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.485
N		3,581
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 3.1

Logistic regression analysis: Those believing in the God of Christianity.

Dependent variable: Those who, faced with the question 'Do you believe in the existence of God?', chose the option 'I believe in God as taught in Christianity'. The variable was reclassified as a dichotomous variable so that all who answered anything else were counted in the other group.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.14 ⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.22
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.72
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.52
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	2.09
	Higher education	1.60
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.51 ⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.30 ⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.10 ⁻¹
	Small town	1.12 ⁻¹
	Country municipality	1.14
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.43 ⁻¹
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.06
	Not a member of a religious community	2.23 ⁻¹
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.73
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.32
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	2.03
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.19 ⁻¹
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.06
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.52
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.15
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	2.65
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.24 ⁻¹
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.21 ⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	3.42
	Charity (values 0–6)	1.02
	(Constant)	2031195.39 ⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.71
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	86.6
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.049
N		3,597

Notes: **Boldface** = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.

Table 3.2

Logistic regression analysis: Those agreeing with New Age spirituality statements.

Dependent variable: Sum of variables formulated on the basis of variables about New Age spiritualities. The category studied consists of those for whom the sum of the New Age spiritualities variables equalled four (4) or more.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.90⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.24
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.29
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.44 ⁻¹
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.31 ⁻¹
	Higher education	1.88⁻¹
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.54⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	2.45⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.32 ⁻¹
	Small town	1.18
	Country municipality	1.32 ⁻¹
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.77
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.13
	Not a member of a religious community	1.90
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.06
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	2.99
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.84⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.28
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.03 ⁻¹
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.32 ⁻¹
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.27 ⁻¹
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.16⁻¹
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.07
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	1.23
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.08 ⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	1.09 ⁻¹
	Participation in associations (values 0–12)	1.03
	Charity (values 0–6)	1.04 ⁻¹
	(Constant)	21.54⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.19
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	91.5
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.482
N		3,581
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 3.3Logistic regression analysis: And how often do you ... *pray*?

Dependent variable: 'And how often do you ... <i>pray</i> ?' The category observed consists of those who ticked the option 'Daily', 'At least once a week' or 'A couple of times a month'.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.70⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.01
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.34 ⁻¹
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.65⁻¹
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.17 ⁻¹
	Higher education	1.00 ⁻¹
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.30 ⁻¹
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.14 ⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.06 ⁻¹
	Small town	1.02
	Country municipality	1.18 ⁻¹
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.24
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	3.12
	Not a member of a religious community	1.08
Religiosity	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	4.76
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.09 ⁻¹
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	1.08
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.12
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.26
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	6.90⁻¹
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.57
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	1.13 ⁻¹
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	1.23
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.05
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.03 ⁻¹
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	1.14
	Participation in associations (values 0–12)	1.02
	Charity (values 0–6)	1.01
	(Constant)	308.02⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.69
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	85.2
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	.516
N		3,581
Notes: Boldface = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x ⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.		

Table 3.4

Logistic regression analysis: Attitude to Islam.

Dependent variable: 'What is your attitude to one of the following meeting rooms being in your neighbourhood? Islamic mosque.' The category observed consists of those who chose the option 'Very negative' or 'Quite negative'.		
Independent variables		Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Gender	Male (reference group: female)	1.04 ⁻¹
Generation	Born in the 1930s–40s	(reference group)
	Born in the 1950s	1.22
	Born in the 1960s–70s	1.61
	Born in the 1980s–90s	1.22
Level of education	Primary education	(reference group)
	Secondary education	1.12 ⁻¹
	Higher education	1.44⁻¹
Level of income	Low income (< €20,000/year)	(reference group)
	Middle income	1.10
	High income (> €60,000/year)	1.06 ⁻¹
Domicile	Helsinki	(reference group)
	Town with more than 50,000 inhabitants	1.08 ⁻¹
	Small town	1.11 ⁻¹
	Country municipality	1.11 ⁻¹
Unemployment	Unemployed (reference group: others)	1.73
Membership of a religious community	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	(reference group)
	Other religious community	1.29
	Not a member of a religious community	1.58
	I know Muslims or members of another religious community (reference group: I don't know any)	1.10 ⁻¹
	I know members of another religious community (reference group: I don't know any)	1.26
	I know immigrants (reference group: I don't know any)	1.14
Religiosity	Activity in prayer (1–6)	1.11
	Commitment to Christian doctrine (1–4)	1.01 ⁻¹
	Conservative religiosity (1–5)	1.32
	Traditional views of marriage (reference group: other view)	2.13
	Religious upbringing (0–9)	1.01
	Christian Revival Membership (reference group: non-members)	1.67⁻¹
	Non-believer (reference group: others)	1.10
	Participation in religious services (1–6)	1.02 ⁻¹
Attitude variables	Nationalism (values 1–5)	2.02
	Lutheranism (values 1–5)	1.28⁻¹
	New Age spiritualities (values 1–5)	1.25⁻¹
	Social dominance orientation (values 1–7)	1.61
	Attitudes to the Church's presence in public institutions (values 1–5)	1.05 ⁻¹
	Participation in associations (values 0–12)	1.06⁻¹
	Charity (values 0–6)	1.04 ⁻¹
	(Constant)	68.35⁻¹
Coefficient of determination	Nagelkerke R ²	0.30
Accuracy	(Percentage correct for this model)	73.3
Goodness of fit	Hosmer & Lemeshow test p-value	0.826
N		3,581

Notes: **Boldface** = statistically significant in 95 % confidence level. Superscript (x⁻¹) = Coefficient is inversed (1/x) if odds ratio < 1.

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At the heart of Lutheranism is the view of salvation by grace alone. According to Lutheran faith, in relation to God humans are always the receiving partner and helpless to achieve salvation by their own actions. However, this basic belief about the relationship between humanity and God does not translate into passivity or fatalism in other areas of life. Teaching on vocation, or Christian calling, and the importance of social ethical activity, are equally important ideas that shape Lutheran life. In a Finnish Catechism from 1948 Lutheranism was encapsulated by the expression 'saved to serve'. This means that Lutheranism should emerge as a world-view that encourages social engagement.

However, the impact of Lutheranism on contemporary society has seldom been examined by empirical social-scientific methods. This book presents the key results of a recent study that examined the role that Lutheran beliefs and values have in today's Finland: What does being Lutheran in Finland mean in the present day social and political context? What kind of societal values hold true for today's Finns and how do they derive from Lutheran theological emphases? And how has the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (ELCF) in its own activity or its statements reacted to the changes we have seen around the world and in Finland?

The findings in this publication are mainly based on the material collected for the previous four-year report of the ELCF, which reported the period 2012–2015.

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