

Remaining Religion in England

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Abstract

The study asks to what extent religion remains a part of people's lives in England. We begin by setting that question in historical and contemporary social context. We also set the question in comparative global context by analyzing the extent and significance of religion among differing societies, including that in Thailand, using data from the World Values Survey (WVS). In the English case, we conduct more detailed analysis using data from the national Time Use Survey. The TUS provides a sample of thousands of diarists who kept personal records of their activities over a 24-hour period on two randomly selected days during one week of the year. We can obtain a picture of English people's religious activities on any typical day by combining different diarists' records. Personal diary records of religious activities, such as in the TUS, appear more valid and reliable than interviewer-based, closed-question survey methods, such as in the WVS. The Christian churches' own census figures for attendees agree with our TUS diary-based estimate of the proportion of the adult population who attend religious services on a Sunday in England, while estimates provided by closed-question, interview-based survey methods were 50 per cent greater than personal, diary-based estimates. Our key substantive findings are that Sunday church attendance is well below one-in-ten of the adult population in England but that few people participate in other forms of religious activity in its place, alone or in company, Christian or otherwise, at any point during the week. Our study demonstrates low levels of religion in England with data and methods not used previously.

Keywords: Religious activity, church attendance, diary and interview-based surveys, England

1. Introduction

Our purpose in the present study is to determine how much religion remains a part of people's lives in England. However, we begin by setting Christianity in historical and contemporary context for an international readership and also by setting Christianity in comparative context by providing an overview of the extent of religion in different Western and Asian societies before we conduct any detailed analysis of present-day religion in England.

1.1 Christian religion in Europe in historical and modern context

It may be helpful to the reader if we place, very briefly, Christian religion in Europe in historical context. The upheaval to religious and political life of Europe after 1517 BCE caused by schism within the Catholic Church and the collapse of unitary Christendom can be seen as providing the foundations of modernity (Bruce, 1996). The religious wars between established Catholic and reformed Protestant power blocs were contained only after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 BCE. The Reformation had been bound up with the emergence of the modern nation-state, although local circumstances and reasons differed throughout Europe. In England the King asserted royal supremacy over a reformed Protestant Church out of political necessity caused by disagreements with the Catholic Papacy about its legitimate authority to dictate local affairs. A series of legislative reformations in 1530-38, 1547-53 and 1559 BCE saw the authority of the Pope of Rome rejected in England, the Catholic Church's monasteries dissolved, its lands and property taken, the independent jurisdiction of its clergy broken and its services banned. Those early-modern English reformations were motivated more by politics than by any Protestant religious evangelism to convert followers of proscribed Catholicism (Haigh, 1993).

It may also be helpful to the reader if we place, once more very briefly, Christian religion in Europe in modern context. Religion remains important globally (Norris & Inglehart, 2011) even if modernization has meant that it has increasingly lost its place at the center of public, cultural and social life in European societies (Bruce, 2002). Religion has become individualized and detached from the family

(Beck, 2010). Many are neither born into nor raised in a religion. Max Webber, the author of *The Protestant Work Ethic*, had seen modernity and an increasing sense of mastery borne out of 'rationalism' as undermining the foundations of European religious culture and traditions, resulting in the 'disenchantment' of the modern world. Webber saw religion as losing its meaning and wider significance in modern society. The theoretical framework for our own study is 'secularization' as one of the consequences of modernization, intended or not (Bruce, 2011). However, if Christian religion's loss of social significance and removal from public life are inevitable consequences of modernization, its critics ask, why does religion remains vital in the United States (Berger, Davie & Fokas, 2008) and elsewhere (Casanova, 1994). Commentators have predicted religion's return as a political and social force in Europe (Kaufman, 2010).

1.2 Religion in modern societies compared

It is also helpful to examine, again very briefly, the extent and significance of religion in different societal contexts. We can use the social research method of structured interviews conducted with large-scale national survey samples to compare contexts (World Values Survey, 2008). Table 1a compares twelve societies to demonstrate just how much religious involvement varies globally. A mix of societies is chosen for comparison, including those with developed modern capitalist economies, such as in Germany and the United States, and newly developing economies, such as in China and Thailand. At first sight, what is striking about our league table is just how religious Thailand seems to be compared with many other countries. However, what is even more distinctive about Thailand compared with other countries is that the majority of Thais seem both to describe themselves as a 'religious person', notwithstanding the high levels of religious identification and participation among Thais as well as the importance Thais afford to religion as demonstrated by the comparative data in Table 1b. Thailand's religious institutions continue to be seen as an authoritative guide to moral, family and social problems in the lives of Thai people in a way that they are not for majorities in countries such as Canada, Australia and Germany or in South Korea, Japan and China.

Table 1 Involvement in organized religion and its moral, personal and social significance to the populace in twelve different societal contexts

(a) Self-reports of involvement in religion:			
	%-age who say they belong to a religious denomination	%-age who say they are a religious person	%-age who say they attend services on a weekly basis
Thailand	99.7	35.5	42.2
Malaysia	98.3	88.8	—
India	94.2	72.3	41.8
Italy	87.9	85.0	31.1
South Africa	83.2	81.1	54.1
USA	71.5	71.7	35.3
South Korea	71.2	32.2	30.9
Canada	70.7	68.2	24.9
Australia	60.0	51.2	14.2
Germany	56.7	41.0	8.1
Japan	36.5	21.2	3.3
China	10.8	21.3	4.2
(b) The churches seen as providing answers to:			
	moral problems (%-age agreement)	family problems (%-age agreement)	social problems (%-age agreement)
Thailand	84.5	77.8	72.5
Malaysia	76.6	71.2	71.1
India	30.6	22.5	27.7
Italy	58.0	45.6	41.9
South Africa	68.0	71.2	50.4
USA	52.4	53.2	39.5
South Korea	48.3	38.8	27.8
Canada	39.6	40.1	33.0
Australia	33.5	33.6	29.2
Germany	39.1	31.6	26.8
Japan	13.3	10.1	4.4
China	—	—	—

Note: — Question not asked in Malaysia or in the People's Republic of China

Source: WVS, 2008

1.3 Religion in Thailand

We can go further. A detailed breakdown of responses to the World Values Survey in Thailand (WVS, 2008 N = 1,533) provides us with a profile of Thai religion in terms of three standard measures self-identification, personal religiosity and religious attendance as well as in terms of membership and activity within religious organizations. The great majority of Thai WVS participants self-identified as Buddhists (97 per cent), and almost all saw religion as important in their lives (94 per cent). Put another way, less than one-half of one per cent of the Thai WVS sample were atheists or dismissed religion as irrelevant to them. Most Thais who were sampled spoke of regular religious practice (specifically, 23 per cent of Thai WVS participants claimed to take part in religious services more often than once a week, 42 per cent of the total sample took part on a frequent weekly basis and 87 per cent of the total sample took part on a regular monthly basis). In addition, more than three-quarters said they made time for private prayer, meditation and religious contemplation. However, the majority also stated quite explicitly that they were not a 'religious person' (64 per cent), and only 36 per cent were members of an actual 'church or organization' associated with their religion (and those who were 'members' often described themselves as 'inactive'). In total, only one-in-five Thai WVS participants said they were active members of a church or religious organization.

As for the public presence of religion and its social significance, the majority of Thai WVS participants said that they had confidence in the nation's religious institutions (69 per cent) and that they saw 'the churches in their country' as offering answers in moral, family, social and spiritual matters (86 per cent, 78 per cent, 73 per cent and 64 per cent, respectively). Indeed, often Thais approved of strong personal faith and religious commitment as good things for society (57 per cent) and for politicians in particular (63 per cent); however, they did not approve of the idea of 'public religion' and mixing religion with politics. The majority of Thais sampled disapproved of religious leaders attempting to influence voting behaviour (63 per cent) and government decision-making (60 per cent). In sum, levels of religious identification, practice and trust, and also expressions of religious belief, may seem high in Thailand, but personal religious commitment, and especially active membership, is restricted to a religious minority. Those obligations may devolve to the religious class of monks in the Thai context. Nonetheless, it is clear that Thais continue to see religion as important.

1.4 Religion in Britain

Britain is among the most secular of European societies (Crockett & Voas, 2006) no matter how the populace's participation in organized religion is measured (Bruce, 2002). People may continue to believe in Christianity and God, but most people are neither a member of a religious organization (Davie, 1994) nor do they participate in expressions of faith through collective worship (Brown, 2001). Church numbers have been in steady decline in Britain (Bruce & Glendinning, 2010). Christian traditions and beliefs are in doubt (Voas, 2009). Some individuals may turn to religious alternatives to fit with personal lifestyle choices (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005), including Eastern religions, as part of the New Age, but even among religious and spiritual alternatives, the extent of involvement and belief is small (Glendinning & Bruce, 2006; Glendinning, 2006). Nor does British opinion wish religious traditions to assume a new prominence in public life or politics as a form of Christian cultural defence against increasing presence, grievances about undue accommodation, or the perceived assertiveness of a religious 'non-Christian' other, especially an Islamic other, confused with fundamentalism and political extremism (Glendinning & Bruce, 2011). It seems most people in Britain wish one's religion, if any, to remain a private matter.

2. Objectives

Given debates over the amount of religion that remains and the diversity of forms that it may now take in the West, a major problem for social scientists is to obtain valid measures which reliably inform us about the state of religion. Are personal and collective religious activities still a part of people's lives in modern European societies? A national survey in which thousands of diarists kept a record of their daily activities provides us with some answers in the case of England.

3. Materials and methods

The Time Use Survey (TUS) is the most recent, large-scale, in-depth record of the ways in which people in England use their time on a daily basis, including time spent on religion (Short, 2006)¹.

3.1 Diary data collection

Households were recruited to TUS using multi-stage random sampling. TUS participants in each household were given a 'weekend diary' and asked to record their activities for one randomly selected day at the weekend, either Saturday or Sunday. Second, they were given a matching 'weekday diary' and asked to record their activities for one randomly selected weekday, either Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday. Diarists recorded their main and secondary activities for each of 144 10-minute blocks on the two days, starting 4:00am-4:10am and ending 3:50am-4:00am the next day, with whom, where and so on. It is important to realise the diaries were completed without survey fieldworkers present. The diarists in each household completed a pair of diaries for one week only. Fieldwork continued for more than 12

¹ Results of multivariate regression analysis, reported in an appendix in Table 5, demonstrate how the diary data can also be used to provide a more fine-grained examination of the social correlates of religious activity.

months until sufficient samples of diaries had been collected to cover each day of the year. In that way, the TUS survey covered any ‘typical day’ of the year.

3.2 Diary survey sample

The TUS survey was based on a national sample of households selected at random. Every adult in each household was asked to complete two diaries². In broad terms, some six-and-a-half thousand weekend diaries are available for analysis and a corresponding number of matching weekday diaries. Samples of households and individual diarists can be weighted to be representative of the general population in England using the National Census as a benchmark. In addition, samples of diaries can be weighted to produce comparable aggregate distributions across the seven days of the week.

3.3 Diary coding schema and the measurement of religious activities

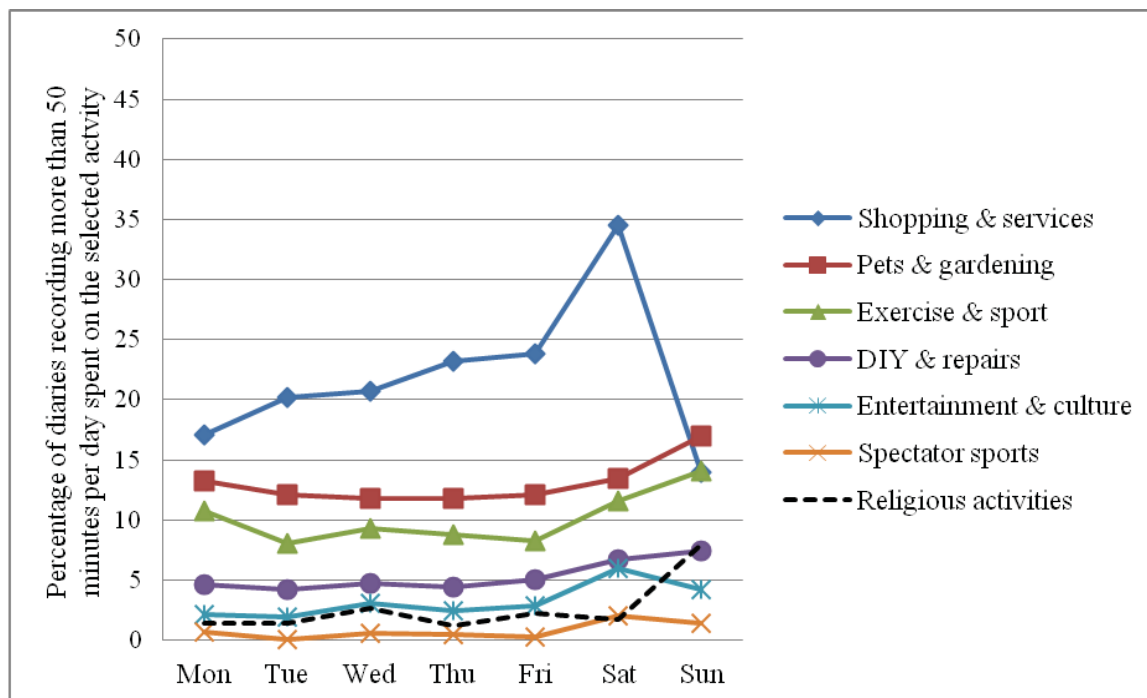
The records in each diary were coded up by the TUS research team afterwards using standardised nested schema. Care was taken to separate out activities such as ‘meditation’, which according to diarists had been done for reasons of personal well-being and relaxation and which, unlike time spent on personal prayers, for example, diarists had not recorded as being ‘religious’ either as a primary or a secondary activity. The dependent variable in our analysis is religious activity characterised in a number of ways. First, after adding the number of minutes spent on any form of religious activity at all on the day the diary was kept, the total was split into three categories: ‘none’, ‘between 10 and 50 minutes’ or ‘more than 50 minutes’. Second, computer programs were written to produce counts of episodes and amounts of time spent practicing religion alone or in the company of others, and more particularly at places of worship. It is worth saying that the manipulation of TUS datasets is complex. In sum, the TUS study design allows the analysis of English people’s typical religious activity on a daily basis, set in its social context, because diarists were also interviewed separately by fieldworkers about their households and socio-economic circumstances.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1 Overall levels of religious activity on different days of the week

Figure 1 shows the TUS diary records for the amount of time spent on religious activities on different days of the week as compared with diarists’ other activities, such as shopping, pet-care and gardening; physical exercise and sport; DIY and repairs; going to the cinema, theatre, concerts, museums and galleries; and attendance of sporting events as a spectator. Shopping stands out among the various activities represented in Figure 1, peaking at 35 per cent of diaries which record more than 50 minutes on that activity on Saturday but dipping to 14 per cent of diaries on Sunday. The only activity appearing consistently less popular than engaging in an hour of religious activity across the week between Monday and Saturday is attending a sporting event, and even then, spectator sports top religion on Saturdays. Religious activity is much more prevalent on Sundays (7.8 per cent of diaries record more than 50 minutes on that day). Religion eclipses spectator sports, cinema, theatre, concerts, galleries and museums or undertaking DIY and repairs as a Sunday activity, but not other popular Sunday activities, such as gardening. Of course religious and other activities, such as shopping and sport, are no longer mutually exclusive on Sundays in England.

² Children between 8 to 15 years of age completed separate diaries and complete sets of household diaries can be matched for families.



Note: Weighted by diaries, N = 14,140. Watching TV and pre-recorded media was ubiquitous, and so is not included in Figure 1. Most diaries record at least an hour of viewing on a weekday (81%), slightly less on Saturdays (79%) but more on Sundays (86%).

Figure 1 Selected activities undertaken for more than 50 minutes on the day the diary was kept. **Source:** Time Use Survey, age 16+ years, England

The diary-based estimates in Table 2 show us that only 10.2 per cent of diaries record ten minutes at least of religion during Sundays as either a primary or secondary activity³ The table shows that during weekdays as few as 4.5 per cent of diaries record any religious activity at all on Wednesdays and Fridays, and at about 2.5 per cent the proportion is even less on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. It is important to realise that our measure of ‘religious activity’ here includes everything recorded by diarists as religious, not only attending services or meetings associated with one’s religion but also activities such as personal prayers and watching or listening to religious programming. Religious activity is very low indeed: the weighted TUS estimates suggest that almost 90 per cent of adults do none at all on a Sunday; more than ninety-five per cent do none on Saturdays, Fridays or Wednesdays; and some 97.5 per cent do none on Thursdays, Tuesdays or Mondays.

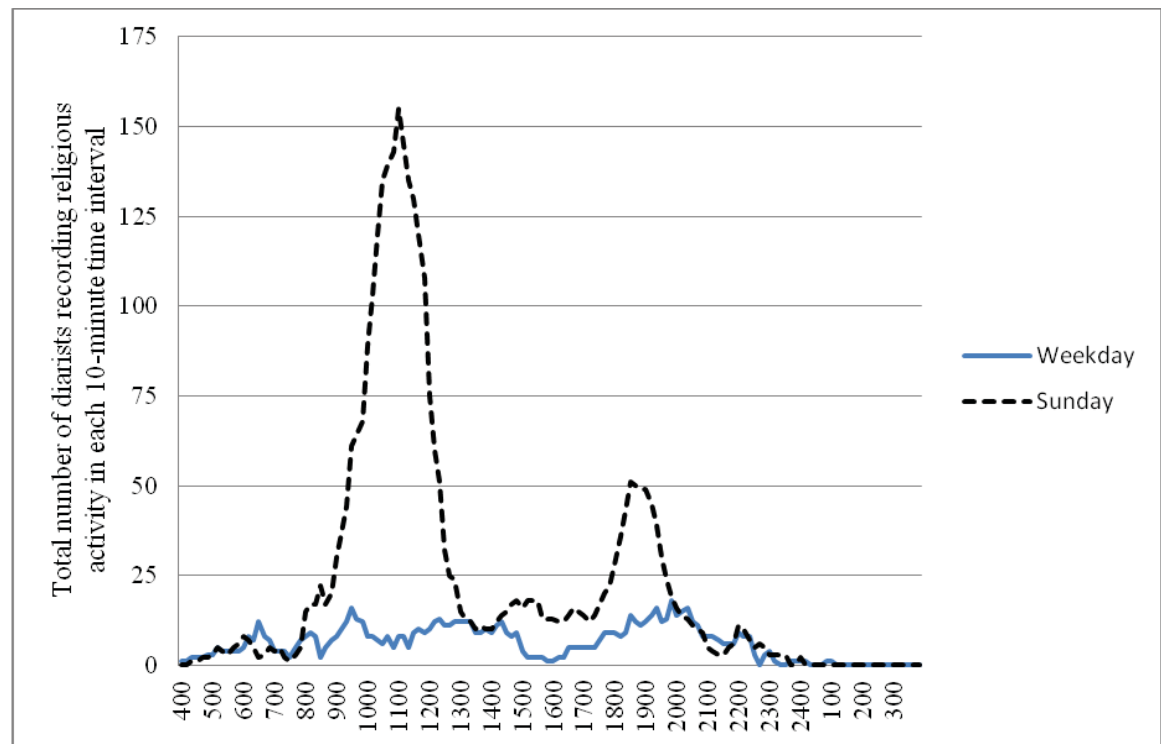
³ Religious activity was greatest on a Sunday irrespective of ethnic group: Afro-Caribbean, South Asian ...

Table 2 Proportions of diaries which record more or less religious activity by the day the diary was kept. Source: Time Use Survey, age 16+ years, England.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
None	97.4%	97.5%	95.5%	97.5%	95.5%	96.5%	89.8%
10 to 50 minutes	1.2%	1.1%	1.9%	1.3%	2.4%	1.8%	2.3%
More than 50 minutes	1.4%	1.4%	2.6%	1.2%	2.2%	1.7%	7.9%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	1,989	2,042	2,050	2,011	2,001	2,007	2,041

Notes: Weighted by diaries, N = 14,141. Using individual weights rather than diary weights, the estimates for any religious activity on a Sunday are: None, 90.2%; Between 10 to 50 minutes, 2.3%; and More than 50 minutes, 7.7% (N = 3,272).

4.2 Comparing diarists' religious activity on a Sunday with that of a weekday



Note: Paired weighted by individuals, N = 3,272.

Figure 2 24-hour log in 10-minute intervals of religious activity recorded by the same diarist on a Sunday and on a matching weekday

Source: Time Use Survey, participants age 16+ years, England

Rather than provide an aggregate picture of all religious activity on different days of the week, instead Figure 2 matches the individual entries of TUS diarists on a Sunday with the entries of those same diarists on the randomly selected weekday on which they completed their second diary, that is, Sunday with Monday, Sunday with Tuesday, Sunday with Wednesday, Sunday with Thursday or Sunday with Friday. An individual diarist's entries can be matched throughout both days, 10-minute by 10-minute interval, from 4:00am through to 3:50am the next day. The paired diary data for Sunday and the matching weekday are weighted to give a nationally representative sample of adults in England. The peak of religious activity for

the week is on Sunday at 11:00am in the morning, with a lesser peak at 6:30pm-7:00pmin the evening. Diarists recorded markedly less religious activity on weekdays, with only minor increases at around 9:30am and 7:30pm.

Table 3 Proportions of diarists recording more or less time on religious activity on a Sunday compared with a randomly selected weekday

Source: Time Use Survey, Age 16+ years, England

Weekdays	None	10 to 50 minutes	Sunday More than 50 minutes	Total
None	89.2%	1.4%	5.9%	96.5%
10 to 50 minutes	0.4%	0.6%	0.5%	1.4%
More than 50 minutes	0.6%	0.2%	1.3%	2.0%
Total	90.2%	2.1%	7.7%	100.0%

Notes: Paired weighted by individuals, N = 3,272

Table 3 follows up on Figure 2 by comparing the total time spent on religious activities on a Sunday with the total spent by the same diarist on a weekday. More than 90 per cent of diarists spent no time at all on religious activities on either a Sunday or a weekday. The only other constituency which stands out are those diarists who record about an hour or more spent on religion on a Sunday but no time on a weekday, which represents some six per cent of our total sample. Conversely, it is also worth noting that those diarists who focus their religious activities on weekdays rather than on Sundays amount to less than one per cent. Finally, as a religious core, the data in Table 3 show that a little over one per cent of diarists record spending an hour or more on religious activities both on a weekday and on a Sunday.

4.3 Religious activity recorded as done alone, in company and at a place of worship

Table 4 shows the distribution of personal and communal religious activity across diaries for different days of the week. It also shows the extent of religious activity done at a place of worship⁴. Only about one per cent of the diaries record religion done alone, for example, time spent in personal prayer, on any day of the week including Sundays, whether or not diarists also attend communal services. In fact, there are low levels of communal activity weekdays and Saturdays. Fewer than five per cent of the diaries record any communal religious activity on those days. These are important findings: people do not appear to be turning to religion on an individualized or group basis as alternatives to traditional communal observance at a place of worship on a Sunday; and few practice religion on weekdays in addition to observance at a place of worship on Sundays.

⁴ Religious activity was greatest on a Sunday irrespective of ethnic group: Afro-Caribbean, South Asian ...

Table 4 Proportions of diaries which record more than 50 minutes of religious activity done: (a) alone; (b) in the company of others; and (c) at a place of worship broken down by the day the diary was kept.**Source:** Time Use Survey, age 16+ years, England

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
(a) Alone							
None	99.0%	99.1%	98.8%	99.0%	98.6%	99.1%	98.9%
Any time at all	1.0%	0.9%	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%	0.9%	1.1%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(b) In company							
None	98.2%	98.2%	96.1%	98.0%	96.1%	96.9%	90.5%
10 to 50 minutes	0.7%	0.5%	1.4%	1.1%	2.1%	1.5%	1.9%
More than 50 minutes	1.1%	1.3%	2.5%	0.9%	1.8%	1.6%	7.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(c) At a place of worship							
None	99.6%	99.4%	98.4%	98.7%	97.6%	97.8%	91.5%
10 to 50 minutes	0.3%	0.1%	0.6%	0.7%	1.3%	1.0%	1.4%
More than 50 minutes	0.2%	0.5%	1.0%	0.6%	1.1%	1.2%	7.1%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	1,989	2,041	2,049	2,012	2,001	2,007	2,040

Notes: Weighted by diaries, N = 14,139

Using individual weights rather than diary weights, the estimate is 7.4% of the sample for more than 50 minutes of collective activity on a Sunday and 6.9% for more than 50 minutes spent at a place of worship on a Sunday (N = 3,272). Those estimates are 8.5% of the sample for more than 50 minutes of collective activity on a weekly basis and 8% for more than 50 minutes spent at a place of worship on a weekly basis (N = 6,608).

4.4 Diary-based accounts of religious activity on a Sunday in England

Comparisons of the figures in the final columns of Tables 2 and 4 show that our estimate of religion on a Sunday drops from 7.9 per cent for more than 50 minutes of any religious activity throughout the day, whether performed alone or not, to 7.6 per cent for more than 50 minutes of collective activity and 7.1 per cent for more than 50 minutes spent at a place of worship. Those Sunday estimates become 7.7, 7.4 and 6.9 per cent respectively, when they are re-calculated using the weighted sample of TUS diarists, so as to be nationally representative. Brierley and his associates have estimated church attendance in England periodically by building an extensive database of Christian congregations and then requesting counts of attendees at services on an ordinary Sunday in October (Warner, 2010: 9-11). Their counts of Sunday worship fell from 7.7 per cent of the adult population in 1998 to only 6.3 per cent in 2005, which match our estimate of 6.9 per cent based on TUS diarists' reports in the period between Brierley's two church-census years.

4.5 Comparing diary-based accounts with interview-based, closed-question responses

It is possible for us to estimate the total weekly rate for continuous episodes of more than 50 minutes of communal religion by combining the records of TUS diarists on weekdays and at the weekend⁵. Once diarists' data have been weighted appropriately, we obtain a weekly estimate of 8.25 per cent of the adult population in England. Estimates from comparable British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey data, which are based on BSA survey participants' reports in a structured, close-question interview format, face-to-face with a fieldworker, about their attendance of services and meetings connected with their religion, stand at 12.5 per cent of the adult population in England once those BSA interview survey data have also been

⁵ We have to interpolate an estimate for those diarists who were active on Saturday only. The study design means direct comparison cannot be made between diarists' Saturday and Sunday activity at the individual level

weighted for representativeness⁶. The BSA interview survey estimate is more than 50 per cent greater than the TUS personal diary estimate for weekly worship.

5. Conclusion

People over-report their religion in national surveys, either in face-to-face or telephone-based, closed-question interview formats, especially compared with diarists' personal records with no involvement of a fieldworker. Those diarists' records appear to agree instead with census counts of attendees done by their congregations or independent researchers. Such census counts are seen as a more reliable method than using national interview-based, closed-question survey data to estimate church attendance in US research (American Sociological Review, 1998). Our study is based on people's private, personal records kept in a diary-format at or close to the time those events actually occurred⁷. Thus, our own analysis uses the best available data and method to give more valid and reliable measures of religious activity. There are two key, substantive conclusions. First, it seems that less than eleven per cent of the adult population in England perform any form of religion activity of any duration at any point during a typical week, including personal prayers and meditation, watching and listening to religious programming, where that total amount also includes other more individualised and diverse alternative religious practices. There is little religion of any form practised, public or private in England. Second, most of the activity among the small minority of adults who practice any religion continues to be in the form of communal practice in the company of others, mostly on a Sunday, and mostly at a place of worship through attending the church, mosque or temple, rather than in an alternative collective or individual format. Little of what religious activity remains in England has become individualised in the place of collective worship as the nation's churches empty. Notwithstanding, our study has also shown that religion remains strong in some other societal contexts, and particularly in Thailand.

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⁶ BSA weighted Ns: total = 2,769; weekly = 271; fortnightly = 167; monthly = 141; biannually = 286; annually = 153; less often = 108. Weekly estimate = $(271 \times 1 + 167 \times .5 + 141 \times .25 + 286 \times .04 + \dots) \div 2,769 = 0.125$

⁷ The use of diaries as an alternative method in contemporary US research has been based on retrospective computer-aided-telephone interviews (CATI) rather than diarists' personal records at the time, which may risk the same overestimations found in standard closed-question interview surveys because of unwanted reactivity during data collection (Brenner 2011: 29).

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7. Appendix

Multivariate regression analysis of the social correlates of religious activity in England

The design of the Time USE Survey also allows us to place diarists' religious activity in its wider social context. The results of a binary logistic regression analysis of the social correlates of religious activity are presented in Table 5. The dependent variable in our multivariate analysis is whether or not TUS diarists recorded at least one episode of more than 50 minutes of communal religious activity in the company of others on a Sunday. The social correlates are: gender, age-group, ethnicity, living arrangements, education, occupational social class and the five main regions of England. Results for occupation and region are statistically insignificant, once allowance has been made for effects of gender, age, ethnicity, marital status and education. All other factors have significant effects. The final regression model shows that older, non-white, well-educated, female and married and especially widowed diarists are more likely to be religiously active on a Sunday compared with younger, white, less-educated, male and single diarists. In terms of relative odds ratios, respective results can be expressed as follows: age, 65+ years old compared with 16-44 years old = 3.38:1.00; ethnicity, non-white compared with white diarists = 2.55:1.00; education, graduates compared with those with no qualifications = 1.72:1.00; gender, women compared with men = 1.62:1.00; and living arrangements, married compared with single diarists = 1.46: 1.00. Those results using TUS diary records provide a more fine-grained analysis to check results using large-scale interview-based and self-completion questionnaire survey data.

Table 5 Logistic regression of religious activity on Sunday

Covariates		N =	Odds Ratio	Sig.	Lower	95% CI Upper
Gender	Women	1,690	**1.82	<.001	1.35	2.42
	Men	1,494	1.00	—	—	—
Age-group	65-plus years	575	**3.48	<.001	2.37	5.12
	45—64 years	1,021	**1.62	.006	1.15	2.30
	Under 44 years	1,588	1.00	—	—	—
Ethnicity	South Asian and others	186	**2.76	<.001	1.71	4.44
	White	2,998	1.00	—	—	—
Living Arrangements	Married	2,157	*1.68	.031	1.05	2.70
	Widowed	212	*2.13	.020	1.13	4.03
	Divorced or separated	245	0.82	.625	0.39	1.79
Education	Single (never married)	570	1.00	—	—	—
	Higher qualifications	814	**1.78	.004	1.20	2.64
	School level	1,170	1.30	.147	0.91	1.87
Occupational Class (NS-SEC)	No qualifications	1,200	1.00	—	—	—
	Professional/managerial	989	^1.34	.099	0.95	1.91
	Intermediate occupations	614	1.10	.604	0.76	1.61

	Routine and others	1,581	1.00	—	—	—
Region	North of England	965	0.83	.296	0.58	1.18
	Midlands	656	0.76	.179	0.50	1.14
	Eastern England	375	0.96	.868	0.60	1.53
	South West	386	1.06	.793	0.67	1.68
	London and South East	802	1.00	—	—	—

Notes: Weighted by individual diarists, N = 3,184;

Co-linearity statistics are acceptable with a maximum variance inflation factor of less than 1.50;

Level of statistical significance: **p < .01; *p < .05; ^p < 0.10.

Source: TUS, age 16+ years, England