

Secularism, Fundamentalism or Catholicism?
The Religious Composition of the United States to 2043

Abstract

We project the religious composition of the US, considering fertility differences, migration, intergenerational religious transmission and conversion by 11 ethnoreligious groups. If fertility and migration trends continue, Hispanic Catholics will experience rapid growth and expand from 10 to 18 percent from 2003 to 2043. Protestants could decrease from 47 to 39 percent over the same period, which means that Catholicism may be the largest religion among younger age groups. Particularly liberal Protestants lose ground due to low fertility and losses through conversion. Migration drives growth among Hindus and Muslims, while low fertility causes decline among the Jews. The low fertility of secular Americans and the religiosity of the immigrants provide a countervailing force for secularization, and the secular population share is expected to plateau before 2043.

Introduction

The United States has been a Protestant majority country for its entire history as a sovereign state. New England was founded by anti-Catholic Puritans and at independence in 1776, the nation's citizens were 98 percent Protestant. One of the reasons for the American Revolution was resentment of the British Proclamation Acts of 1774 which prevented the westward expansion of Protestant settlers into Catholic French territory and were described as a "barefaced attempt against the success of the Protestant religion". Immigration from Catholic Ireland from the 1830s, and Southern and Eastern Europe after 1880, led to waves of anti-Catholic agitation. Multi-million member Protestant populist movements like Know-Nothingism in the 1840s and 1850s, the American Protective Association in the 1890s and Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s presented the strongest challenges to America's two-party system in the nation's history. Protestant agitation led to the prohibition of alcohol from 1920-33 and the restriction of immigration to mainly northwestern European sources after 1924 (Kaufmann 2004).

Depression-era and wartime president Franklin Roosevelt, whose administration was among the first to include sizeable numbers of Catholics, once told Irish-American aide Leo Crowley and Jewish treasury secretary Hans Morgenthau that "you know this is a Protestant country and the Jews and the Catholics are here under sufferance" (Beschloss 2002). All but one of the 43 American presidents has been Protestant, this being John F. Kennedy, whose victory in 1960 came only after he was compelled to emphasize to Protestant voters that he would place his conscience and country's authority before that of the Pope. Even today, Protestants outnumber Catholics two to one in the nation's population. The historic link between Protestantism and America led Samuel Huntington to recently characterize America's cultural core as 'Anglo-Protestant': "Would the United States be the country that it has been and that it largely remains today if it had been settled in the 17th and 18th centuries not by British Protestants but by French, Spanish, or Portuguese Catholics?" asks Huntington. "The answer is clearly no. It would not be the United States; it would be Quebec, Mexico, or Brazil" (Huntington 2004). Despite this historic trajectory, our research suggests that demographic trends, especially those of fertility and migration, are pushing toward a new, pluralistic America in which Catholicism may surpass Protestantism as the nation's leading religion by 2050.

But America's religious plates are also shifting along other fronts. It is generally acknowledged that the Catholic-Protestant divide has lost much of its longstanding potency in American society (Wuthnow 1989). After the 1960s, the rise of an increasingly 'loose-bounded' society, linked to large-scale attitude changes, intensified these transgressive pressures (Bellah and Greenspahn 1987). Religious choices increasingly crossed the once sacrosanct Protestant-Catholic-Jewish boundary, exemplified by declining religious endogamy. Roughly half of young Jews and Catholics marry outside their faith whereas almost 90 percent of Catholics and 94 percent of Jews married within their faith in 1957 (Alba 1990: 14-15; Greeley 1972: 169; Lehrer 1998). The fading of these boundaries has led to convergence among major Christian denominations in class, regional and ethnic composition, though much less so with respect to race (Roof and McKinney 1989; Park and Reimer 2002). Ethnic convergence has been matched by theological divergence, however, as a growing proportion of Americans from a range of ethnoreligious backgrounds either profess evangelical fervour or have left organized religion outright. The latter remains especially important in view of the fact that roughly half (48 percent) the US

population would not currently vote for an atheist for president. The comparable figures for Muslims (38 percent), Homosexuals (37 percent), Jews (6 percent) and Blacks (5 percent) are considerably lower (Gallup 1999). In this article, we find that secularism will continue to grow for several decades, but that traditionalism may emerge as more dominant over the long run.

The Ethnoreligious and Religious Restructuring Schools

The foregoing discussion points to two major schools of thought in the sociology of American religion, the ethnoreligious and the religious restructuring perspectives. The *ethnoreligious* perspective places the emphasis on religious denominations, the religious identities bequeathed by history into which individuals are often born, and which structure the concrete congregations to which individuals belong. Among white Protestants, denominations often sprang from particular class or regional origins, as with working-class Methodism, middle-class Episcopalianism or Southern, rural evangelical Protestantism. There are other social sources as well. “Alongside of the churches of the poor and of the bourgeoisie, ethnic and national churches take their place as further manifestations of the victory of divisive social consciousness over the Christian ideal of unity,” lamented American theologian H. Richard Niebuhr in his classic *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Niebuhr [1929] 1987: 106). The ascriptive aspect to many religious denominations means that they are often linked to this-worldly myths and narratives of origin, i.e., ethnic groups. This is true not only of archetypal diasporas like Jews, Hindus and Armenian Christians, but also of Catholics (linked to Irish, Polish, Southern Europeans and Hispanics), Lutherans (German, Baltic or Scandinavian) and Black Protestants.

Over time, the mobility of American society and the fissiparous nature of American Protestantism helped to remake the American religious landscape into more of a marketplace characterized by choice. Some writers have remarked upon the rise of conservative evangelical Protestantism in the 20th century and the related decline of liberal ‘mainline’ Protestantism within this marketplace. One argument, the ‘strict church’ hypothesis, contends that churches which demand more of members in terms of attendance, belief and participation will retain members and gain converts from those which are less demanding or insufficiently differentiated from secular institutions. (Iannaccone 1994) Recent research offers some support for this theory, since conservative or ‘Fundamentalist’ Protestant denominations retain members far better than mainline ones. On the other hand, others contend that conservative Protestant denominations have outpaced their mainline Protestant rivals for other reasons: higher conservative fertility and mainline secularization rather than significant conversions from mainline denominations have won the day for the evangelicals (Hout, Greeley and Wilde 2001; Sherkat 2001).

The second major perspective, the *religious restructuring* school, emerged in the 1980s and claims that we must look beyond denomination. These scholars maintain that there are traditionalist and modernist camps within all denominations, including Fundamentalist Protestants. Thus we find significant numbers of traditionalist Episcopalians (despite that denomination’s liberal reputation) and liberal Southern Baptists (notwithstanding their reputed conservatism). These measures of theological traditionalism, which cut across the ethnoreligious (i.e., denominational) divide are of increasing importance for politics. In the 2004 US election, for instance, 78 percent of white evangelical Protestants voted Republican, but in one major study,

this figure rose to 87 percent among ‘traditionalist’ evangelicals and fell to just 48 percent among theologically ‘modernist’ evangelicals. Roughly two-thirds of traditionalist Catholics and traditionalist Mainline Protestants in the survey voted for Bush, despite the more liberal bent of their denominations. Indeed, researchers find that over half of George W. Bush’s vote came from theological ‘traditionalists’ of all denominations (Guth et al. 2006). In our analysis, we consider both ethnoreligious denominations, such as Hispanic Catholic and Fundamentalist Protestant,¹ and theological divisions of ‘traditionalist’ and ‘modernist’ which cut across the ethnoreligious denominations.

An important outlier of the religious restructuring perspective concerns the rise of religiously unaffiliated ‘seculars’. The religious restructuring theory is linked with the observation that American religious life is increasingly polarising, as moderate variants of religion yield to the more radical ‘extremes’ of fundamentalist religiosity and secular nonreligiosity. This is most clearly evident in cohort analyses, which demonstrate persistent membership gains posted by the nonreligious at the expense of mainline Protestants over the course of the 20th century (Sherkat 2001: 1485-6; Hout and Fischer 2002). In Europe, most Catholics and Protestants who leave their church become secular (Crockett and Voas 2006). This is not true in the United States, but there has been impressive growth in the American unaffiliated population in the 1990s to 14 percent of the total. Here it is vital to stress that these Americans are professing no religious *affiliation*, even though most of these ‘seculars’ actually continue to hold religious *beliefs* such as the existence of God (Hout and Fischer 2002: 165).

Theories of secularization, which dovetail with the religious restructuring perspective, explain the recent rise of religiously unaffiliated Americans as the consequence of ideational and structural changes associated with modernity. Early versions of the secularization thesis, focusing on ideational change, argued that supernatural religious doctrines lost plausibility with the rise of secular science and learning (Weber, in Gerth and Mills 1946: 155; Marx 1973: 70-71). A different strand of secularization theory emphasizes the impact of structural differentiation, which increasingly draws religious functions like leisure, education, health and welfare into the hands of secular specialist providers. This fragments the lifeworlds of individuals, shrinking and relativizing the importance of religion in their lives (Bruce 2002: 2-43). Though evidence for secularization is strongest in western Europe, some researchers also find that recent trends in the United States provide compelling evidence for the theory (Norris and Inglehart 2004: 92-3). ‘Religious markets’ theorists dispute this finding, citing the relative buoyancy of American religious indicators (Stark and Iannaccone 1994). Others discern a ‘believing without belonging’ pattern, which Robert Putnam attributes to declining social capital rather than any significant change in beliefs or affiliation (Davie 1994; Putnam 2000: 79).

Religious Demography

Sociologists of religion typically focus on the attractiveness of denominations in the religious marketplace. Yet the main source of religious recruits are the children of communicants. Considering the religious as a population allows us to analyze them demographically. “People enter, exit, and move within religion,” remarks David Voas, “just as they are born, will die, and migrate, in life” (Voas 2003: 94). Religious beliefs are also powerful determinants of demographic events such as marriage,

divorce and childbearing (McQuillan 2004; UN 1973). The teachings of most major religions regulate partnership, sexuality and fertility and can affect demographic patterns both explicitly – as with religious leaders’ injunctions against contraceptives and promotion of early marriages, which is related to higher fertility outcomes – and indirectly (e.g., socialization into a group where there is strong emphasis on childbearing).

Important differences can also be found between and within major religions. Among white Christian Americans, Catholics once had a significant fertility advantage over Protestants, but this waned in the second half of the 20th century (Jones and Westoff 1979; Sander 1992). On the other hand, evangelical Protestants have maintained higher fertility rates than those from more liberal Protestant sects during the same period (Roof and McKinney 1989; Lehrer 1996). The same is true for Mormons (Sherkat 2001). By contrast, American Jews have been found to have lower fertility than other ethnoreligious groups (Mosher and Hendershot 1984). One reason for this is the later onset of childbearing for Jews and their higher investment in human capital accumulation. Lehrer’s work with the 1995 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), for instance, finds that the probability of marriage by age 20 is 2 percent for Jews, 9 percent for mainline protestants and 17 percent for fundamentalist Protestants and Mormons (Thornton, Axinn and Hill 1992; Lehrer 2004).

The religious restructuring perspective contends that religious intensity, irrespective of denomination, is critical to politics. We might extend this analysis to fertility. Accordingly, a number of authors have established significant multivariate relationships between measures of religious intensity (such as attendance at worship and prayer) or traditionalism (i.e., belief in biblical literalism, hell or sin) and fertility in developed countries (Adsera 2004; Frejka and Westoff 2006; Berghammer, Philipov, and Sobotka 2006; Kaufmann 2008). To the extent that certain denominations – such as Mormons or Southern Baptists – contain more traditionalists, they tend to be more fertile. But it is important to discriminate between the median theology of denominations, and the variance in theological position of individuals and congregations around their denominational mean. In keeping with the religious restructuring approach, intra-denominational differences may well count for more than inter-denominational ones when it comes to fertility differences.

No discussion of religious demography could be complete without discussing migration. Immigration is a demographic engine of religious change, and tends to increase the religious diversity of a country and challenge dominant denominations. In the US, immigration from largely Catholic Latin America – notably Mexico – helped to mask net defections from Catholicism to Protestantism and secular nonaffiliation (Sherkat 2001). The younger age structure and higher fertility of Latin Catholic immigrants to the United States as compared to Protestants has endowed Catholicism with an additional demographic tool with which to combat its relative disadvantage in the American religious marketplace. As we shall see, both fertility and immigration will play a significant role in the recasting of America’s religious composition in the 21st century.

Projections of Religious Composition

Though the US Census Bureau (USCB) carries out projections by race, the absence of a census question on religious affiliation prevents the bureau from making religious

projections. Even so, the availability of quality longitudinal, survey data in the form of the General Social Survey (GSS, Davis et al. 2007) renders such a study feasible. Nonetheless, no projection of America's religious composition utilizing the cohort-component approach has, to our knowledge, been carried out. The oft-cited World Christian Encyclopedia (WCE) extrapolates the size of religious groups (including seculars), but does not account for the demographic variables of age structure, fertility and immigration, nor the sociological dynamics of religious conversion (Barrett, Kurian and Johnson 2001).

Religious projections using our method have recently been carried out for several other countries. Goujon, Skirbekk and Fliegenschnee (2007) present census-based religious projections for Austria and Switzerland² and find the Christian share to be shrinking in both. The Swiss were more than 95 percent Christian in 1970, but this figure sank to 75 percent in 2000 and will fall to between 42 and 63 percent by 2050. In Austria, the long dominant Roman Catholics decreased to 75 percent in 2001 and are expected to comprise less than half the population by mid-century. In both cases, Christian decline is mainly related to secularization, however, also the growth of non-Christian religions, particularly Islam. Statistics Canada (2005) has made projections for the religious composition of Canada which accounts for fertility and mortality differentials as well as rates of intergenerational religious transmission. But these do not take religious conversion into consideration and only cover the period to 2017, too short a span to capture most demographic effects.

We project the size of America's main ethnoreligious groupings to 2043, taking into account the impact of religion on fertility and the way migration affects religious composition. We also account for conversion and secularization by age and sex as well as the intergenerational transmission of religious affiliation. We find that the US remains a majority Christian country, but with a shifting ethnoreligious composition. Hence the share of Hispanic Catholics, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and seculars increases, while the mainly 'white' religious groups – Liberal, Moderate and Fundamentalist Protestants as well as non-Hispanic Catholics – experience proportional decline. Smith and Kim (2004) recently found that the Protestant share of the American population fell below 50 percent and we envisage a further decline in the Protestant total.

Data

This research relies on a cross-pollination of census and survey data. The principal data source is the GSS. It has been conducted annually from 1972-93 with an interview sample of around 1500 and biennially from 1994 with a sample of 2800.³ It asks respondents about their current religious denomination as well as their denomination at age 16, enabling a measure of religious conversion. It has been used extensively by scholars who have examined longer-term trends in the American religious marketplace. (i.e., Sherkat 2001; Hout, Greeley and Wilde 2001) The GSS classifies largely white (non-African American) Protestant denominations as 'fundamentalist', 'moderate' or 'liberal' according to a schema developed by Smith (1986). It also aggregates denominations into larger religious affiliation categories such as Protestant, Catholic or Other non-Christian. In all cases, we adopt the classifications used by the GSS. This yields eleven major ethnoreligious groups for analysis: Fundamentalist Protestants excluding Blacks (PFU), Moderate Protestants excluding Blacks (PMO), Liberal Protestants excluding Blacks (PLI), Black

Protestants (PBL), non-Hispanic Catholics (CAT), Hispanic Catholics (CHI), Jews (JEW), Hindus and Buddhists (HBU), Muslims (MUS), Other Religions (OTH) and No religion (NOR). Note that the non-Hispanic Catholics, non-black Protestants and No religion groups are overwhelmingly white but not exclusively so. For instance, there are important numbers of Hispanic Protestants and black Catholics. Similarly, the small Asian-American population contains Protestants, Catholics and those of No religion as well as the more obvious Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Others.

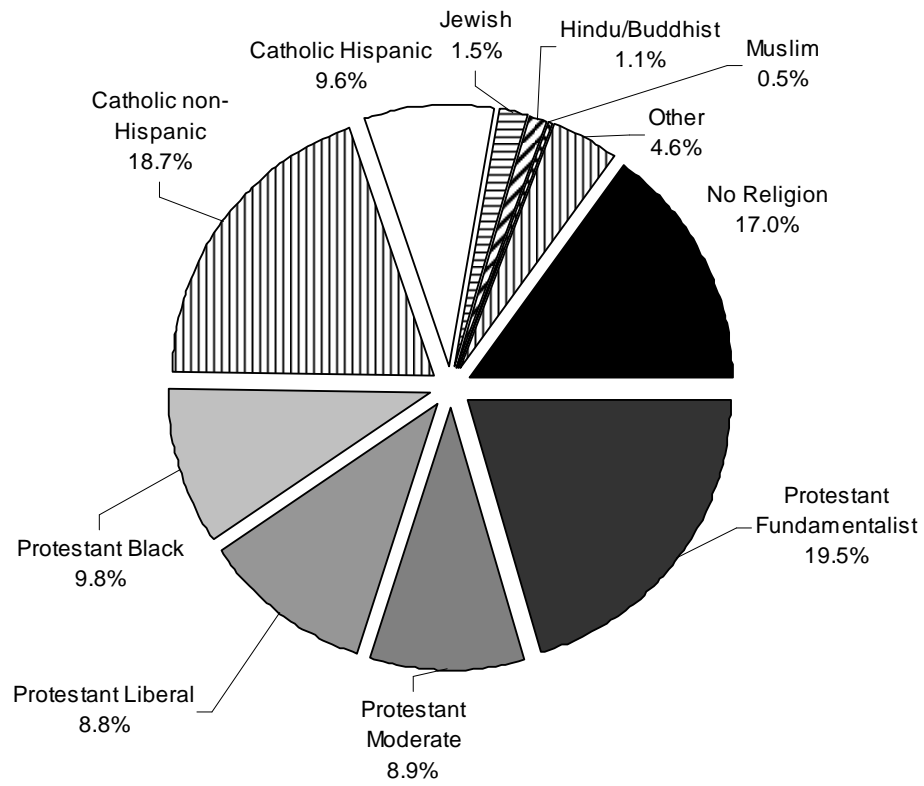
Of course, Muslim, Buddhist/Hindu and Other Religions are extremely small categories (i.e., 1 percent or less), and are undercounted by the GSS, so we rely upon a set of recent Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life surveys which provide precise estimates of their size (Pew 2008; Pew 2007). The GSS similarly undercounts African-Americans and Hispanics, so we weight our data against that from the US census. To ensure that the GSS data is fairly representative we compare its findings to alternative surveys which have been conducted since the year 2000 (Table 1). In general, although the estimates differ, the various surveys present a broadly consistent picture, with about half the population Protestant, a quarter Catholic and about one in eight without religion, with a scattering of smaller groups (Jews, Hindus, Muslims and other religious groups).

Table 1. Religion data by GSS compared with alternative data sources (age 18+) in percent

	Adjusted GSS 2000-2006, N=12674,	PEW (2008), N=3002, Muslim Population: PEW 2007, N=1050	ARIS (2001) Census, N=50281	Baylor Religion Survey (2005) (collected by Gallup), N=1721
Black Protestants	9.6	57 (includes 9 unspecified "Christians")	52.5 (all non Catholic Christians)	5
Fundamentalist Protestant	19.5			33.6
Moderate Protestant	8.9			22.1
Liberal Protestant	8.8			
Catholic non-Hispanic	18.7	23	24.5	21.2
Hispanic Catholic	9.6			
Jewish	1.5	2	1.3	2.5
Hindu-Buddhist	1.1	1	0.9	
Muslim	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.2
Other	4.6	2		4.9
No religious affiliation	17	14	13.2	10.8

The above is reflected in our starting year (2003) data for the population by age, sex and religious affiliation, drawn from the GSS for the years 2000-2006. These years were pooled together in order to increase sample size for the base population (N=12674) and they are the only available survey years that include both minority religions (notably Hinduism and Islam) and a separate Hispanic category. Figure 1 shows the ethnoreligious composition of our base population in 2003, the starting year of our projection.

Figure 1: Share of the 2003 population by religious affiliation



Sources: GSS 2000-2006 and authors' calculations.

Finally, immigration forms a crucial part of the projection, and we introduce an annual addition to each religious group, broken down by age band and sex, based on observed immigration. Annual immigration figures come from the Population Estimates Program of the US Census Bureau (2007). The religious affiliation of immigrants is based on CIA data on source country religious composition (CIA 2008). We assume immigrants are randomly selected in terms of religion in their country of origin, though we accept that there may be instances where immigrants are unrepresentative of their homeland religious composition. Immigrant age structure is derived from a standard schedule (Rogers and Castro 1981).

Methodology

The aforementioned sources provide us with information regarding base population, age structure, fertility, conversion behaviour and immigration. These provide the inputs we need to undertake population projections. For the US, the significant longitudinal component of the GSS (1972-2006) allows us to observe a time series run of conversion and fertility behaviour analogous to annual immigration statistics. These are scenario-based multi-state cohort component projections, carried out with the use of PDE projection software,⁴ a multi-state population projection program. We use initial population by age, sex and ethnoreligious denomination, age- and religion-specific fertility rates, age- and sex-specific mortality rates, and age-, sex- and religion-specific net migration numbers. In addition, a central input into any multi-state projection is the religious conversion rate, such as the secularizing trend from Christianity to No Religion, or conversion from Catholicism to Fundamentalist Protestantism. Questions are asked about denominational affiliation at age 16, which we cross-tabulate with current denominational affiliation to produce an estimate of conversion flows by sex and age band. We employ both expected and alternate scenarios based on varying fertility, conversion and immigration assumptions.

Projection Parameters

Base-year fertility

Fertility differences by religion in the USA were estimated from GSS data on children ever born to women aged 40 to 59⁵ for the period 2000-2006. The differentials were then proportionally adjusted and applied to the TFR reported for 2003 by the US Census Bureau. The data was not sufficient to estimate the age specific schedules of fertility rates. Hence all religious groups follow the age specific fertility schedule as observed at the national level. The estimated religious fertility differentials are given in Table 2. Hispanic Catholics and Muslims have the highest fertility (2.8 children per woman), while Jews have the lowest with 1.4 children. Among Protestants, Black Protestant fertility is highest, at 2.4 children per woman. The two largest 'white' religious categories, non-Hispanic Catholics and Fundamentalist Protestants, have close to replacement fertility (2.1 children) while others and the 'No Religion' groups have much lower TFRs of around 1.65 children per woman, with Jews lowest at 1.43. The relatively low fertility of Hindus and Buddhists may be attributable to very selective migration from India and the Far East.⁶

Table 2: TFR (Total Fertility Rate) by religion, 2003

Religion	TFR
Muslims (MUS)	2.84
Hispanic Catholics (CHI)	2.75
Black Protestants (PBL)	2.35
Fundamentalist Protestants excluding Blacks (PFU)	2.13
Non-Hispanic Catholics (CAT)	2.11
Moderate Protestants excluding Blacks (PMO)	2.01
Liberal Protestants excluding Blacks (PLI)	1.84
Hindus/Buddhists (HBU)	1.73
No religion (NOR)	1.66
Others (OTH)	1.64
Jews (JEW)	1.43
<i>U.S. Population Average</i>	<i>2.08</i>

Sources: Authors' calculations based on GSS 2000-2006 and USCB

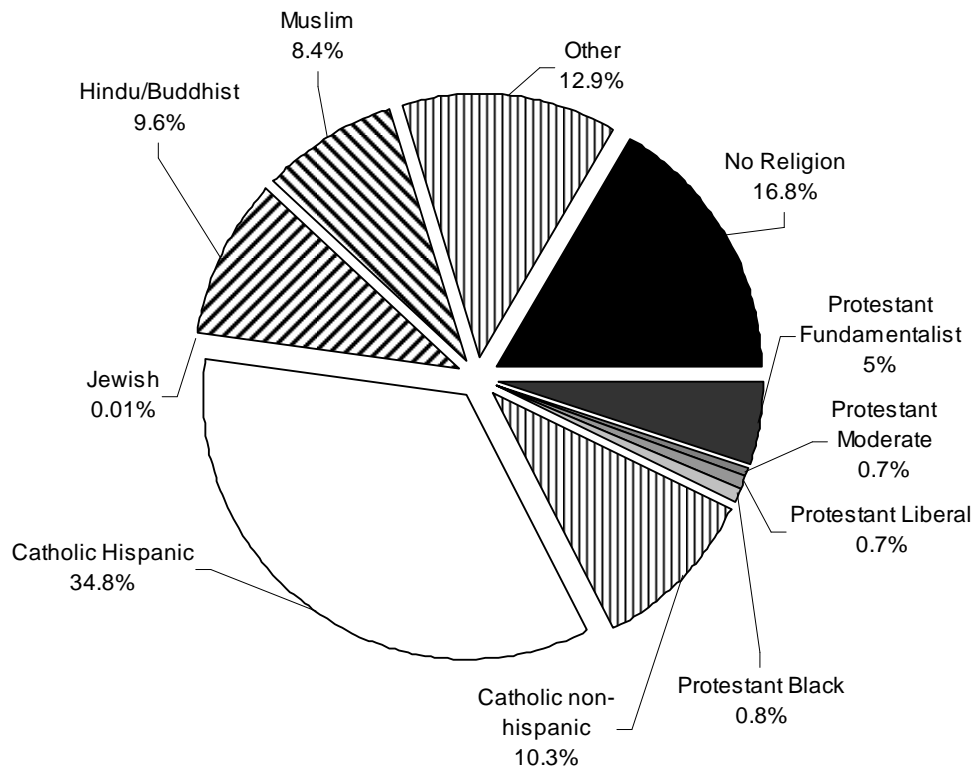
Base-year mortality

Mortality cannot be estimated for each religious group, so we assume a single value for each age group and sex following the estimates of the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), available in Kung et al. (2008).

Base-year migration

The number of immigrants since the 1980s has reached levels unseen since the immigration peak of the early 20th century. Immigration is therefore a key factor in the changing religious landscape of the United States. Yet there are two major difficulties in estimating immigration differentials by religion. One is inherent to the immigration process in the United States where illegal flows from across the Mexican border play an important role. We do not take illegal immigration into account, though a substantial component of legal immigration consists of formerly undocumented immigrants who have been granted amnesty. The second difficulty has to do with the lack of data on the faith of immigrants. We obtained the differentials in the religious affiliation of the immigrants from the starting year (2003) as follows. First, we retrieved the number of persons obtaining legal permanent resident status by region between 2003 and 2006 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2007). We selected the countries of birth of most persons acquiring legal permanent status (all above 5,000 persons per year during the 2003-2006 period).⁷ Next, we used the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook (CIA 2007) to retrieve the shares of the population by religion. Some adjustments were made to fit the CIA data to our specific categories. We treat Latin American Protestants and East Asian Protestants as 90 percent Fundamentalists, 5 percent Moderates and 5 percent Liberals. We treat European Protestants as 50 percent Moderate and 50 percent Liberals. For Canadians, Protestants are divided equally between Fundamentalists, Moderates and Liberals, reflecting the intermediate position of Canadian Protestantism between British and American religious trends. These rates were then applied to the number of persons obtaining legal permanent resident status for the main countries of birth between 2003 and 2006 and aggregated by the 11 religious categories reported in Figure 2. Those shares were then applied to the net number of immigrants for the period 2000-2005 and distributed by age and sex (according to model age schedules of migration).

Figure 2: Share of the 2003-2006 immigrants by religious affiliation



Sources: Authors' calculations based on U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2007) and CIA (2007)

Base-year transitions

Transition rates reflect conversion flows between religions. We based our estimate of transition probabilities between religions (110 possible flows between the 11 religious categories) on comparing religion retrospectively reported for age 16 with current religion. Since we cannot retrieve the age at which the transition to another religion has occurred, we concentrated the transitions equally across three age groups: 15-19, 20-24, 25-29. This is in line with transition patterns observed in other countries (Goujon, Skirbekk and Fliegenschnee 2007). We further assume that men are 6 percent more likely to transit out of their own religion than women. This is based on gender differences among apostates: the proportion who were members of a religion at age 16 but now report not being religious. Moreover, women who were religiously unaffiliated at age 16 are 29 percent more likely to adopt a religion than men from the same (secular) background. Table 3 shows the transition probabilities observed. For example, 15.1 percent of those without religion at age 16 became Fundamentalist Protestants as adults and 11.7 percent of those raised Fundamentalist Protestant transited the other way. Note the substantial losses to secularism (NOR) across all religions, the relative retentive power of the more 'ethnic' Jewish, Black, Hispanic and Muslim groups and the comparative deficit of mainline Protestants (PMO, PLI) and white Catholics (CAT) in exchanges with Fundamentalist Protestants (PFU). This confirms existing scholarship pertaining to religious marketplace trends, as well as insights from the 'strict church' hypothesis (Iannaccone 1994; Sherkat 2001; Hout, Greeley and Wilde 2001).

Table 3: Matrix of Total Transition Probabilities: Religion at age 16 versus Current Religion

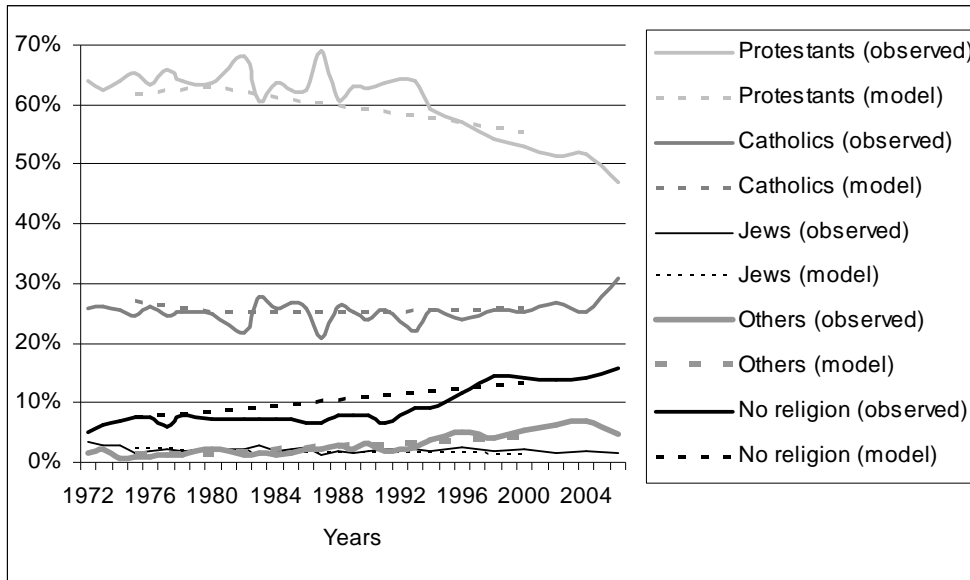
To: From:	PFU	PMO	PLI	PBL	CAT	CHI	JEW	HBU	MUS	OTH	NOR	Total
PFU	67.3	7.7	7.1	0.0	2.7	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	2.9	11.7	100
PMO	9.9	57.8	9.2	0.0	2.6	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.0	4.4	14.9	100
PLI	11.0	7.0	58.9	0.0	4.6	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.0	2.9	15.1	100
PBL	0.0	0.0	0.0	87.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	3.2	7.5	100
CAT	4.4	3.5	3.2	1.2	71.2	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	4.0	11.9	100
CHI	5.6	1.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	81.7	0.1	0.6	0.0	2.6	7.3	100
JEW	1.0	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	80.5	1.1	0.0	0.5	13.8	100
HBU	3.3	7.1	1.3	0.5	5.7	0.0	1.3	55.4	2.4	3.3	19.7	100
MUS	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	71.4	7.1	13.3	100
OTH	8.3	14.0	1.6	4.6	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.4	47.1	19.1	100
NOR	15.1	8.3	6.2	2.0	5.8	0.2	1.5	1.1	0.3	3.6	55.9	100

Sources: Authors' calculations based on GSS 2000-2006

Retrospective Tests

In order to validate the methodology used for the projections, we applied it to historical GSS data to see if we could fit our model to observed data. This was performed for the five main religious categories that were found across all years for which GSS data are available. Simulations using a six year moving average are deployed to produce data from 1975 to 2000. The fertility differentials between religions as well as the religious composition of the immigration flow are based upon those observed in the base-year of our projection. However we make some adjustments for historical data. Assumptions for total fertility (estimated at 1.81 for 1975-1980), mortality and migration (350,000 per annum during 1975-1980) follow the historical data available from the US Census Bureau (for fertility and mortality) and from the UN (2006 - for migration). Transition probabilities were calculated in the same way as mentioned in the previous section, based on comparing religion retrospectively reported for age 16 with current religion for two periods: 1972-1978 and 1992-1998. The results are shown in Figure 3. Our model performs quite well against observed data, predicting of the trend toward a relatively less Protestant and more secular nation. It also shows that the GSS data fluctuates significantly on an annual or biennial basis.

Figure 3: Observed and modelled proportion by 5 main religious categories



Sources: GSS 1972-2006 and authors' calculations

Scenarios

In addition to our expected scenario (H0) based on current trends, seven alternative scenarios were developed; they diverge by the net number of immigrants, the fertility rates of the 11 religious categories and the conversion rates between religions. Table 4 summarizes the assumptions made in the eight scenarios for our 2003-2043 projections.⁸

Table 4: Scenarios matrix

Fertility Differentials	Conversion	Migration			
		<i>Constant</i>	<i>Doubles</i>	<i>Half</i>	<i>Zero</i>
<i>Constant</i>	<i>Constant</i>	H0	H1	H7	H4
	<i>Zero</i>	H3			H5
<i>Converging</i>	<i>Constant</i>	H2			
	<i>Zero</i>				H6

The two alternatives for fertility parameters are constant fertility and converging fertility between religious groups. *Constant* fertility (scenarios H0, H1, H4, H7) holds fertility within each religion constant at the level observed in the base year, 2003 (see Table 2), consistent with the US Census Bureau's constant ethnic fertility differences (Day 1996).

Note that the overall American TFR may change as a result of religious compositional effects, especially in the case of increased immigration (which increases the weight of high fertility Hispanic Catholics) and constant fertility differentials. This would see the aggregate American TFR increase from 2.08 in 2003 to 2.2 in 2043. *Converging* fertility (scenarios H2, H6) assumes that fertility by religion converges to a TFR of 2.1 children by 2033-2038, and remains constant thereafter. This TFR is slightly lower than the medium variant of the US population projection which envisions this figure increasing to 2.19 in 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau 2004) We further assume that children have the same religion as their mothers, regardless of the type of union, mono-religious or mixed. This is a problematic assumption in Europe, where mixed unions often lead to secularism, but not in the American case.

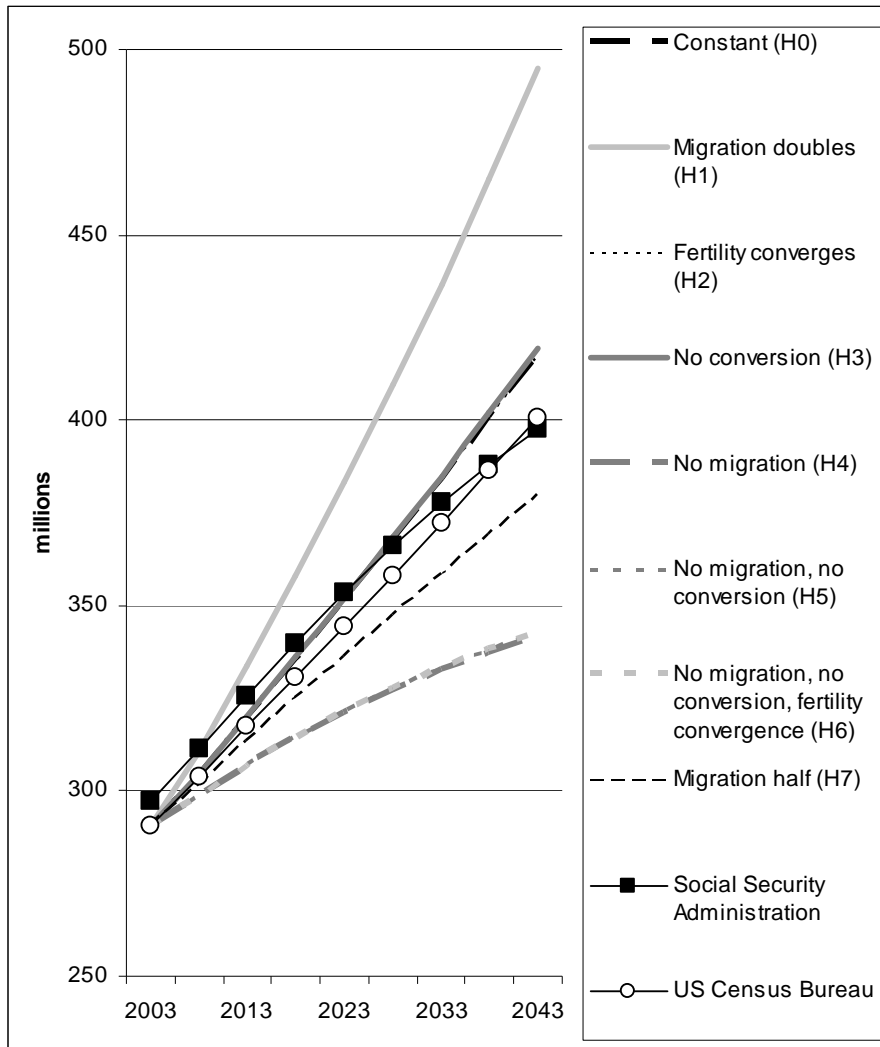
With respect to immigration, there are four possible pathways. *Constant* migration (scenarios H0, H2, H3) involves the net number of immigrants to the US remaining constant at 1.2 million per year until the end of the projection period (value from UN 2006 for 2005-2010). *Double* migration (scenario H1) assumes that net immigration will double the constant immigration flow from the start, resulting in an annual influx of 2.4 million per annum between 2003 and 2043. The current congressional debate over immigration reform may lead to legislation which dramatically reduces the number of immigrants entering the country. Under the *half* migration scenario (H7), the net number of immigrants will be half the constant migration figure (600,000 per year). We also run a number of *zero* migration scenarios (H4, H5, H6), partly to gauge the impact of immigration versus other drivers of projection outcomes. In all immigration scenarios, the share of immigrants by religious denomination stays constant at the levels estimated for the starting period as shown in

Figure 2. As regards conversion between religions, there are two options. The first is a *constant* conversion assumption which fixes transition probabilities at the levels observed during 2000-2006 with children inheriting the religious category of their mothers and summarized in Table 3. The second is *zero* conversion, which assumes no religious transition. Zero conversion also assumes that children inherit the religious category of their mothers but without the possibility of converting to another religion during their lifetime.

Results

Our eight scenarios produce significantly different total fertility rates for the American population. We expect an upward trend in fertility over the projection period as more fertile religions expand. The overall TFR varies significantly – between 2.10 and 2.16 – due to changes in the religious structure of the population. US population size is first and foremost affected by immigration (Figure 4). If immigration remains constant, the population size reaches 420 million in 2043. Notice that this is approximately in line with official projections from the USCB and Social Security Administration, which hover around the 400 million mark in 2043⁹. If immigration doubles, we project a US population of 495 million, halving the immigration flow produces a final-year population of 380 million and zero immigration leads to a population of 342 million, 78 million less than in the constant immigration scenario. Immigration also affects the population size through its effect on fertility levels since the religious composition of the immigrants differs from that of the resident population. This is mainly due to the increase in the proportion of high fertility Hispanic Catholics in the population. Conversion likewise affects population size partly because Hispanic Catholics convert to lower fertility secular or Protestant groups – hence in the absence of secularization and conversion (H3), there will be 2 million more Americans in 2043 than under our constant conversion (H0) scenario which holds secularization and conversion rates to base year levels.

Figure 4: Total population, United States of America, 8 scenarios and projection results from Social Security Administration and Census Bureau, 2003-2043



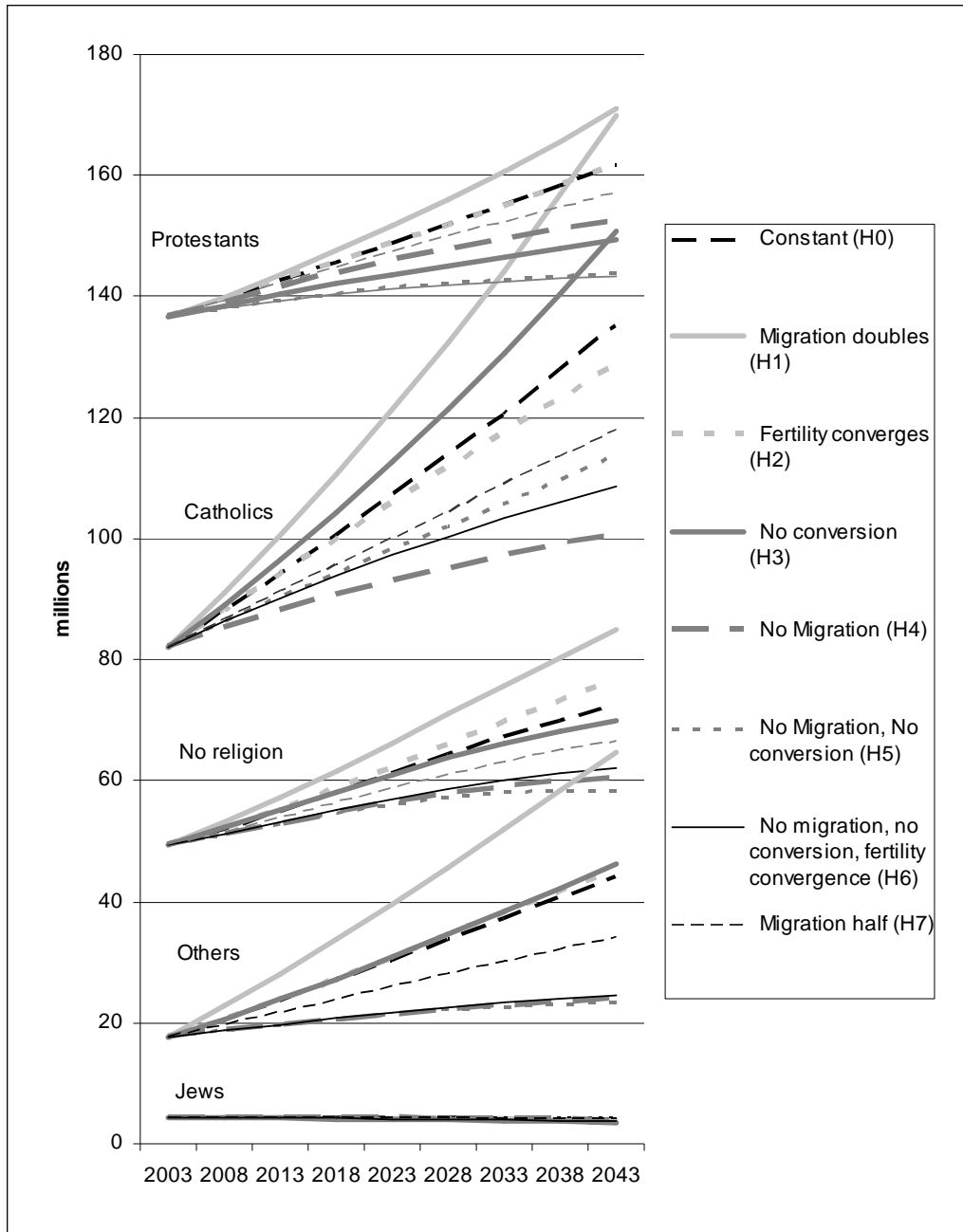
Source: Authors' calculations; US Census Bureau (UCSB), Social Security Administration (SSA)

Figure 5 shows the projected trend for five meta-religious groups. Under all scenarios, Protestants, Catholics, those from Other religions and the nonreligious are expected to grow in absolute terms, while the Jews, due to low immigration and low fertility, are expected to decline slightly. In terms of the religious composition of the American population in 2043, the constant immigration/fertility differential/conversion rate scenario (H0) predicts that Protestants will decrease from 47 percent to 39 percent as Catholics rise from 28 percent to 32 percent. Other religions will almost double, from 6 percent to 11 percent, the unaffiliated 'secular' population increases slightly from 16 to 17 percent while the Jews decline but remain above 1 percent of the population.

The difference between H0 (constant conversion rates) and H3 (no conversion) shows that today's conversion trends mainly benefit the Protestant and Secular groups. Religious conversion reduces the number of Catholics (relative to no conversion) by 15.5 million and those from Other religions by 2 million. Conversely, seculars increase by 3 million through conversion and Protestants by 12.5 million. If fertility differentials and immigration remain at today's levels, but there is no religious conversion (H3), the Catholic population would exceed that of Protestants – a symbolic moment in American history! Even under our constant assumption (H0), Catholics in younger age cohorts will outnumber their Protestant counterparts by 2043 and take over some time in the second half of the 21st century. This would principally be due to higher Hispanic Catholic fertility and immigration. If immigration continues at today's pace (H0), there will be 35 million more Catholics in 2043 than would have been true without immigration (H4). Protestants, by contrast, gain only 9 million adherents through immigration in the same period. Other religions gain 20 million and seculars 12 million through immigration.

We have largely discussed trends in ethnoreligious change, but one finding has considerable implications for the religious restructuring paradigm. Recall that this paradigm stresses the effect of trans-denominational processes like secularism or traditionalism. This theory would predict a continued hollowing out of the religious centre in favour of fundamentalism and secularism. However, while seculars do grow as predicted, we find powerful demographic limits to secularism under the constant (H0) scenario. In spite of considerable gains through the secularization (conversion) of members from religious groups, the share of the population comprised of secular nonaffiliates plateaus before the end of the projection period. In effect, low secular fertility is sufficient to reverse the secularization process at the aggregate level! This is an extremely important result in that it demonstrates the power of demography to reverse secularization even in developed societies. (Kaufmann 2008) This may lead us to question the widely shared view that secularization is an inevitable handmaiden of the modernization process.

Figure 5: Population Size by Religion for Five Meta-Religious Categories



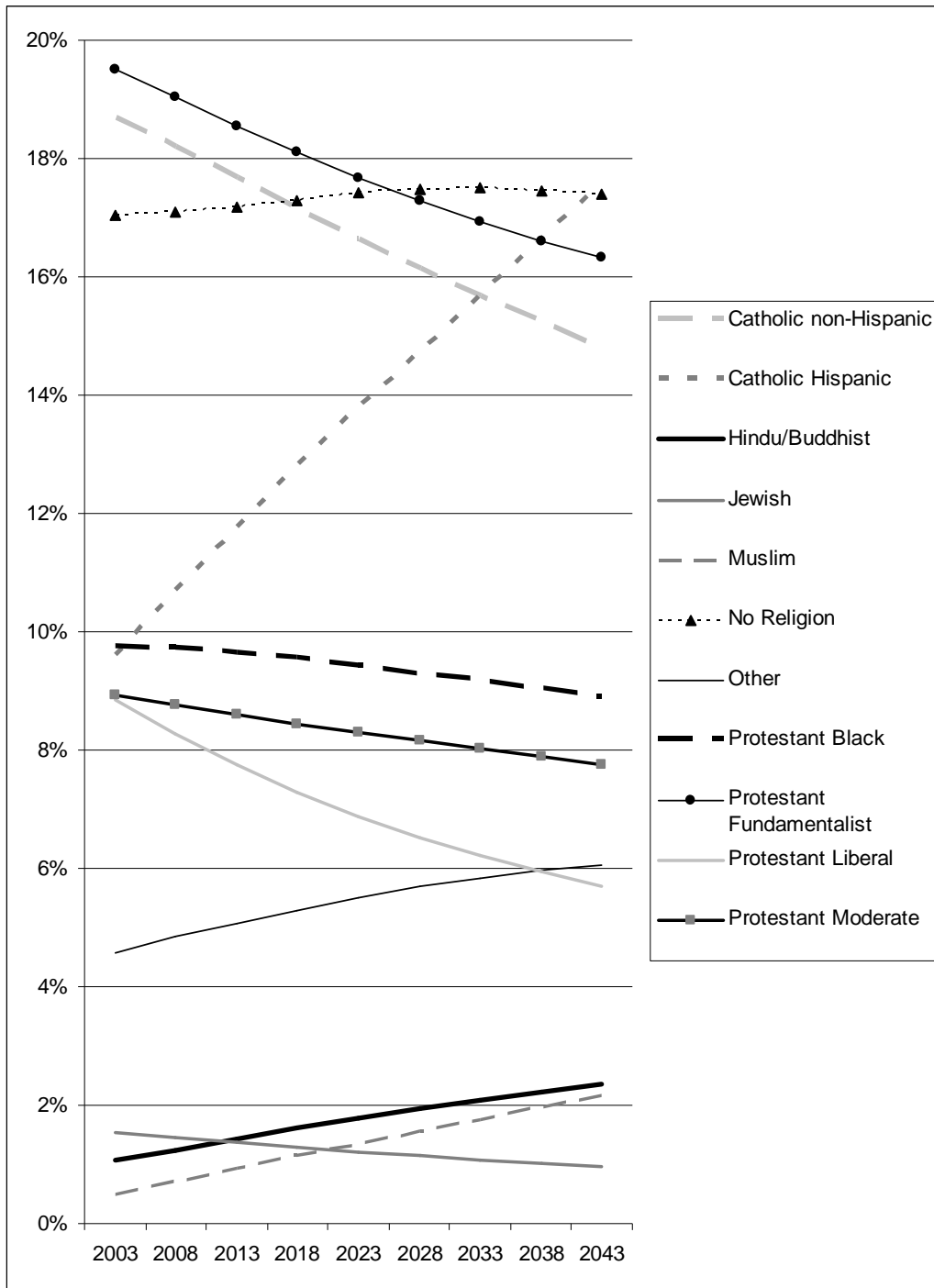
Note: The dotted lines represent scenarios H0 to H7, the thick lines represent the average value of scenarios H0 to H7

Source: Authors' calculations

We now move beneath meta-religious groups to consider the relative position of our 11 main ethnoreligious categories. Detailed information for all scenarios is available in the Appendix Tables A1 and A2. Figure 6 depicts the projections based on the constant (conversion/immigration/fertility differentials) scenario (H0), where the most rapid changes take place among Hispanic Catholics, who almost double from roughly 10 percent in 2003 to 18 percent in 2043. Along the way, they surpass the two largest 'white' religious groups, Fundamentalist Protestants and Catholics. 'White' (i.e. non-Hispanic) Catholics decline in the same period from 19 percent to 15 percent. In addition, all Protestant groups – Fundamentalist, Moderate, Liberal and Black – lose market share towards the end of the projection. The secular proportion of the population, as noted, peaks in 2033 and declines somewhat towards the end of the period as the long-term effects of low secular fertility kick in.

Nevertheless, we find that the most committed parties in the 'culture wars' that divide America, Fundamentalist Protestants and those without religion, trade places over this period. Fundamentalist Protestants, 78 percent of whom supported George W. Bush as president in 2004, decline from 19.5 percent to 16.7 percent. Those without religion, just 28 percent of whom backed Bush, increase slightly from 17 to 17.4 percent, surpassing Fundamentalist Protestants in 2033. Hispanic Catholics lean democratic by a 48:20 ratio, thus the increasingly secular and Hispanic Catholic American religious map should favour the Democrats in the coming decades (Guth et al. 2006). A glimpse of what may transpire comes from California, whose trends tend to foreshadow those of the nation as a whole. During 1980-2003, rapid ethno-demographic change helped transform the state from a white (non-Hispanic) majority to a white minority. Along the way, it changed from a finely-balanced battleground state into a 'natural' Democratic one (Korey and Lascher 2006: 58, 61). However, while seculars and Hispanic Catholics are Democrat-leaning, the latter are far more conservative in their social attitudes. In this sense, Hispanic Catholics resemble white working-class Democrats and reinforce the median American political profile which has held since 1954: conservative but Democratic (Box-Steffensmeier and De Boef 2001). Though ideology has been coming into alignment with partisanship in recent decades as the main parties distinguish themselves more clearly along ideological lines, Hispanic immigration will work in the opposite direction to maintain dissonance between ideology and partisanship (Abramowitz and Saunders 2006).

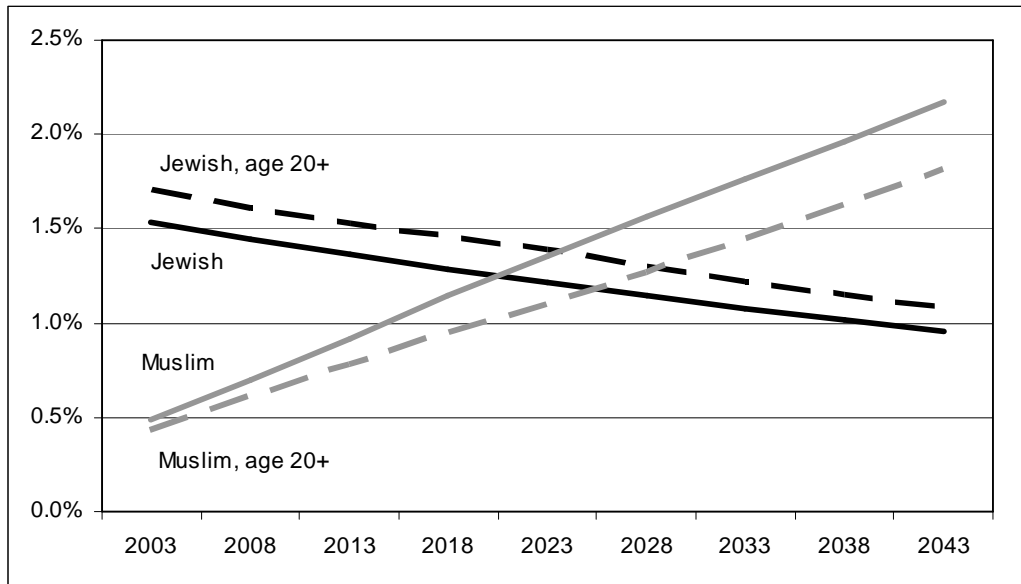
Figure 6: Share of Total Population for 11 Religious Categories (Constant (H0) scenario)



Source: GSS; Author's calculations

Meanwhile, Other non-Christian religions, Muslims and Hindus/Buddhists increase their share of the population throughout the period. The balance between Muslims and Jews (Figure 7) is especially noteworthy in view of their differing views on American foreign policy. We expect to see Muslim Americans overtake Jews by 2020 within the population and 2028 within the electorate. The power of the Israel lobby is largely attributed to extra-Jewish forces such as Christian Zionism or partially Jewish ones like neoconservatism (Mearsheimer and Walt 2006) and also derives from the substantial presence of Jews within the American elite. This may insulate it from demographic change. Even so, Muslim America's eclipse of Jewish America will register in the nation's consciousness and could affect America's foreign policy calculus.

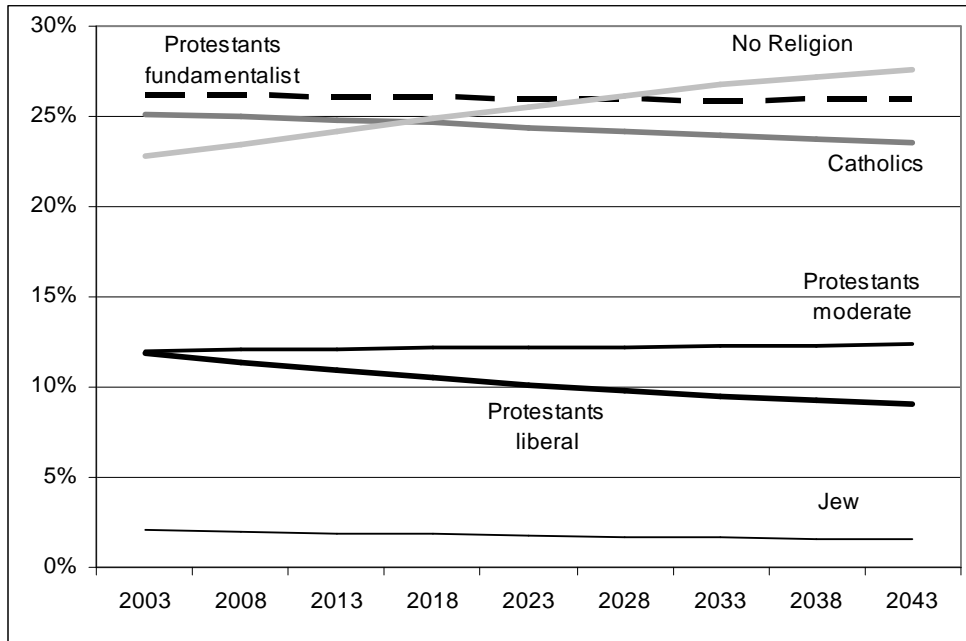
Figure 7. Proportion of Jews and Muslims in the American Population and Electorate (Constant (H0) Scenario)



Source: GSS; Author's calculations

Whites are disproportionately represented in the American electorate, media and power structure. They thereby merit closer scrutiny. Figure 8 shows trends within the white (non-Hispanic) population. We begin by noting the relative strength of Liberal Protestants and seculars within the white, as compared to the total population. Whites are affected least by immigration but most by secularization. During the projected period, seculars increase their share of the white population substantially. Moderate and Fundamentalist Protestants retain their positions, while Jews, Catholics and Liberal Protestants decline. These trends owe something to the religious restructuring which is polarising Liberal Protestants and white Catholics toward secularism and fundamentalism. Low Jewish and Liberal Protestant fertility also account for some of the trend. We may surmise that these patterns will enhance the secular tint of the American white elite and may deepen the divisions between religion and secularism which characterize the so-called 'culture wars' (Hunter 1991; Fiorina, Abrams and Pope 2005). Curiously, relaxed immigration, a liberal *cause célèbre*, actually works to curb secularizing tendencies in the population at large.

Figure 8: Religious Composition of the 'White' Population, 2003-2043 (constant (H0) scenario)



Source: GSS; Authors' calculations

Secularism or Fundamentalism?

Much of our discussion thus far has turned upon ethnoreligious change. This is understandable as ethnoreligious groups are more sociologically 'real' than the theological and ideological positions which cut across ethnoreligious lines and constitute the battle lines in the nation's 'culture wars'. The one exception in our projections is secularism, a force which affects all religions and represents a theological extreme along a continuum that runs to fundamentalism at its opposite end. Interestingly, 56 percent of those claiming to be raised secular at age 16 remained so as adults. This retention rate is in line with ethnoreligious groupings like Liberal and Moderate Protestants or Hindus/Buddhists. The American national election study (ANES) has been running biennially since 1948. Examining over 18000 cases from the period 1954-2004, the NES finds that 56 percent of Republican identifiers and 73 percent of Democrats had parents of the same partisan orientation (ANES 2008). In fact, the log odds of retaining one's party identification between adolescence and adulthood are slightly better than the odds of remaining Irish-American in identity throughout one's life, though worse than Italian or Hispanic (Green, Palmquist and Schickler 2002: 75-9). Furthermore, recent research in political science claims that ideological attachments as 'liberal' or 'conservative' are now as stable as party identities (Abramowitz and Saunders 2006). We therefore have good grounds for believing that parents' religious attitudes influence those of their children, hence we may begin to simulate what happens to attitudinal 'populations'.

Be that as it may, we must bear in mind some important caveats. First, there is no single measure of 'traditionalist-modernist' religious attitudes in the GSS or other large-scale surveys. Scholars working in this field tend to devise their own questions or use factor analyses and indices to derive a single measure of traditionalism (Guth et al. 2006). Secondly, the GSS provides no clue about conversion trends between attitudes at age 16 and adulthood. Indeed, attitudinal data begins only at adulthood and cannot be verified against census data. Nevertheless, the GSS provides information on age structure over age 18 as well as fertility differences across particular religious attitudes. We can also examine the way cohort attitudes change over time, allowing for some cohort-life cycle discrimination. Finally, we can approximate attitudes to immigrants by matching to those of 'Other' race (the bulk of future immigrants) in the GSS for 2000-2006.¹⁰ On this basis, we can perform projections.

Table 5 shows that religious attitudes map quite well onto our eleven ethnoreligious categories, with Jews the most modernist and Fundamentalist Protestants the most traditionalist. Of course, the two items do not perfectly correlate, so we must be careful not to assume an unproblematic 'traditionalism'. From our previous analysis, we might speculate that the modernism of the slow-growing secular population cannot match the traditionalism of the fast-growing Hispanic Catholics on the abortion issue. On the other hand, there is considerable intra-group variation, lending credence to the importance of a religious restructuring perspective and an independent projection of attitudinal populations.

Table 5. Ethnoreligious Categories by Religious Attitude in percent

	<i>Anti-Abortion</i>	<i>Anti-Homosexuality</i>
Jewish	28	7
Hindu/Buddhist	33	13
No Religion	37	12
Other non-Christian	50	21
Muslim	55	33
Liberal Protestant	55	23
Moderate Protestant	59	27
'White' Catholic	64	20
Black Protestant	66	30
Hispanic Catholic	72	24
Fundamentalist Protestant	74	33
Total	59	24

Source: GSS 2000-2006

Recall that theological differences and measures of religious intensity are generally better predictors of voting behaviour than membership of ethnoreligious groups. In this perspective, it is telling that fertility differences are also greater when we examine differences by religious attitude. For example, Table 6 shows that the fertility difference (TFR) between Liberal and Fundamentalist Protestant categories is just 15.7 percent. White Catholic and Moderate Protestant fertility lies in between the two groups. As questions begin to tap religious restructuring dimensions which juxtapose secularism and religious traditionalism, the fertility gap grows. In addition, the fertility gap between traditionalists and modernists has been widening steadily over time (Table 7).

The same consistent pattern can be demonstrated for ideological self-identity in the GSS as conservative, moderate or liberal, with self-identified conservatives having 0.94 the fertility of liberals in the 1970s, 1.13 in the 1980s, 1.19 in the 1990s and 1.28 in the 2000-2006 period. This confirms the predictions of second demographic transition theory that values are an increasingly important determinant of fertility in post-industrial society (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 2007; van de Kaa 1987).

Table 6. Total Fertility Rate by Religious Attitudes, 2003

	Fundamentalist vs. Liberal Protestant	Fundamentalist vs. No Religion	Homosexuality Always Wrong (Y/N)	Abortion Always Wrong (Y/N)
Traditionalist TFR	2.13	2.13	2.50	2.47
Modernist TFR	1.84	1.66	1.98	1.83
Difference in percent	16	28	52	64

Source: GSS 2000-2006

Table 7. Traditionalist-Modernist Fertility Gap, Children Ever Born (CEB) for Women 40-59

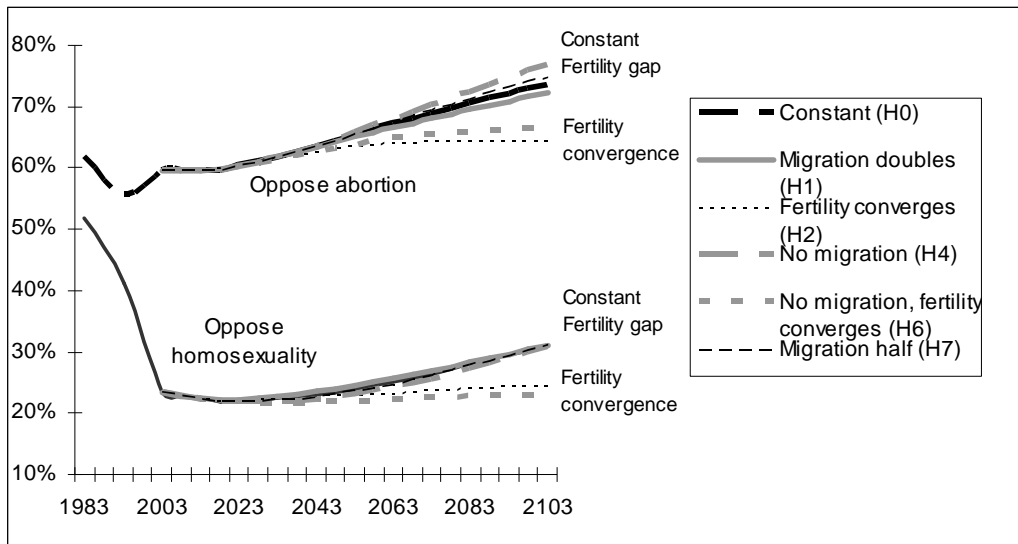
	Abortion Always Wrong (Y/N)	Homosexuality Always Wrong (Y/N)
pre-1985	1.22	1.11
1986-95	1.28	1.16
1996-2006	1.38	1.21

Source: GSS 1972-2006

Higher traditionalist fertility and the immigration of Hispanic Catholics intimate that the US will become a more traditionalist society. However, attitudes – especially toward homosexuality – have been changing in a modernist direction among younger age cohorts. The GSS permits us to identify this as principally a cohort rather than life-cycle effect. We therefore assume a continued mild cohort effect in a modernist direction. We project the American population to remain predominantly modernist on the homosexuality question until the 2020s due to the younger age structure of the tolerant population. The proportion opposed to homosexuality is, however, expected to begin to rise gently after the 2020s because of higher traditionalist fertility and the immigration of Hispanics, who are slightly more conservative than average (28% opposed) on this question. Also the proportion of anti-abortionists in the population grows due to their fertility and immigration advantage, acting to counter modernising forces (see Figure 9). Notwithstanding these findings, it is important to bear in mind the somewhat fuzzier nature of these projections - as compared to the earlier ethnoreligious ones - given our reliance on cohort trends rather than data on attitude shifts between age 16 and adulthood. This in addition to the usual caveats about the possibility for sociologically-induced attitude changes which can take place far more swiftly than demographic shifts.

In the very long run, fertility differences become more important, and if traditionalists are able to maintain their current fertility advantage, they will begin to increase their share of the population beyond 2050. Projections over a century are of course fraught with uncertainty and must be treated with caution. However, as Figure 9 shows, if current fertility trends continue, the United States will be almost three-quarters (74.4%) pro-life by 2103. This is entirely a demographic effect, for should the fertility of pro-life and pro-choice Americas converge by 2103, this number would be 13 percent lower (65.7%). Opinion on the homosexuality question will also become more traditionalist, with almost 30 percent opposed by 2103, reversing some of the trends of the twentieth century. If traditionalists lose their fertility advantage over modernists, this gain would not materialize at all. Whether immigration stalls, doubles or stays the same makes little difference to both attitudes in the very long run.

Fig. 9 Projected Trends in Opinion Under Various Scenarios



Conclusions

The US Census Bureau has, for some time, published projections of the racial composition of the American population to 2050 which show that a majority of Americans will be non-‘white’ by 2050.¹¹ This so-called ‘browning of America’ has entered the public lexicon, but we have no similar awareness of what is happening with religion because of the lack of a census question on the subject. This study provides the first ever cohort-component projection of the main religious groups in the United States. It is based on the General Social Survey, census immigration statistics and Pew small religious group data and projects the size of religious groups to 2043. Two principal axes of debate may be identified in the social scientific literature on religion. The ethnoreligious school emphasizes the importance of religious groups as ascribed social collectivities. The religious restructuring or ‘culture wars’ paradigm contends that what really counts are measures of theological traditionalism or modernism which cut across major religious groups. This perspective views ethnoreligious boundaries as in demise and foresees a polarization of the population along traditionalist vs. modernist lines.

Our work unearths key findings which support elements of both paradigms. In terms of ethnoreligious trends, we find considerable stability of religious groups over time. Hispanic Catholics experience the strongest growth rates. Immigration, high fertility and a young age structure will enable this group to expand from 10 to 18 percent of the American population between 2003 and 2043, despite a net loss of communicants to other groups. This will power the growth of Catholics as a whole, and they will surpass Protestants by mid-century if losses from conversion are stanching or immigration doubles. In any event, Catholics will outnumber Protestants within the youngest age cohorts by 2043. This represents a historic moment for a country settled by anti-Catholic Puritans, whose Revolution was motivated in part by a desire to spread dissenting Protestantism and whose population on the eve of revolution was 98 percent Protestant. Another important development concerns the growth of the Muslim population and decline of the Jews. High Muslim fertility and a young Muslim age structure contrasts with low Jewish childbearing levels and a mature Jewish age structure. However, migration is the most important factor in Muslim growth in the coming decades. Therefore, barring an unforeseen shift in the religious composition and size of the immigrant flow, Muslims will surpass Jews in the population by 2023 and the electorate by 2028. Only an improbable shift in immigration policy or in fertility patterns could forestall this demographic shift, which could have profound effects on the course of American foreign policy. Within the non-Hispanic white population, we expect to see continued Liberal Protestant decline due to low fertility and a net deficit in conversion. White Catholics will also lose due to a net outflow of converts. Fundamentalist and Moderate Protestant denominations will hold their own within the white population, but are set to decline as a component of the national total.

Our work also sheds light on elements of the religious restructuring paradigm, though we do not find a clear victor between secularism and fundamentalism. First of all, the secular population will grow substantially, largely because of religious apostasy and the young age structure of the secular population. The sharpest gains for secularism will be found within the white population, but the low fertility of secular

Americans and the religiosity of the immigrant inflow provide a countervailing force which will cause the secularization process within the total population to plateau before 2043. This represents an important theoretical point in that demography can overpower the social forces driving secularism. We also find evidence for second demographic transition effects in that fertility differentials between those holding traditionalist and modernist attitudes on the questions of abortion and homosexuality are substantial and appear to be growing wider. These fertility differentials are more impressive than the analogous differences between Fundamentalist and Liberal Protestants. Those of 'other' race (Hispanic and Asian) are more traditional than the average American on questions of abortion and homosexuality. Younger Americans are more modernist on the homosexuality question, though not on questions pertaining to abortion. Nonreligious Americans are more modernist on all questions. The blend of these rising segments produces stability on the homosexuality issue and a slight increase in the proportion opposed to abortion. However, in the very long run, i.e. to 2100, the fertility advantage of traditionalists points toward a more conservative society. This of course assumes no significant exogenous cultural changes take place during the twenty-first century. Given that we cannot predict exogenous cultural change, these projections provide a useful baseline for exploring the future of the American religious landscape.

Political scientists have established important relationships between membership in ethnoreligious groups and voting behaviour. Our work would suggest that Democratic-leaning ethnoreligious groups will grow in the decades ahead. However, from a religious restructuring perspective, the balance in the culture wars will remain stable or swing slightly toward the traditionalist side, powered by Hispanic immigration and higher conservative fertility. All of which should reinforce the historic American pattern whereby the median voter identifies as a conservative Democrat.

References

- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Kyle L. Saunders. 2006. 'Exploring the Bases of Partisanship in the American Electorate: Social Identity vs. Ideology', *Political Research Quarterly*, 59 (2):175-187.
- Adsera, A. 2004. 'Marital Fertility and Religion: Recent Changes in Spain'. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA) Discussion Paper 1399.
- Alba, Richard D. 1990. *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- ANES. 2008. American National Election Study, 1948-2004 Cumulative Data File. www.electionstudies.org/studypages/download/datacenter_all.htm
- ARIS 2001. American Religious Identification Survey. The Graduate Center of the City University of New York. www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris.pdf
- Barrett, D., G. Kurian, and T. Johnson. 2001. *World Christian Encyclopedia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baylor Religion Survey 2005. American Piety in the 21st century. www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/33304.pdf

- Bellah, Robert N., and Frederick Greenspahn, eds. 1987. *Uncivil Religion: Interreligious Hostility in America*. NY: Crossroad Publishing Co.
- Berghammer, C, D. Philipov, and T. Sobotka. 2006. Religiosity and demographic events: a comparative study of European countries. In *paper delivered at European Population Conference (EPC), Liverpool, 2006*.
- Beschloss, Michael 2002. *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany 1941-1945* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., and Suzanna De Boef. 2001. 'Macropartisanship and Macroideology in the Sophisticated Electorate', *The Journal of Politics* 63 (1):232-248.
- Bruce, Steve. 2002. *God is Dead*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency). 2007. *World Fact Book*.
www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html
- Crockett, A. and D. Voas. 2006. "Generations of Decline: Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 45(4).
- Day, Jennifer Cheeseman, Population Projections of the United States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1995 to 2050, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P25-1130, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1996 <http://www.census.gov/prod/1/pop/p25-1130.pdf> , p. 112
- Davie, Grace. 1994. *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Davis, James A., Tom W. Smith, and Peter V. Marsden. GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEYS, 1972-2006 [CUMULATIVE FILE] [Computer file]. ICPSR04697-v2. Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center [producer], 2007. Storrs, CT: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut/Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributors], 2007-09-10.
- Fiorina, Morris, Samuel Abrams, and Jeremy Pope. 2005. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Frejka, T., and C. F Westoff. 2006. 'Religion, religiousness and fertility in the U.S. and in Europe', Rostock: MPDR Working Paper WP-2006-013.
- Gallup 1999. *Americans Today Much More Accepting of a Woman, Black, Catholic, or Jew As President* Gallup 29. March 1999.
www.gallup.com/poll/3979/Americans-Today-Much-More-Accepting-Woman-Black-Catholic.aspx
- Gerth, H.H., and C. Wright Mills. 1946. *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goujon, A., V. Skirbekk and K. Fliegenschnee. 2007. "New times, Old Beliefs: Investigating the future of religions in Austria and Switzerland", *Work session on demographic projections – Bucharest, 10-12 October*
epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-RA-07-021/EN/KS-RA-07-021-EN-TOC.PDF
- Greeley, Andrew M. 1972. *The Denominational Society : a Sociological Approach to Religion in America*. Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman & Co.

- Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Guth, James, Lyman A. Kellstedt, Corwin E. Smidt, and John C. Green. 2006. "Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (2):223-42.
- Haug, W. and P. Wanner. 2000. "The Demographic Characteristics of Linguistic and religious Groups in Switzerland." In: W. Haug, P. Compton, and Y. Courbage (Coordinators). *The Demographic Characteristics of National Minorities in Certain European States*. Vol.2. Population Studies 31. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Hout, M, and Claude Fischer. 2002. "Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations." *American Sociological Review* 67 (2):165-90.
- Hout, M., A. Greeley, and M. Wilde. 2001. "The Demographic Imperative in Religious Change in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 107 (2):468-500.
- Hunter, James. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Huntington, S. 2004. *Who Are We? The Cultural Core of American National Identity*. New York & London: Simon and Schuster.
- Iannaccone, L. 1994. "Why Strict Churches Are Strong." *American Journal of Sociology*, 99:1180-211.
- Jones, E.F. and C.F. Westoff. 1979. 'The End of Catholic Fertility', *Demography* 16(2): 209-218.
- Kaufmann, Eric. 2004. *The Rise and Fall of Anglo-America: The Decline of Dominant Ethnicity in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kaufmann, Eric. 2008. "Human Development and the Demography of Secularisation in Global Perspective." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 4.
- Kiviat, B. 2005 . "Chasing Desi Dollars" *Time* (in partnership with CNN). www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1079504-1,00.html
- Korey, John, and Edward Lascher. 2006. 'Macropartisanship in California', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70 (1):48-65.
- Kung HC, Hoyert DL, Xu JQ, Murphy SL. 2008. 'Deaths: Final data for 2005. National vital statistics reports'; vol 56 no 10. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics.
- Lehrer, Evelyn.1996. 'Religion as a Determinant of Fertility,' *Journal of Population Economics* 9: 173-196.
- _____. 1998. "Religious Inter-marriage in the United States: Determinants and Trends" *Social Science Research*, Volume 27, Issue 3, September 1998, Pages 245-263.

- _____. 2004 "Religion as a Determinant of Economic and Demographic Behavior in the United States", *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Dec., 2004), pp. 707-726
- Lesthaeghe, R., and J Surkyn. 2007. "When History moves on: The Foundations and Diffusion of a Second Demographic Transition". In *International Family Change: Ideational Perspectives*, edited by R. Jayakody, A. Thornton and W. Axinn. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lutz, W., A. Goujon, S. K.C., W. Sanderson (2007) "Reconstruction of Populations by Age, Sex and Level of Educational Attainment for 120 Countries for 1970-2000". Vienna Yearbook of Population Research Volume 2007.
- Marx, Karl. 1973. *The Revolutions of 1848*. London: Penguin.
- McQuillan, K. 2004. "When does religion influence fertility?" *Population and Development Review* 30(1): 25-56.
- Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy". In *KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series: John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University*.
- Mosher, William D. and Gerry E. Hendershot. 1984. 'Religion and Fertility: A Replication'. *Demography* 21(2): 185-192.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. [1929] 1987. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith.
- Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Park, Jerry Z., and Samuel H. Reimer. 2002. "Revisiting the Social Sources of American Christianity, 1972-98." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (4):733-46.
- Pew, Forum on Religion & Public Life and the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. 2008. "Demographic Portrait of US Population." Washington, DC: Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life and the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.
- Pew, Forum on Religion and Public Life. 2007. "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream." Washington, DC.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Rogers, A., and L.J. Castro. 1981. "Model Migration Schedules." *IIASA Research Report-81-30*, Laxenburg, Austria: International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.
- Roof, Wade Clark, and William McKinney. 1989. *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Sander, W. 1992. "Catholicism and the economics of fertility". *Population Studies* 46(3): 477-89.
- Sherkat, Darren E. 2001. "Tracking the Restructuring of American Religion: Religious Affiliation and Patterns of Religious Mobility, 1973-1998." *Social Forces* 79 (4):1459-93.

- Skirbekk, V. 2008. 'Trends in Fertility by Social Status', *Demographic Research* 18(5): 145-180.
- Smith, T.W. and S. Kim. 2004. "The Vanishing Protestant Majority." *GSS Social Change Report* No. 49. Chicago: NORC/University of Chicago. www.norc.uchicago.edu/issues/PROTSGO8.pdf.
- Smith, Tom W. 1986. "Classifying Protestant Denominations." Chicago: NORC.
- Stark, Rodney, and Laurence R. Iannaccone. 1994. "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3):230-52.
- Statistics Canada 2005. "Population projections of visible minority groups, Canada, provinces and regions 2001-2017", *Demography Division Catalogue no. 91-541-XIE*, www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/91-541-XIE/91-541-XIE2005001.pdf
- Thornton, Arland, William, G. Axinn, and Daniel H. Hill. 1992. Reciprocal Effects of Religiosity, Cohabitation, and Marriage. *American Journal of Sociology* 98(3): 628-651.
- U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 2007. "Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2006" Washington, D.C. U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Available online [11/07/2008] at: www.dhs.gov/ximgt/statistics/publications/LPR06.shtm
- UN. 2006. *World population prospects 2006*. New York, NY: United Nations.
- UN. 1973. "The determinants and consequences of population trends. New Summary of Findings on Interaction of Demographic, Economic and Social Factors." Vol I. United Nations. New York.
- US Census Bureau. 2004. "Interim Projections of the U.S. Population by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin". Washington, DC: US Census Bureau.
- US Census Bureau. 2007. "Population Estimates Program." Washington, DC: US Census Bureau.
- van de Kaa, Dirk. 1987. Europe's Second Demographic Transition. *Population Bulletin* 42 (1):1-57.
- Voas, D. 2003. Intermarriage and the Demography of Secularisation. *British Journal of Sociology* 54 (1):83-108.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1989.

ERROR: undefined
OFFENDING COMMAND: F2S5DYFFFFF
STACK: