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The Age Gap in Religion Around the World

By several measures, young adults tend to be less religious than their elders; the opposite is rarely true

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Conrad Hackett, Associate Director of Research

Stephanie Kramer, Research Associate

Anna Schiller, Communications Manager

202.419.4372

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This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Research Team

Conrad Hackett, *Associate Director of Research*

Anne Fengyan Shi, *Senior Researcher*

Joey Marshall, *Research Associate*

Urooj S. Raja, *Intern*

Sara Hodgson, *Intern*

Alan Cooperman, *Director of Religion Research*

Stephanie Kramer, *Research Associate*

Juan Carlos Esparza Ochoa, *Data Manager*

Patricia Tevington, *Intern*

Editorial and Graphic Design

Michael Lipka, *Senior Editor*

Dalia Fahmy, *Senior Writer/Editor*

Bill Webster, *Information Graphics Designer*

Jeff Diamant, *Senior Writer/Editor*

Aleksandra Sandstrom, *Copy Editor*

Communications and Web Publishing

Stacy Rosenberg, *Associate Director, Digital*

Anna Schiller, *Communications Manager*

Travis Mitchell, *Digital Producer*

Jessica Pumphrey, *Communications Associate*

Others at Pew Research Center who provided research guidance include James Bell, Gregory A. Smith, Neha Sahgal and Jacob Poushter. Former Pew Research Center staff member Geneive Abdo also contributed to this report.

Pew Research Center received valuable advice on this report from: Vern Bengston, emeritus professor of gerontology and sociology at the University of Southern California; Joseph Bulbulia, professor in the school of humanities at the University of Auckland; Michele Dillon, professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of New Hampshire; Helen Hardacre, professor of Japanese religions and society in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilization at Harvard University; Landon Schnabel, sociology doctoral candidate at Indiana University-Bloomington; Philip Schwadel, professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln; and Anna Sun, associate professor of sociology head of the Department of Sociology at Kenyon College.

While the analysis for this report was guided by our consultations with the advisers, Pew Research Center is solely responsible for the interpretation and reporting of the data.

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The Age Gap in Religion Around the World

By several measures, young adults tend to be less religious than their elders; the opposite is rarely true

In the United States, religious congregations have been graying for decades, and young adults are now much less religious than their elders. Recent surveys have found that younger adults are far less likely than older generations to [identify with a religion](#), believe in God or engage in [a variety of religious practices](#).

But this is not solely an American phenomenon: Lower religious observance among younger adults is common around the world, according to a new analysis of Pew Research Center surveys conducted in more than 100 countries and territories over the last decade.

Although the age gap in religious commitment is larger in some nations than in others, it occurs in many different economic and social contexts – in developing countries as well as advanced industrial economies, in Muslim-majority nations as well as predominantly Christian states, and in societies that are, overall, highly religious as well as those that are comparatively secular.

For example, adults younger than 40 are less likely than older adults to say religion is “very important” in their lives not only in wealthy and relatively secular countries such as Canada, Japan and Switzerland, but also in countries that are less affluent and more religious, such as Iran, Poland and Nigeria.

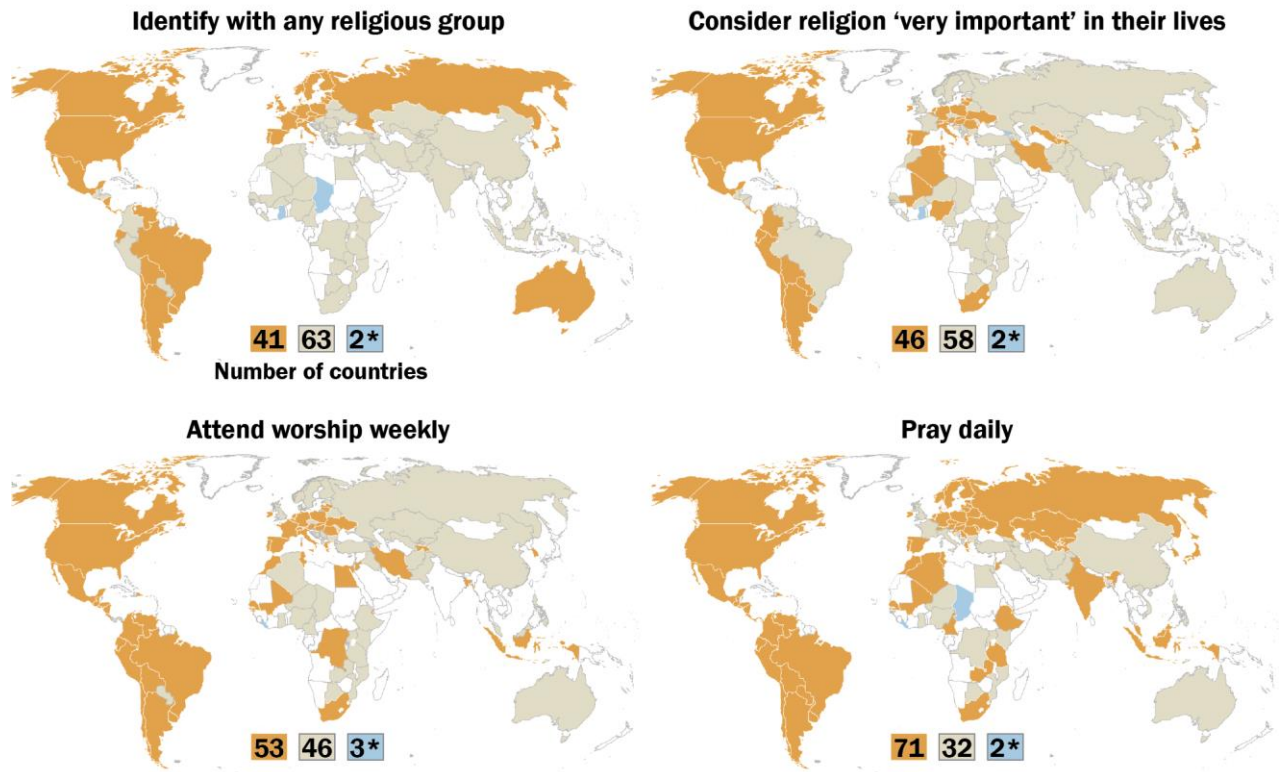
While this pattern is widespread, it is not universal. In many countries, there is no statistically significant difference in levels of religious observance between younger and older adults. In the places where there is a difference, however, it is almost always in the direction of younger adults being less religious than their elders.

Same pattern seen over multiple measures of religious commitment

Overall, adults ages 18 to 39 are less likely than those ages 40 and older to say religion is very important to them in 46 out of 106 countries surveyed by Pew Research Center over the last decade. In 58 countries, there are no significant differences between younger and older adults on this question. And just two countries – the former Soviet republic of Georgia and the West African country of Ghana – have younger adults who are, on average, more religious than their elders. (For theories about why younger adults often are less religious, see Chapter 1. For a discussion of some of these exceptions, see the sidebar on page 40.)

Younger adults tend to be less religious than older adults in many countries

- Countries where **younger people** (ages 18-39) are less religious
- No difference
- Countries where **older people** (ages 40+) are less religious
- No data



*Countries in which older people are less religious than younger people. **Religious affiliation:** Chad, Ghana. **Importance of religion:** Georgia, Ghana. **Attendance:** Armenia, Liberia, Rwanda. **Prayer:** Chad, Liberia.

Note: The number of countries with available data varies by measure.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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Similar patterns also are found using three other standard measures of religious identification and commitment: affiliation with a religious group, daily prayer and weekly worship attendance.

In 41 countries, adults under 40 are significantly less likely than their elders to have a religious affiliation, while in only two countries (Chad and Ghana) are younger adults more likely to identify with a religious group. In 63 countries, there is no statistically significant difference in affiliation rates.

Younger adults are less likely to say they pray daily in 71 of 105 countries and territories for which Pew Research Center survey data are available, while they are more likely to pray daily in two countries (Chad and Liberia). And adults under 40 are less likely to attend religious services on a weekly basis in 53 of 102 countries; the opposite is true in just three countries (Armenia, Liberia and Rwanda).

While the number of countries with a significant age gap shows how *widespread* this pattern is, it does not give a sense of the *magnitude* of the differences between older and younger adults on these measures.

In many countries, the gaps are relatively small. Indeed, the average gap between younger adults and older adults across all the countries surveyed is 5 percentage points for affiliation, 6 points for importance of religion, 6 points for worship attendance and 9 points for prayer.

But a substantial number of countries have much bigger differences. There are gulfs of at least 10 percentage points between the shares of older and younger adults who identify with a religious group in more than two dozen countries – mostly with predominantly Christian populations in Europe and the Americas. For example, the share of U.S. adults under age 40 who identify with a religious group is 17 percentage points lower than the share of older adults who are religiously affiliated. The gap is even larger in neighboring Canada (28 points). And there are double-digit age gaps in affiliation in countries as far flung as South Korea (24 points), Uruguay (18 points) and Finland (17 points).

A note on averages

To help make sense of an enormous pool of data, this report sometimes cites global averages of country-level data. In calculating the averages, each country is weighted equally, regardless of population size. Global averages, therefore, should be interpreted as the average finding among all countries surveyed, not as population-weighted averages representing all people around the world.

Age gap in affiliation most common in predominantly Christian countries

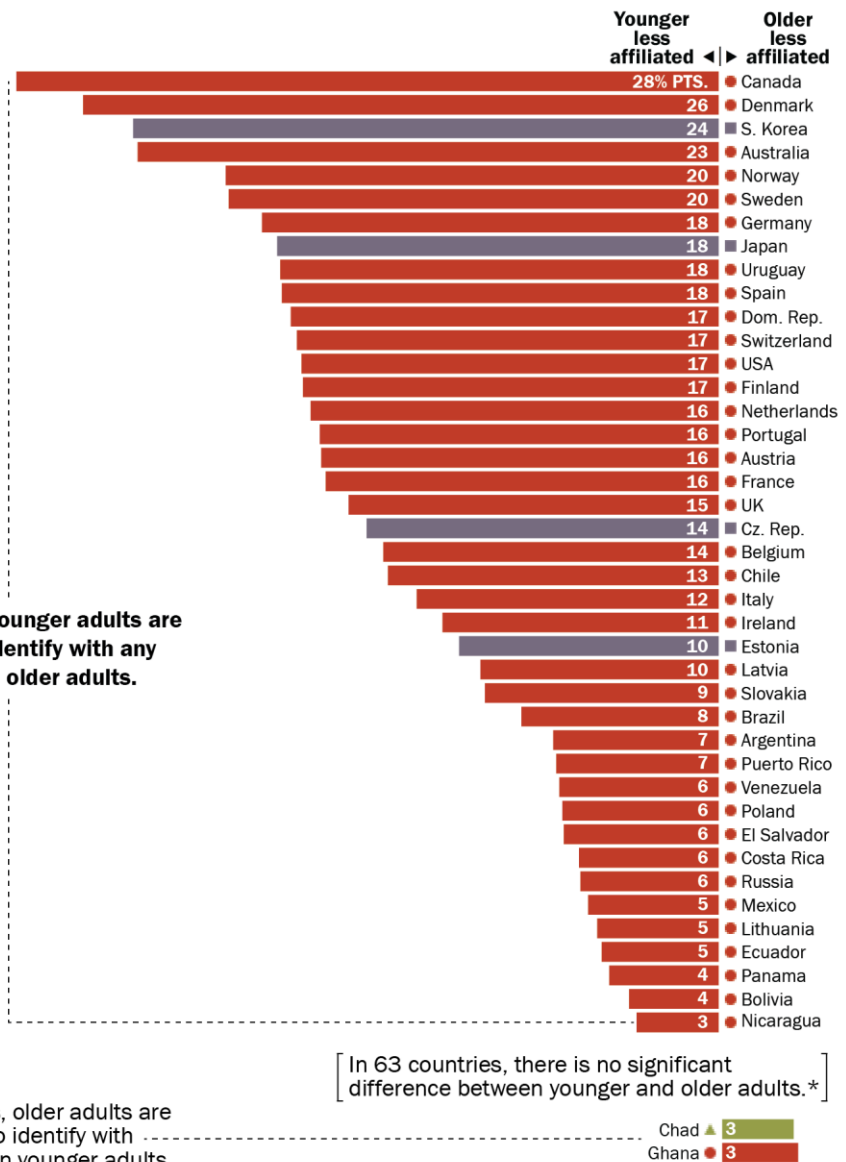
Percentage-point differences in shares of younger (ages 18-39) and older adults (ages 40+) who identify with any religion

- Largest religious group in country
- Christians
 - ▲ Muslims
 - Unaffiliated

In 41 countries, younger adults are less likely to identify with any religion than older adults.

In two countries, older adults are less likely to identify with any religion than younger adults.

[In 63 countries, there is no significant difference between younger and older adults.*]



*These include the following countries. **Christians are largest religious group:** Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Colombia, Croatia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Georgia, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Kenya, Liberia, Moldova, Mozambique, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Serbia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Ukraine and Zambia; **Muslims are largest religious group:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Palestinian territories, Senegal, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey and Uzbekistan; **Unaffiliated are largest religious group:** China; **Folk religions are largest religious group:** Vietnam.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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Differences among regions, religions

Age gaps are more common in some geographic regions than others. For instance, in 14 out of 19 countries and territories surveyed in Latin America and the Caribbean, adults under age 40 are significantly less likely than their elders to say religion is very important in their lives. This is also the case in about half of the European countries surveyed (18 out of 35), and in both countries in North America (the U.S. and Canada; Mexico is included in the figures for Latin America).

On the other hand, in sub-Saharan Africa, where overall levels of religious commitment are among the highest in the world, there is no significant difference between older and younger adults in terms of the importance of religion in 17 out of 21 countries surveyed.

Age gaps are also more common within some religious groups than in others. For example, religion is less important to younger Christian adults in nearly half of all the countries around the world where sample sizes are large enough to allow age comparisons among Christians (37 out of 78). For Muslims, this is the case in about one-quarter of countries surveyed (10 out of 42).

Among Buddhists, younger adults are significantly less religious in just one country (the United States) out of five countries for which data are available. There is no age gap by this measure among Jews in the U.S. or Israel, or among Hindus in the U.S. or India.¹

In multiple geographic regions and religions, younger adults less likely to say that religion is very important in their lives

Number of countries with each outcome, by region and religion

	Religion less important to younger adults	Religion less important to older adults	No significant difference
Overall	46	2	58
Asia-Pacific	5	0	15
Europe	18	1	16
Latin America	14	0	5
Middle East-North Africa	4	0	5
North America	2	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	3	1	17
Christians	37	1	40
Muslims	10	0	32
Unaffiliated	8	2	19
Hindus	0	0	2
Buddhists	1	0	4
Jews	0	0	2

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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¹ For some major world religions, data are available only in a small number of countries. For example, when it comes to importance of religion, Pew Research Center has large enough sample sizes to distinguish between older and younger Jews only in the United States and Israel, and among Hindus only in the U.S. and India (though there were also enough Hindus surveyed in Bangladesh to include them in statistics about overall religious commitment). But in the survey data that are available for five major world religions (Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and Jews) and the religiously unaffiliated population globally, it is rare for adults under 40 to be *more* religious than older adults within any religious group.

Do age gaps mean the world is becoming less religious?

The widespread pattern in which younger adults tend to be less religious than older adults may have multiple potential causes. Some scholars argue that people naturally become more religious as they age; to others, the age gap is a sign that parts of the world are secularizing (i.e., becoming less religious over time). (For a detailed discussion of theories about age gaps and secularization, see Chapter 1.)

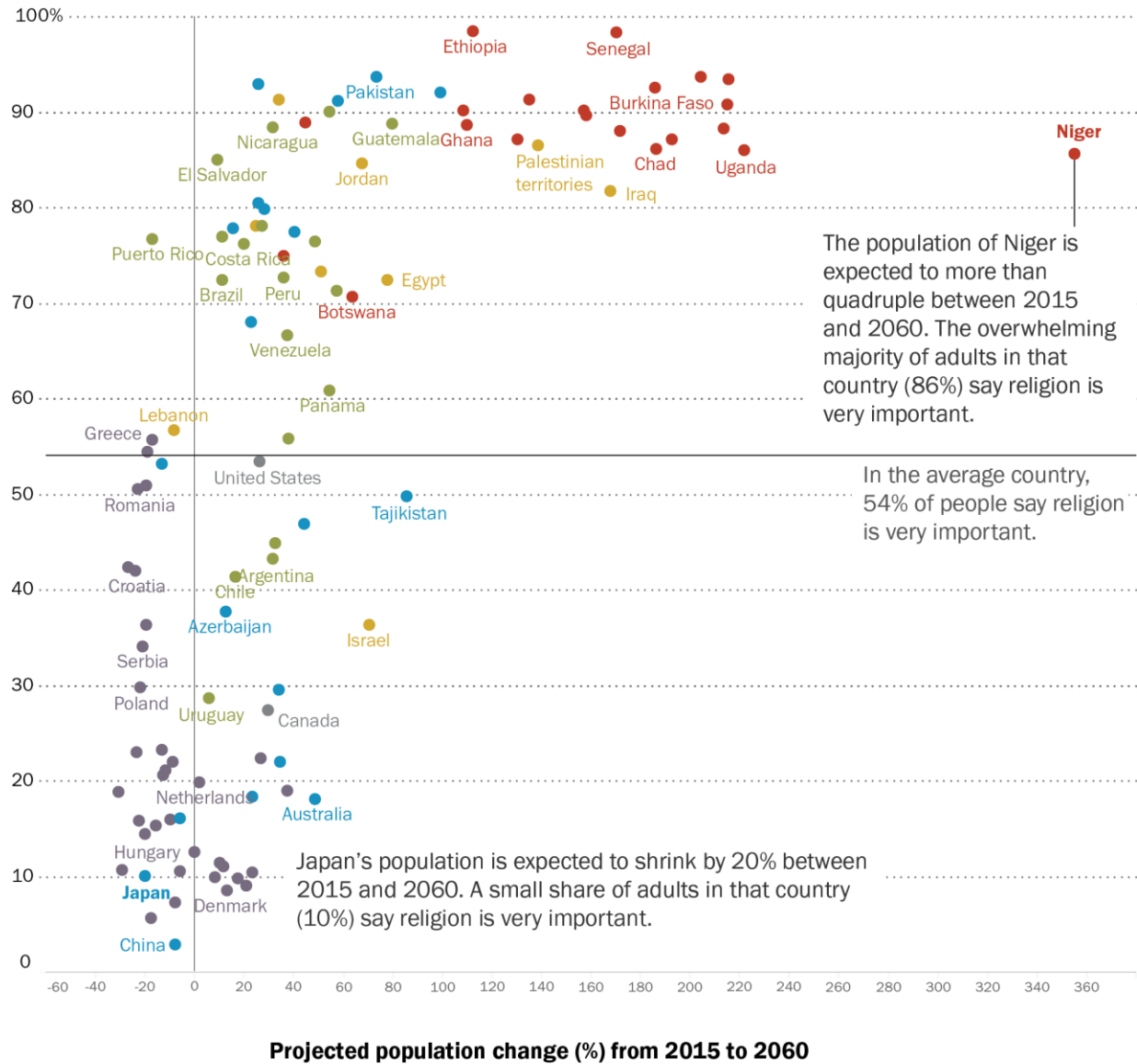
But even if parts of the world are secularizing, it is not *necessarily* the case that the world's population, overall, is becoming less religious. On the contrary, the most religious areas of the world are experiencing the fastest population growth because they have high fertility rates and relatively young populations.

Previously published projections show that if current trends continue, countries with high levels of religious affiliation will grow fastest. The same is true for levels of religious commitment: The fastest population growth appears to be occurring in countries where many people say religion is very important in their lives.

The fastest-growing countries are highly religious, while those with shrinking populations tend to be less religious

■ Asia-Pacific ■ Europe ■ Latin America-Caribbean ■ Middle East-N. Africa ■ North America ■ Sub-Saharan Africa

% of adults who say religion is very important in their lives



Note: Graphic shows 105 of 106 countries and territories surveyed; United Nations does not report population projections for Kosovo.
 Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017. Population projections from United Nations Population Division, 2017.
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These are among the key findings of a new Pew Research Center analysis of surveys collected over the last decade in 106 countries. The data analyzed in this report come from 13 different Pew Research Center studies, including annual [Global Attitudes Surveys](#) as well as major studies on religion in [sub-Saharan Africa](#); the Middle East and other [countries with large Muslim populations](#); [Latin America](#); the [United States](#); [Central and Eastern Europe](#); and [Western Europe](#).

The number of countries analyzed varies by measure and type of comparison. While data are available for as many as 106 countries depending on the measure, the number of countries with reliable data on a particular religious group depends on the size of that group in each country's sample. For example, there are sufficient data to gauge the importance of religion among Christians in 84 countries, and the sample sizes are large enough to compare responses among older and younger Christians in 78 of those 84 countries.

Another limitation is that the measures of religious observance contained in many surveys around the world and analyzed in this report may not be equally suitable for all religious groups. In particular, rates of prayer and attendance at worship services are generally seen as reliable indicators of religious observance within Abrahamic faiths (Christianity, Islam and Judaism), but they may not be as applicable for Buddhism, Hinduism and other Eastern religions. Because of these disparities, this report does *not* seek to compare levels of religious commitment between the world's major religions (e.g., to compare Christians with Buddhists or Muslims). Rather, the primary focus is on age differences *within* religious groups and *within* countries or geographic regions (e.g., comparing younger Christians with older Christians, or younger Indonesians with older Indonesians).

This study, produced with funding from The Pew Charitable Trusts and the John Templeton Foundation, is part of the Pew-Templeton [Global Religious Futures](#) project, a broader effort to understand religious change, including the demographic patterns shaping religion around the world. Previous reports have focused on [gender and religion](#), [religion and education](#) and [population growth projections](#) for major world religions.

The rest of this report looks in more detail at both age gaps in religious commitment (Chapter 2) and overall levels of religious commitment around the world (Chapter 3), by four standard measures: religious affiliation, importance of religion, attendance and prayer. Appendixes detail the methodology and sources used, and include tables that show each of the four measures for every country surveyed with data for overall levels of religious commitment, figures for adults over and under 40, age gaps for the total population and age gaps by religious group. But, first, Chapter 1 examines theories about *why* levels of religious observance vary so markedly across different age groups and different parts of the world.

1. Why do levels of religious observance vary by age and country?

Social scientists have proposed various explanations for age gaps in religious commitment around the world. One common explanation is that new generations become less religious in tandem with economic development – as collective worries about day-to-day survival become less pervasive and tragic events become less frequent. According to this line of thinking, each generation in a steadily developing society would be less religious than the last, which would explain why young adults are less religious than their elders at any given time.

Rising education levels are often closely tied to economic development. Some theorists suggest education could reduce religious identity and practice, although empirical findings about the relationship between education and religion are complex.² In societies where access to education is spreading and the average number of years of schooling is rising, younger generations tend to receive more education than their parents and grandparents did. Directly or indirectly, this increase in education could be part of why younger adults are less religious.

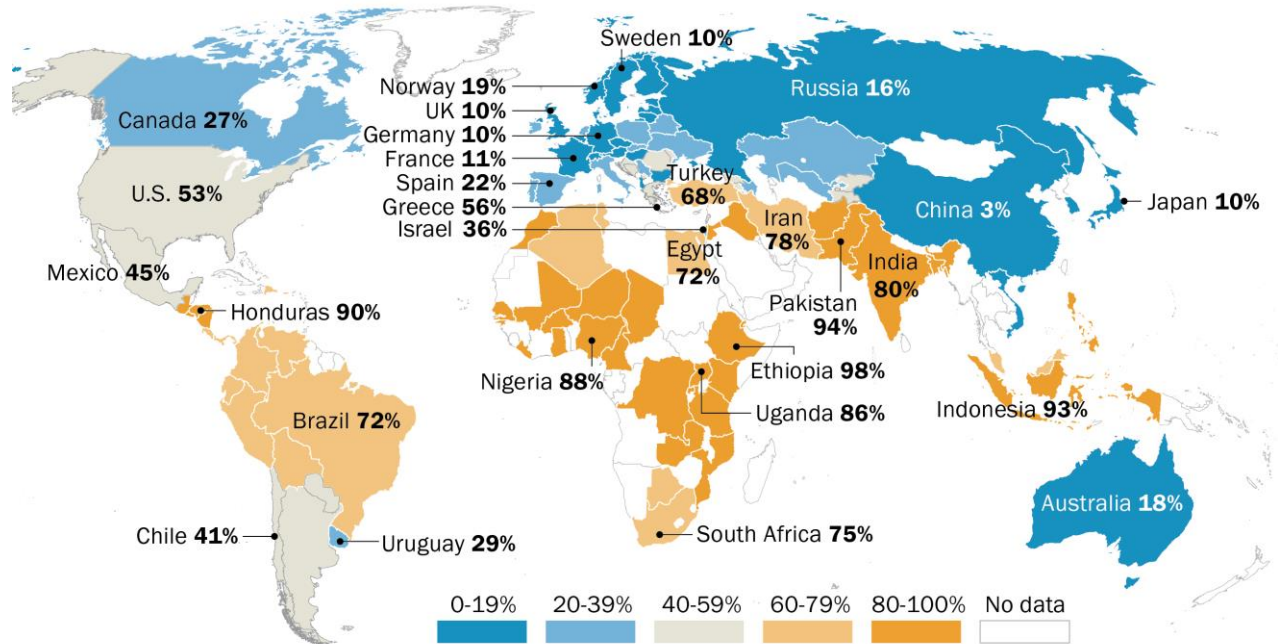
Another theory is that differences in religious commitment reflect change during the life course. Although young adults often start out less religious than their elders, they tend to become more devout as they age, have children and begin to face their own mortality (or so the theory suggests).

These explanations are not mutually exclusive – it is possible that young people will become more religious as they age, but will still be less religious than previous generations if their countries become more affluent and stable. Pew Research Center surveys and other international data provide some evidence for both societal and life-course influences on religious commitment.

² For example, among U.S. adults overall, more education is linked with lower levels of religious commitment. But looking solely at U.S. Christians, those who are highly educated are, by some measures, *more* religious than Christians with less education. See the April 2017 Pew Research Center report [“In America, Does More Education Equal Less Religion?”](#)

Religion is very important to people in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, Latin America

% who say religion is very important in their lives



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008 to 2017.
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The 'existential insecurity' explanation for variation in religion

Variations in religious commitment also can be attributed to differences in the way countries – and often whole regions – developed historically, and how each society practices religion. Even though these differences do not directly explain the existence of age gaps, they affect how successive generations experience religion and respond to questions about observance.

As the map above shows, the countries with the highest shares of people who say religion is very important in their lives are in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Latin America, while those with the lowest shares are in Europe, North America, East Asia and Australia.

This has led many researchers to observe that people in poorer parts of the world are, on average, more religious than those in societies with advanced economies.³ Other indicators of economic development – such as education, life expectancy and income equality – also tend to align with measures of religious commitment.

Pew Research Center data show, for example, a clear correlation between life expectancy at birth in a country and the percentage of its people who attend religious services weekly. That is, the higher the life expectancy in a country, the less likely people are to attend services frequently.

Political scientists Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, examining findings from the [World Values Survey](#), attribute the pattern of higher religious commitment in poor places to stark differences in existential insecurity – that is, the degree of safety and security people feel as they go about their daily lives.⁴

As their theory goes, in places where people face a constant threat of premature death due to hunger, war or disease, feelings of vulnerability tend to drive people to religion, which in turn provides hope and reduces anxiety. In countries with advanced economies, meanwhile, people are more likely to feel safe – in part because technology and infrastructure investments in these societies have helped people overcome many common health problems, cope with severe weather, and deal with other types of emergencies that can cause existential anxiety. Norris and Inglehart contend that people in these countries rely less on religion for emotional support or for explanations of the unknown.

When new cohorts of adults grow up in societies with greater existential security than their parents had – as may be the case in a country with improving economic conditions – young adults may drift away from religion, producing the age differences described in this report. By the same token, a *decline* in existential security within a country that falls into civil war or some other calamity could help to explain some of the exceptions – places where younger adults are more religious than their elders (see sidebar, page 40).

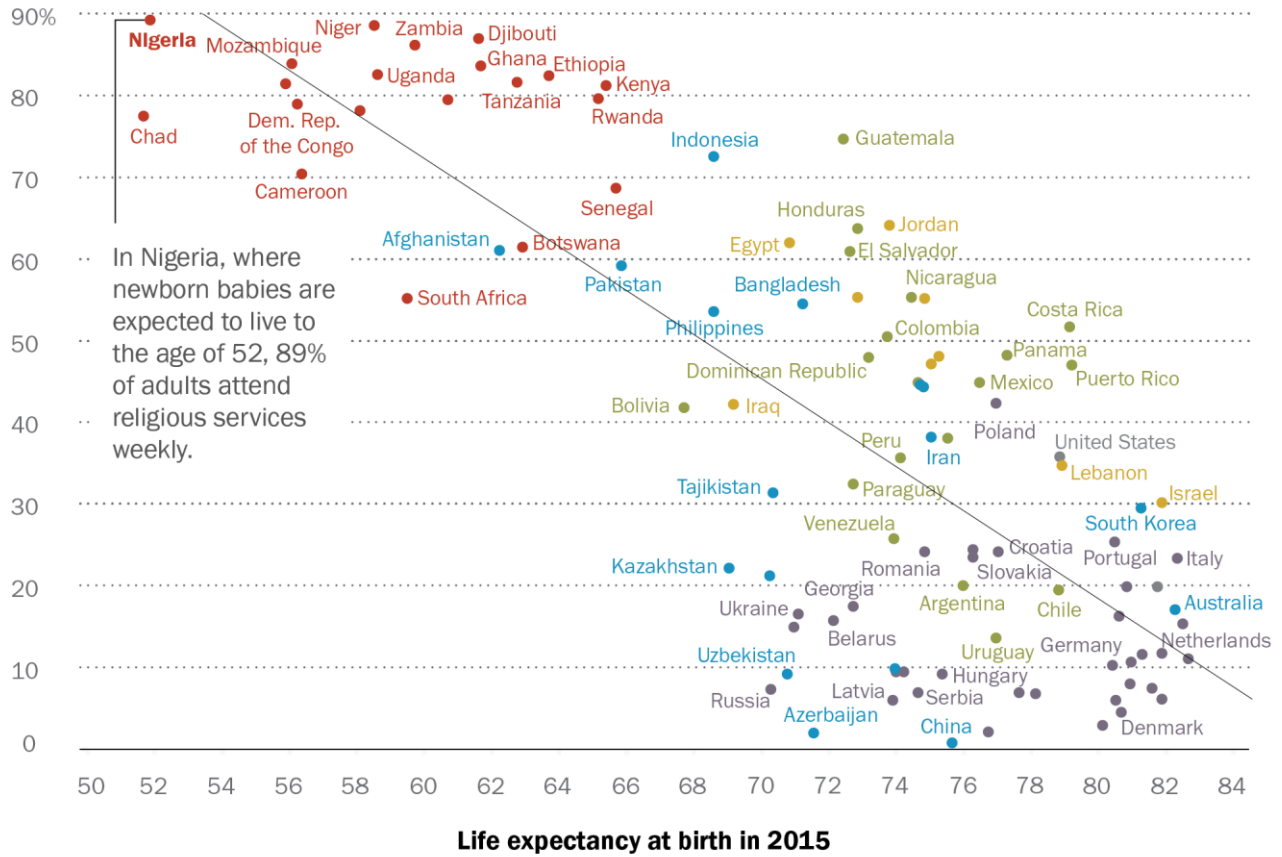
³ Diener, E., L. Tay and D.G. Myers. 2011. “The religion paradox: If religion makes people happy, why are so many dropping out?” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

⁴ Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2014. “Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide.”

Weekly worship attendance is most common where life is shortest

■ Asia-Pacific ■ Europe ■ Latin America-Caribbean ■ Middle East-N. Africa ■ North America ■ Sub-Saharan Africa

% of adults who attend religious services weekly



Note: Graphic shows 101 of 102 countries and territories surveyed; United Nations does not report life expectancy at birth for Kosovo.
 Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017. Life expectancy data from United Nations World Population Prospects (2017).
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Sidebar: Can tragedies increase religious commitment levels?

Do large-scale catastrophes such as famines, wars and earthquakes spur increases in religious behavior? It's hard to tell, because researchers usually lack comparative data from before *and* after a disaster. An exception, though, is a February 2011 earthquake in New Zealand that resulted in 185 deaths and thousands of injuries.

The earthquake and its aftershocks struck between the 2009 and 2011 phases of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study, a national longitudinal survey. This allowed researchers to compare levels of religious affiliation before and after the quake, and they discovered that people living in the Canterbury region, where the earthquake hit, seemed to become more religious.⁵

From 2009 to 2011, the Canterbury region showed a net gain in religious affiliation of 3.4%. That compares with a 1.6% net *drop* in religious affiliation across the rest of New Zealand during that same period.

The researchers cautioned that explanations for conversion can be complicated; they did not directly link their findings to a quest for comfort by the earthquake's survivors, and they noted that some people in the affected area turned away from religion. Still, the researchers described the "significant overall increase in religious faith" among those affected by the earthquake as "remarkable."

In a separate study, the economist Jeanet Sinding Bentzen found that people living in places where earthquakes and other unpredictable natural disasters, such as tsunamis and floods, recently occurred are more religious than people living elsewhere.⁶ Likewise, among victims of Hurricane Katrina, which battered the Gulf Coast of the United States in 2005, 67% reported becoming more religious as a result of the trauma.⁷ Survivors whose religious commitment increased also had lower rates of mental illness and suicidal thoughts following the hurricane than others.

This effect is not limited to natural disasters. Some survivors who were inside or in the immediate vicinity of the World Trade Center buildings during the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, reported having stronger religious faith after the attacks.⁸ There was also a short-lived increase in worship service attendance among the U.S. general public immediately after the attacks.⁹

⁵ Sibley, Chris, and Joseph Bulbulia, Joseph. 2012. "[Faith after an Earthquake: A Longitudinal Study of Religion and Perceived Health before and after the 2011 Christchurch New Zealand Earthquake](#)." Plos One.

⁶ Bentzen, Jeanet Sinding. 2015. "Acts of God: Religiosity and Natural Disasters Across Subnational World Districts." Unpublished.

⁷ Kessler, Ronald C., Sandro Galea, Russell T. Jones and Holly A. Parker. 2006. "[Mental illness and suicidality after Hurricane Katrina](#)." Bulletin of the World Health Organization.

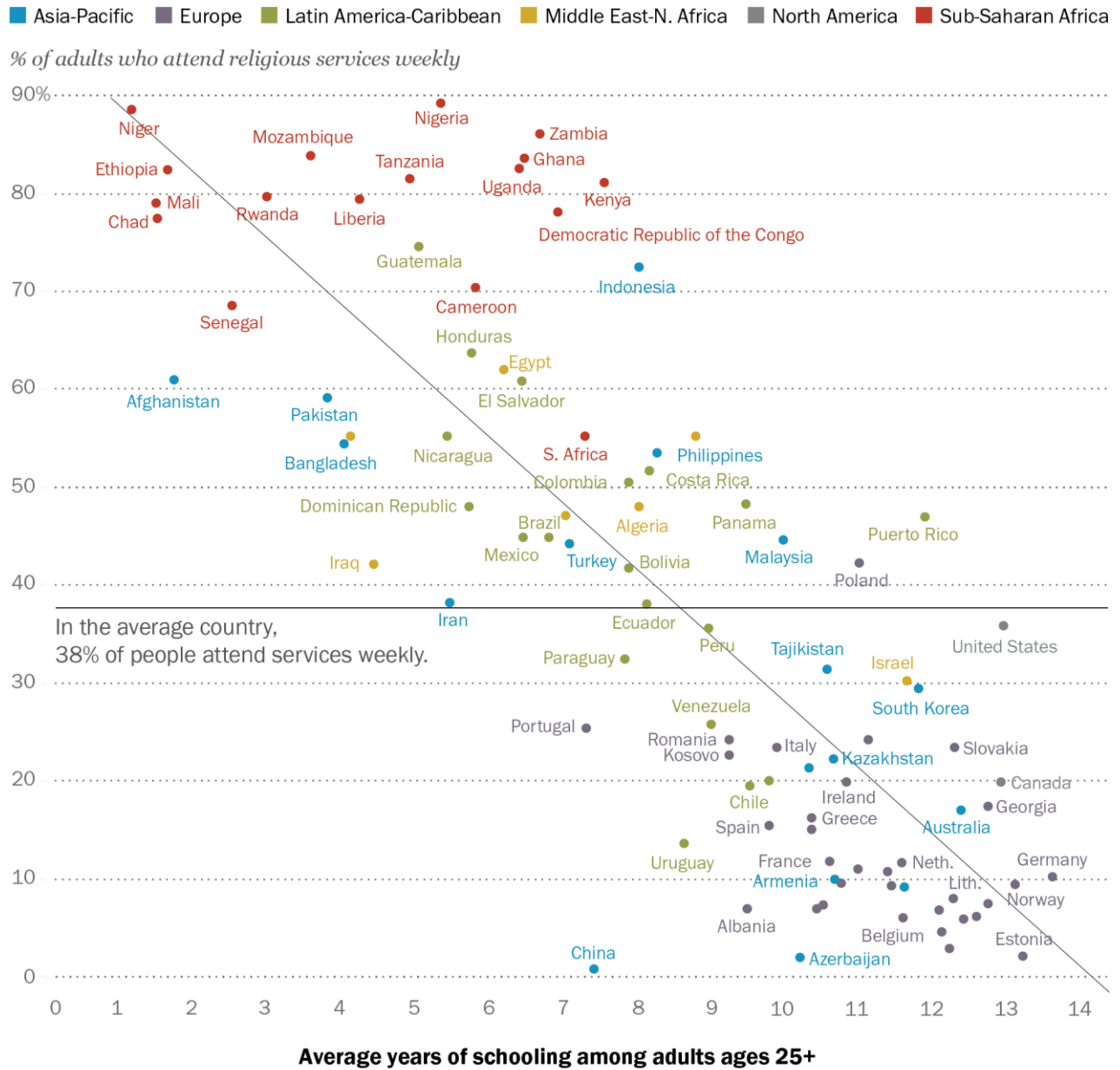
⁸ Bonanno, George A., and John T. Jost. 2010. "[Conservative Shift Among High-Exposure Survivors of the September 11th Terrorist Attacks](#)." Basic and Applied Social Psychology.

⁹ Gallup, George, and Frank Newport. Dec. 21, 2001. "[Religion in the Aftermath of September 11](#)." Gallup. Also see and Uecker, Jeremy E. 2008. "[Religious and Spiritual Responses to 9/11: Evidence from the Add Health Study](#)." Sociological Spectrum.

Religious commitment is lower in countries with higher education, higher GDP and greater income equality

Several measures besides life expectancy at birth can be used to measure existential security within countries. For example, education is a common proxy for prosperity and development. Plotting the average number of years of formal schooling adults have completed in each country alongside the share of adults who attend religious services at least weekly shows that more education is associated with less frequent religious service attendance. Indeed, most countries in sub-Saharan Africa have high percentages of adults attending religious services weekly and relatively few years of completed schooling, on average. Conversely, European countries tend to have lower rates of weekly attendance and more years of schooling.

In countries where people attend school longer, they go to church less often



Note: Graphic shows 94 countries and territories for which both education and religious attendance data are available.
 Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017. Education data from Pew Research Center's 2016 report "Religion and Education Around the World."
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In a similar way, a country's wealth – as measured by per capita gross domestic product (GDP) – is associated with its average rate of daily prayer. Countries with higher levels of wealth typically have lower levels of prayer, and vice versa. In every surveyed country with a GDP of more than \$30,000 per person, fewer than 40% of adults say they pray every day – except in the United States. On this measure, the U.S. (where 55% of adults pray daily) is a major outlier; of 102 countries studied, it is the only one with higher-than-average levels of both prayer and wealth.¹⁰

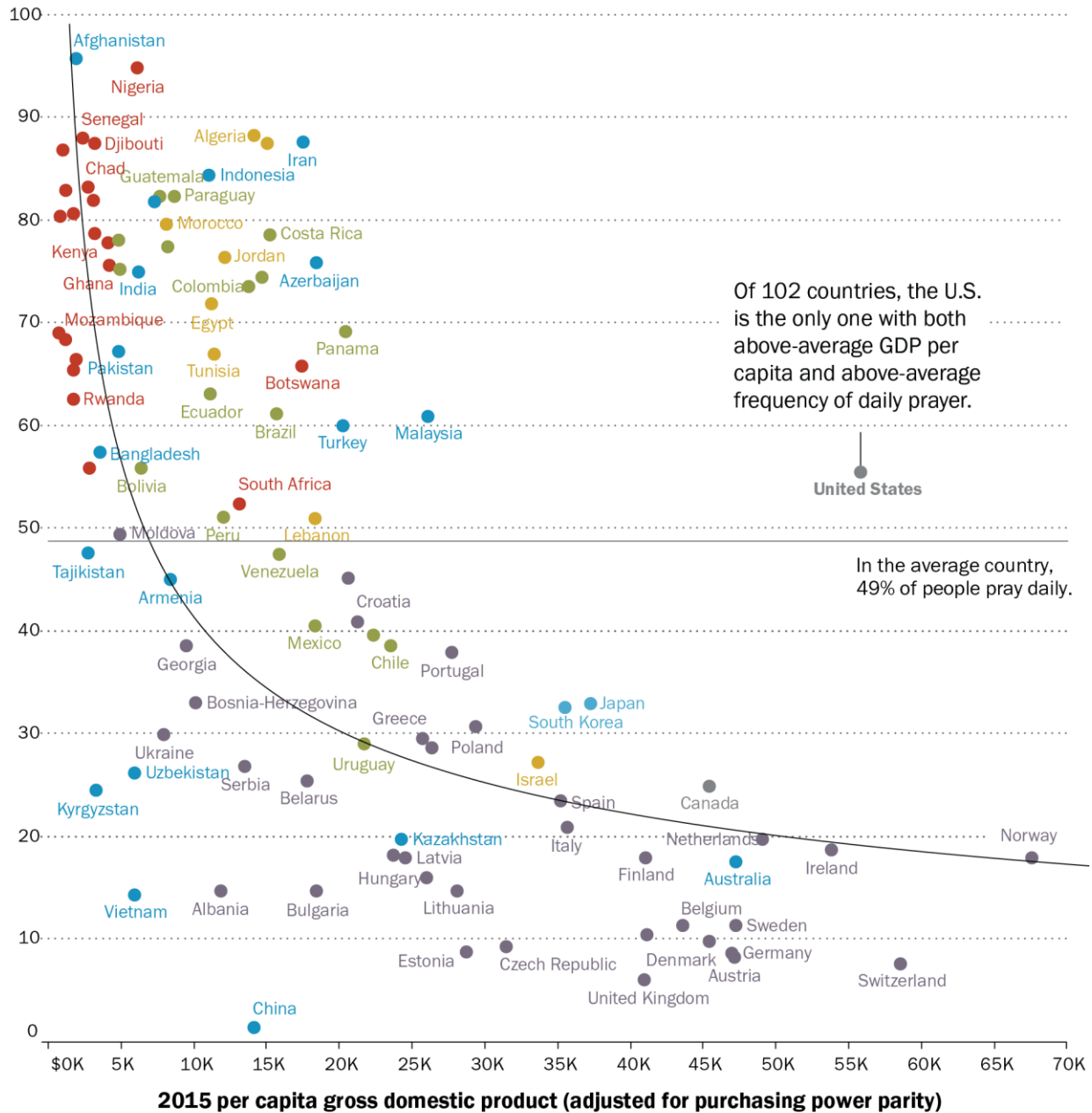
Regional clustering is apparent on this measure, too. Nearly every country in sub-Saharan Africa has a per-person GDP under \$10,000 and above-average rates of daily prayer. European countries are scattered across the full range in terms of GDP, but the only one with a rate of daily prayer at or above the global average is Moldova, which has Europe's lowest GDP per capita. Similarly, the only country in the Middle East-North Africa region where fewer than 50% of adults pray every day is Israel, which also has a markedly higher GDP than the other countries in the region for which survey data are available.

¹⁰ Pew Research Center has not collected survey data in Gulf Cooperation Council countries. Oil and gas have brought great wealth to these countries, which may also have high levels of religious commitment.

Daily prayer is more common in the U.S. than in many other wealthy countries

■ Asia-Pacific ■ Europe ■ Latin America-Caribbean ■ Middle East-N. Africa ■ North America ■ Sub-Saharan Africa

% of adults who say they pray daily



Note: Graphic shows 102 of 105 countries and territories surveyed; the International Monetary Fund does not report gross domestic product (GDP) figures for Kosovo, Palestinian territories or Puerto Rico.
 Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017. GDP data from the International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook Database, October 2015. "The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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Finally, it also appears that economic inequality is correlated with higher levels of religious commitment. Societies with very unequal distribution of income tend to be more religious, while those who live in relatively egalitarian societies say religion is less important, on average. (This is measured by a country's [Gini coefficient](#), the most common measure of income inequality.¹¹)

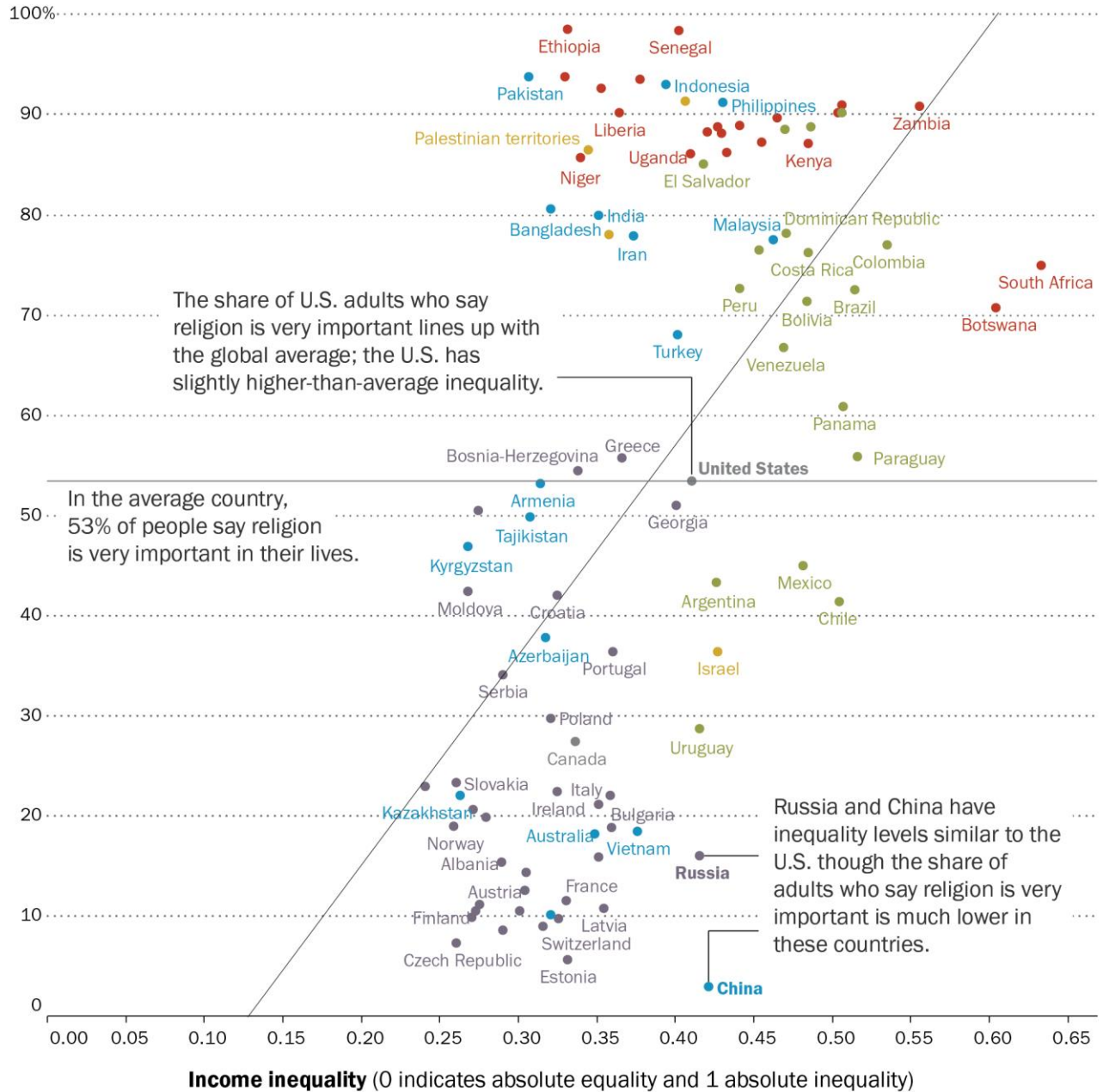
Overall, regardless of how religious commitment or prosperity are measured, the general pattern holds: Religious commitment is lower in places where life is easier. And in places where life is steadily becoming easier, the theory goes, younger adults generally are less religious than their parents' and grandparents' generations.

¹¹ The Gini index is a measure of how income is distributed in a population. Each country is assigned a Gini coefficient that can range from 0 (absolute equality) to 1 (absolute inequality). For example, if every person in a country earned the same amount, Gini would take a value of 0; inversely, if one person in a country earned all of that country's income, Gini would take a value near 1.

Greater income inequality is tied to greater importance of religion

■ Asia-Pacific ■ Europe ■ Latin America-Caribbean ■ Middle East-N. Africa ■ North America ■ Sub-Saharan Africa

% who say religion is very important in their lives



Note: Graphic shows 96 of 106 countries and territories surveyed. Income inequality measured by 2015 Gini coefficient as calculated by the World Bank, which does not report coefficients for 10 countries.
 Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017. Gini data from the World Bank.
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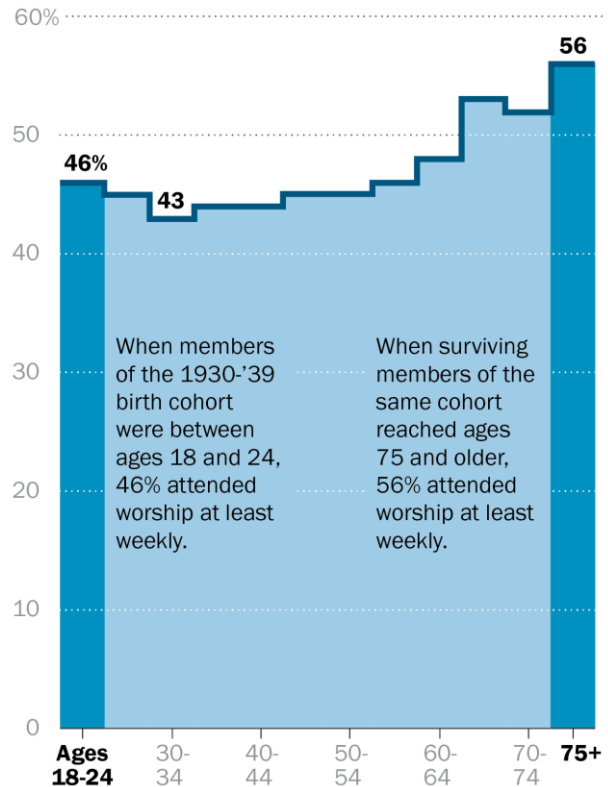
Does aging itself make people more religious?

Many scholars also point to the aging process itself as an explanation for why young people are less religious than their elders. In a sense, this dovetails with the “existential insecurity” argument: Growing older and nearing the end of one’s life could produce a sense of existential worry in an individual, regardless of how comfortable the conditions are in their country. Data gathered in Western countries in particular indicate that religious identity and commitment often change throughout the course of people’s lives, as they leave their parents’ homes, start families, advance in their careers and age through retirement.

Research has shown that religious attachments tend to peak during adolescence, decline through young and middle adulthood, and then *increase* through most of late adulthood. For instance, Pew Research Center’s analysis of Gallup poll data suggests that U.S. adults born in the 1930s attended worship more frequently once they reached their 60s. Other longitudinal studies (which surveyed the same people at intervals over decades) find a “retirement surge” in religiosity among older people. While not ruling out the influence of other factors – such as *when* and *where* people live – one research team argued that “life course trajectories may trump generational placement as predictors of religious behaviors and orientations.”¹²

Americans born in the 1930s worshipped more frequently as they reached retirement age

% of U.S. adults born in the 1930s who attended worship weekly, by age



Note: Gallup changed the wording of the question measuring attendance slightly over the years; some of the variations include, “Did you happen to go to church last Sunday?” and “Did you, yourself, happen to go to church (or synagogue) in the last seven days?”

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Gallup survey data obtained from the Roper Center.

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¹² Bengtson, Vern L., Merrill Silverstein, Norella M. Putney and Susan C. Harris. 2015. “Does Religiousness Increase with Age? Age Changes and Generational Differences Over 35 Years.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. Also see Dillon, Michele, and Paul Wink. 2007. “In the Course of a Lifetime: Tracing Religious Belief, Practice and Change.”

Economists have applied *profit motive* – the idea that most decisions are inspired by the quest for financial gain – to this question.¹³ One research team concluded, based on survey data and church-membership records, that people in early adulthood focus more on making money than on religion, and that religiosity tends to decline during this peak earning phase. In their later years, this team posits, most people decide to build up the “religious capital” they believe will help them after death.

Another theory, drawn from psychology, is that people actually develop new values during life’s later decades, distinct from the values of midlife, leading to greater spirituality and satisfaction.¹⁴ This theory of “gerotranscendence” is based on survey research showing that many older people report being less self-centered than they were previously, as well as feeling more connected to others and institutions beyond themselves.

¹³ Azzi, Corry, and Ronald G. Ehrenberg. 1975. “[Household Allocation of Time and Church Attendance](#).” *Journal of Political Economy*.

¹⁴ Tornstam, Lars. 2011. “[Maturing Into Gerotranscendence](#).” *The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*. While Tornstam did not explicitly state that gerotranscendence leads to religiosity, he cited a master’s thesis written by Ling Yu and Hsieh in Taiwan that purports to show a correlation.

The United States as a case study

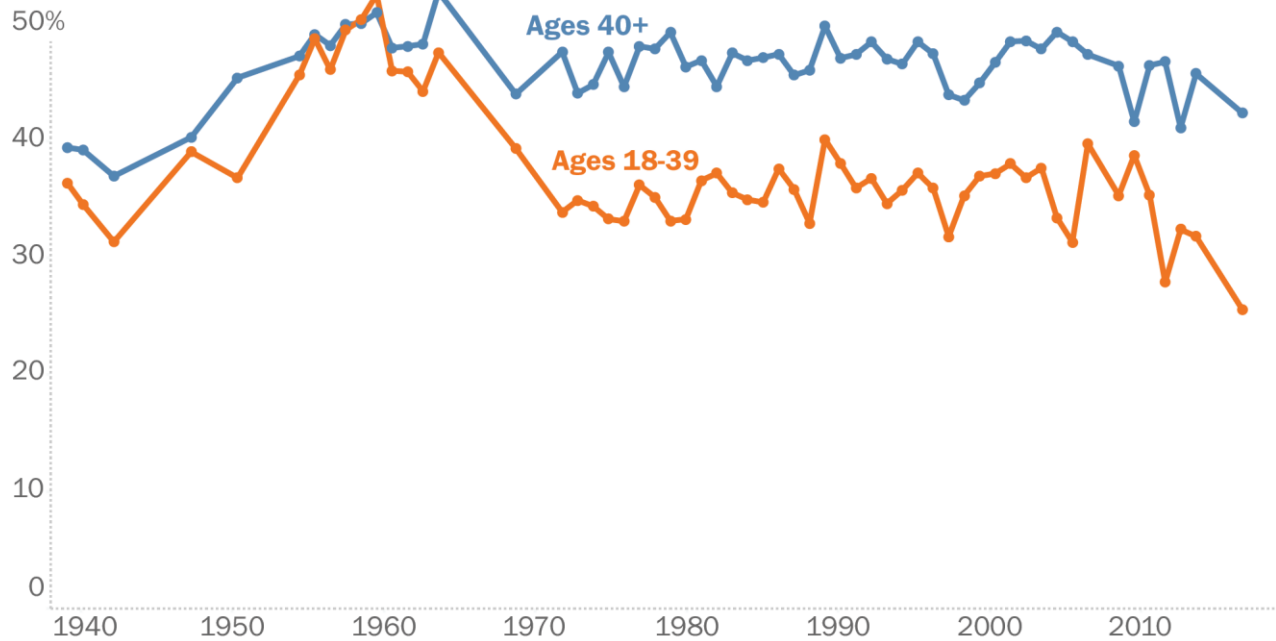
While there is ample recent evidence to suggest that younger adults tend to be less religious than their elders, it would be a mistake to assume that this tendency *always* holds true. The global data analyzed in this report come from surveys conducted over the past decade, capturing only a brief snapshot of religious commitment and shedding little light on how peoples' religious habits change over time.

This limitation is largely unavoidable because there is a dearth of longitudinal data on this topic in many countries. In the U.S., however, researchers have collected data on religious commitment for decades, and an in-depth look at the results suggests that younger Americans have *not* always been less religious than their elders, challenging the notion that older people are naturally more religious.

Gallup surveys dating back nearly 80 years show that in 1939, 39% of Americans ages 40 and older and 36% of U.S. adults younger than 40 claimed to have attended church in the last week. Both groups saw a rise in attendance in the postwar period – the early years of the Cold War – and by the late 1950s, the modest age gap had closed. Over the next 10 years, as the U.S. experienced rapid economic growth, the two age groups moved apart, and that gap has persisted through several decades. If anything, the gap has grown in recent years as attendance rates among young adults have fallen.

The age gap in religious attendance was narrower in previous decades

*% of Americans who attended religious services weekly by age group**



* Gallup changed the wording of the question measuring attendance slightly over the years; some of the variations include, "Did you happen to go to church last Sunday?" and "Did you, yourself, happen to go to church (or synagogue) in the last seven days?"

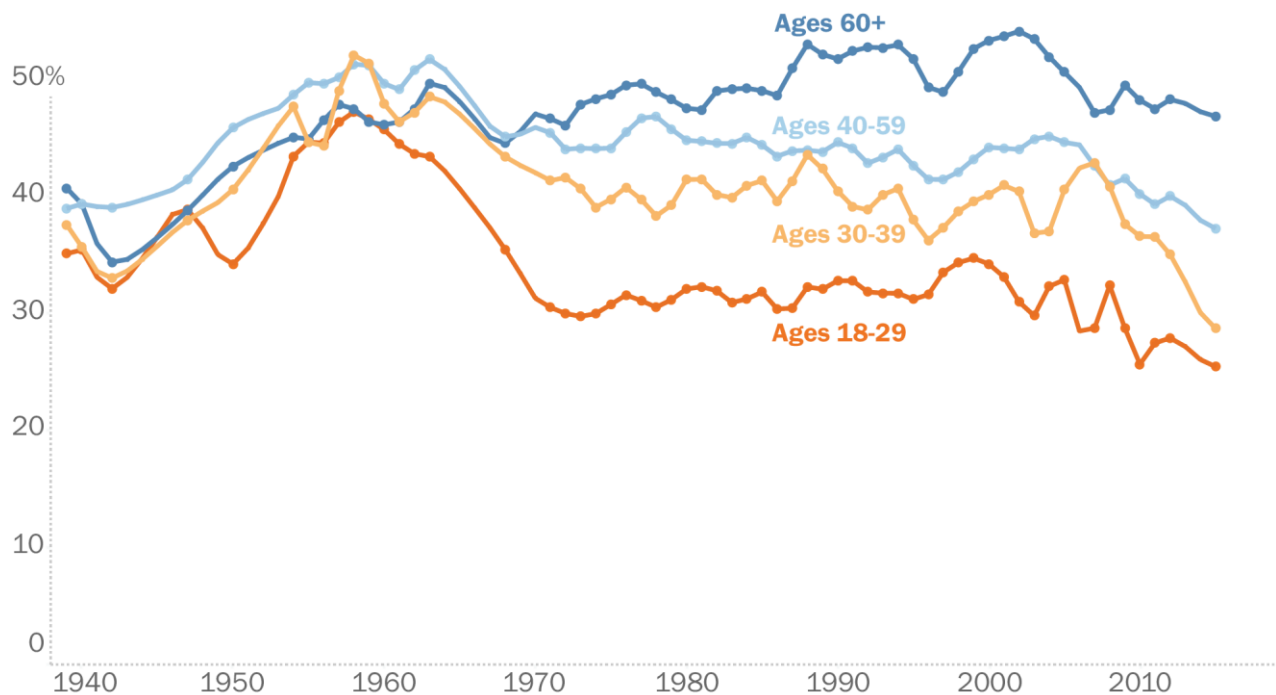
Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 189 Gallup surveys conducted between 1939 and 2015. These surveys are archived at the Roper Center. "The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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Looking at four age groups (rather than two) reveals even more clearly that religious service attendance and age have not always correlated perfectly in the United States. From the early 1940s through the 1960s, people in their 40s and 50s reported attending at least as frequently as those over 60. And adults in their 30s saw a spike in attendance in the late 1950s, briefly matching or exceeding the other groups. By the mid-1970s, the age groups had split into the pattern seen today: Older adults are more religiously committed than younger adults.

Older Americans were not always the most frequent worship attenders

% of those ages ____ who attended religious services weekly by age group



Note: Gallup changed the wording of the question measuring attendance slightly over the years; some of the variations include, "Did you happen to go to church last Sunday?" and "Did you, yourself, happen to go to church (or synagogue) in the last seven days?" Bold points represent years with available data. For years with no data, values were imputed using linear interpolation. Lines were smoothed by taking three-year moving averages.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 189 Gallup surveys conducted between 1939 and 2015. These surveys are archived at the Roper Center. "The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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Although these data do not rule out life cycle effects, they show that Americans of all ages experienced a boom in religious attendance in the post-World War II years, and younger Americans in the late 1950s reported attending at least as often as their elders. More recently, younger Americans have reported less frequent religious service attendance than older adults.

Religious trends in the United States may be different from those in the rest of the world. Like many of their peer nations, Americans enjoy a high standard of living, high rates of literacy and education, a developed economy, and a representative democracy. However, compared with other similarly developed countries, the U.S. has relatively high levels of economic inequality, infant mortality and imprisonment rates.¹⁵ Americans also are more religious by most measures than others in similarly developed economies.

¹⁵ See Alexander, Michelle. 2012. "The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness." See also Singh, Gopal K., and Michael D. Kogan. 2007. "[Persistent Socioeconomic Disparities in Infant, Neonatal, and Post-neonatal Mortality Rates in the United States, 1969–2001](#)." *Pediatrics*. Regarding income inequality: In 2015, the United States held the fourth-highest Gini coefficient of income inequality among OECD countries. See the OECD [Income Distribution Database](#) for more information.

2. Young adults around the world are less religious by several measures

Adults under 40 are less likely to be religiously affiliated

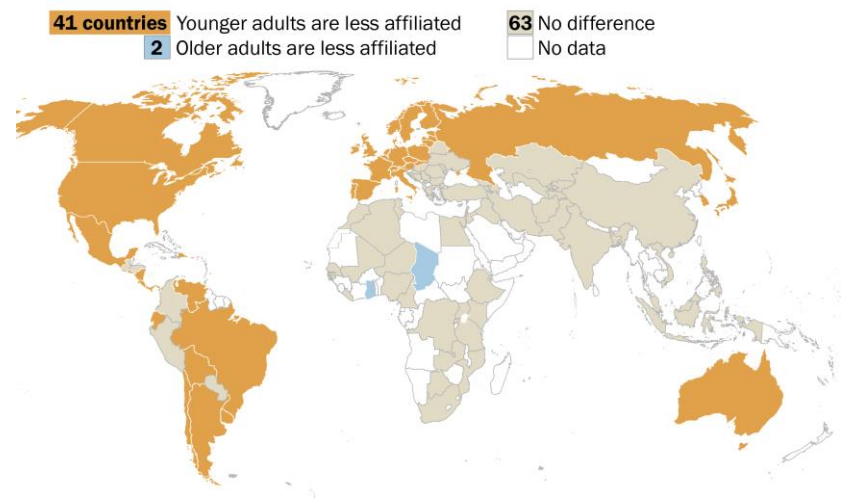
Perhaps the simplest way to measure attachment to religion among people of all ages is to look at the percentage of people who identify with a religious group. Pew Research Center surveys around the world routinely ask: “What is your present religion, if any?” Respondents are given a country-specific list of potential responses (which generally include several major world religions, as well as “atheist,” “agnostic” or “nothing in particular”).

The vast majority of people around the world claim a religious identity, such as Christian, Muslim or Hindu.

But there is a clear age gap: Out of 106 countries surveyed, young adults are significantly less likely to be affiliated with a religious group in 41. In only two countries are young adults more likely to identify with a religion, while there is no significant difference in 63 countries.

Younger adults are less likely to identify with any religious group than are older adults in 41 countries

In just two countries — Chad and Ghana — older adults (ages 40+) are less likely to affiliate with any religious group



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
 “The Age Gap in Religion Around the World”

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Looked at another way, young adults are *more* likely to be religiously *unaffiliated*. This is especially true in North America, where in both the U.S. and Canada younger people are less likely to claim a religious identity. (These findings are in line with the [rise of the religious “nones” in the U.S.](#), which is being driven largely by high levels of disaffiliation among young generations.) The gap is also prevalent in Europe – in 22 out of 35 countries – and in Latin America, where it applies in 14 out of 19 countries (including Mexico).

However, the pattern is not as pronounced in other parts of the world. In the Middle East-North Africa region and sub-Saharan Africa, where most people identify as either Muslim or Christian, there are no countries where young people are less affiliated. In fact, the only two countries out of a combined 30 in these regions with an affiliation gap are Chad and Ghana, where young adults are *more* likely than their elders to claim a religious affiliation – making these nations the only exceptions to the prevailing pattern around the world.

In the Asia-Pacific region, a religiously diverse area with a wide variety of religious practices, 17 out of 20 countries show no significant contrasts. However, the three nations in that region that do show differences – South Korea, Australia and Japan – have some of the world’s biggest gaps. In South Korea, 39% of younger adults are affiliated with a religious group, compared with 63% of their elders, a difference of 24 points. In Australia, the gap is 23 points (43% vs. 66%), and in Japan it is 18 points (31% vs. 49%). In many other countries in the region, such as Pakistan, India and Indonesia, affiliation is all but universal across both age groups.

In 41 of 106 countries surveyed, younger adults are less likely than older adults to identify with a religion

Number of countries with each outcome, by region

	Younger adults affiliate less	Older adults affiliate less	No significant difference
Overall	41	2	63
Asia-Pacific	3	0	17
Europe	22	0	13
Latin America	14	0	5
Middle East- North Africa	0	0	9
North America	2	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	0	2	19

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

“The Age Gap in Religion Around the World”

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Age gap in affiliation most common in predominantly Christian countries

Percentage-point differences in shares of younger (ages 18-39) and older adults (ages 40+) who identify with any religion

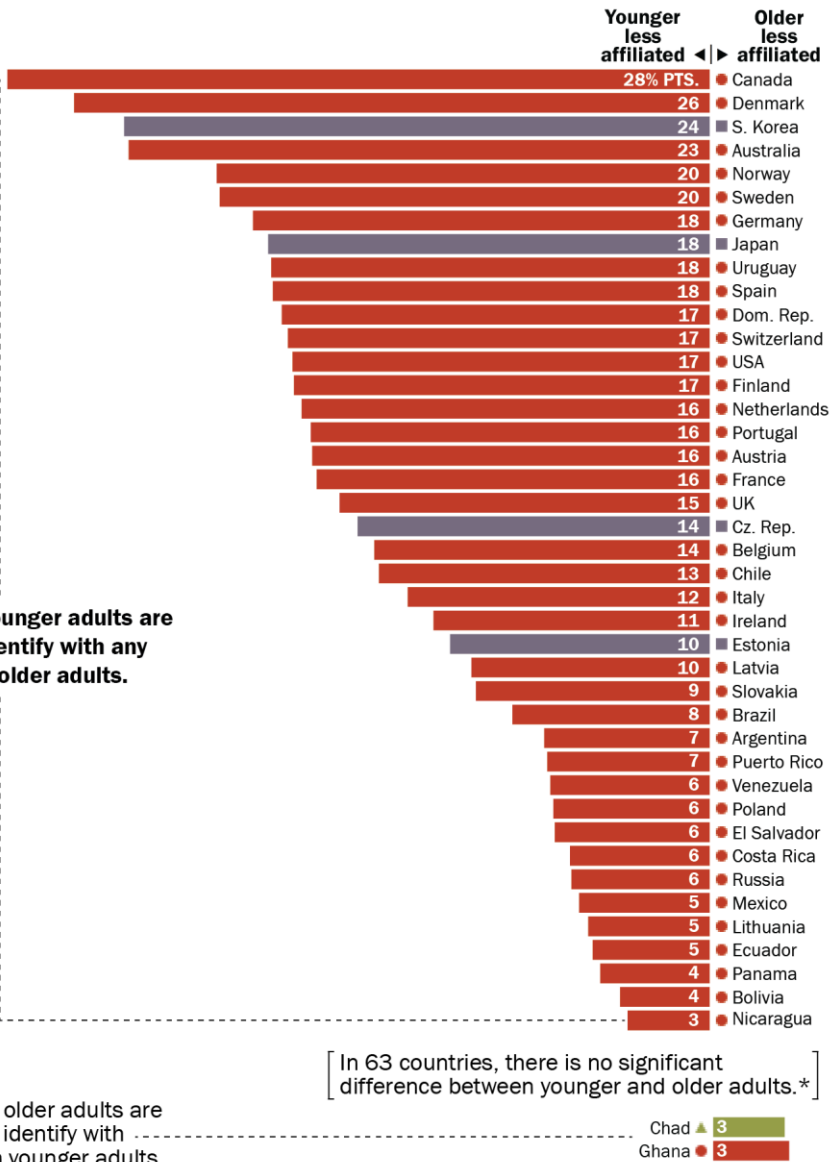
Largest religious group in country

- Christians
- ▲ Muslims
- Unaffiliated

In 41 countries, younger adults are less likely to identify with any religion than older adults.

In two countries, older adults are less likely to identify with any religion than younger adults.

[In 63 countries, there is no significant difference between younger and older adults.*]



*These include the following countries. **Christians are largest religious group:** Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Colombia, Croatia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Georgia, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Kenya, Liberia, Moldova, Mozambique, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Serbia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Ukraine and Zambia; **Muslims are largest religious group:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Palestinian territories, Senegal, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey and Uzbekistan; **Unaffiliated are largest religious group:** China; **Folk religions are largest religious group:** Vietnam.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

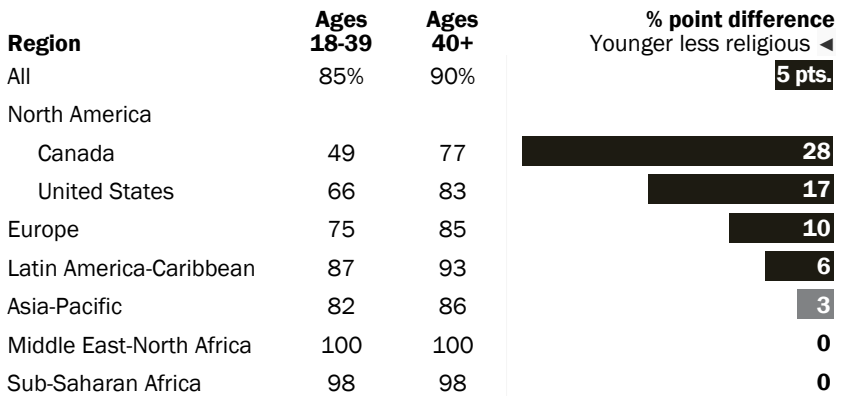
"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

There is a particularly large gap in religious affiliation – 28 percentage points – in Canada (49% of adults under 40 and 77% of older adults are affiliated). The U.S. differential is smaller, though still considerable at 17 points (66% vs. 83%).

In the average country out of 35 in Europe, there is a 10-point difference between the share of younger adults who identify with a religion (75%) and the share of older adults who do (85%), with the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway and Sweden each showing gaps of 20 points or more. In the Latin America-Caribbean region, the average country has a gap of 6 points (87% vs. 93%), with Uruguay and the Dominican Republic exhibiting large differences.

Younger adults are less likely to identify with a religion in North America, Europe and Latin America

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who are affiliated with a religious group, among those living in ...



Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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Averaging the national percentages in each of the 106 countries surveyed yields a global picture that clearly reinforces the regional patterns: The share of younger adults in the average country worldwide who claim a religion is 85%, compared with 90% among people ages 40 or older.¹⁶

¹⁶ To help make sense of an enormous pool of data, this report sometimes cites global averages of country-level data. In calculating the averages, each country is weighted equally, regardless of population size. Global averages, therefore, should be interpreted as the average finding among all *countries* surveyed, not as population-weighted averages representing all *people* around the world.

Importance of religion: Older adults regard religion as less important in only two countries

Asking people about their affiliation is a basic way to measure a society's overall attachment to religion. Asking respondents how important religion is in their lives goes one step further, and may be the most direct way to gauge the intensity of that connection. While this question does not directly measure any particular religious practice, it correlates well with more concrete measures – and also has an advantage in that it works equally well across many different religious groups, which is not the case for some specific measures of belief and practice.

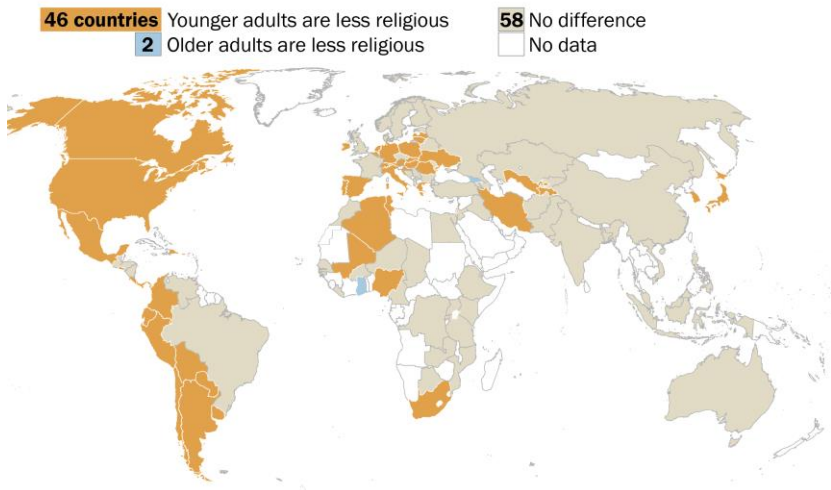
Younger adults in many different parts of the world are less likely than their elders to say that religion is “very important” to them. This is a particularly prevalent theme in Latin America, where age gaps appear in 14 out of 19 countries. It is also common in Europe, where 19 out of 35 countries show significant gaps. The United States and Canada also post larger-than-average differences.

There are even significant age gaps in four out of nine countries surveyed in the Middle East-North Africa region, where younger and older adults are almost universally affiliated.

In the Asia-Pacific region, there is no significant difference between age groups in 15 out of 20 countries surveyed, although – as on the affiliation question – South Korea and Japan again are among the countries where the young are less religious. And in sub-Saharan Africa, younger and

Younger adults are less likely than older adults to consider religion very important in 46 countries

In just two countries — Georgia and Ghana — older adults (ages 40+) are less likely to say religion is very important in their daily lives



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
 “The Age Gap in Religion Around the World”

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older adults tend to give similar responses when asked about the importance of religion in most of the 21 countries surveyed.

Globally, adults under 40 are less likely to say that religion is very important in their lives in 46 out of 106 nations, while adults who are 40 or older are less likely to say this in only two countries. In 58 countries, there is no significant difference.

When the national percentages are averaged across all of the countries with available data, younger adults are 6 percentage points less likely than their elders to say religion is “very important” in their lives.

In Latin America, the average country has a gap of 10 points. While the average age gap in Europe is somewhat smaller (7 points), the region is home to two of the world’s biggest country-level gaps: Poland, where 16% of adults under 40 and 40% of older people say religion is very important to them, and Greece (41% vs. 63%). There is also a 7-point gap in the average Middle Eastern country, led by Lebanon (20-point gap) and Algeria (12 points).

Younger adults less likely to say that religion is very important across regions

Number of countries with each outcome, by region

	Religion less important to younger adults	Religion less important to older adults	No significant difference
Overall	46	2	58
Asia-Pacific	5	0	15
Europe	18	1	16
Latin America	14	0	5
Middle East-North Africa	4	0	5
North America	2	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	3	1	17

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

“The Age Gap in Religion Around the World”

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Age gaps in importance of religion are smallest in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who say religion is very important in their lives, among those living in ...

Region	Ages 18-39	Ages 40+	% point difference Younger less religious
All	51%	57%	6 pts.
North America			
United States	43	60	17
Canada	22	30	9
Latin America-Caribbean	63	73	10
Europe	19	26	7
Middle East-North Africa	71	78	7
Asia-Pacific	51	55	4
Sub-Saharan Africa	88	89	1

Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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In a couple of countries (Georgia and Ghana), the age gap goes against the global pattern; in these places, young adults are *more* religious than their elders by this measure. For example, in Ghana – where young adults are also more likely to be affiliated – 91% of younger adults say religion is very important in their lives, compared with 85% of older adults.

In Poland, 45 other countries, young adults less likely to say religion very important in their lives

Percentage-point differences in shares of younger (ages 18-39) and older adults (ages 40+) who consider religion very important

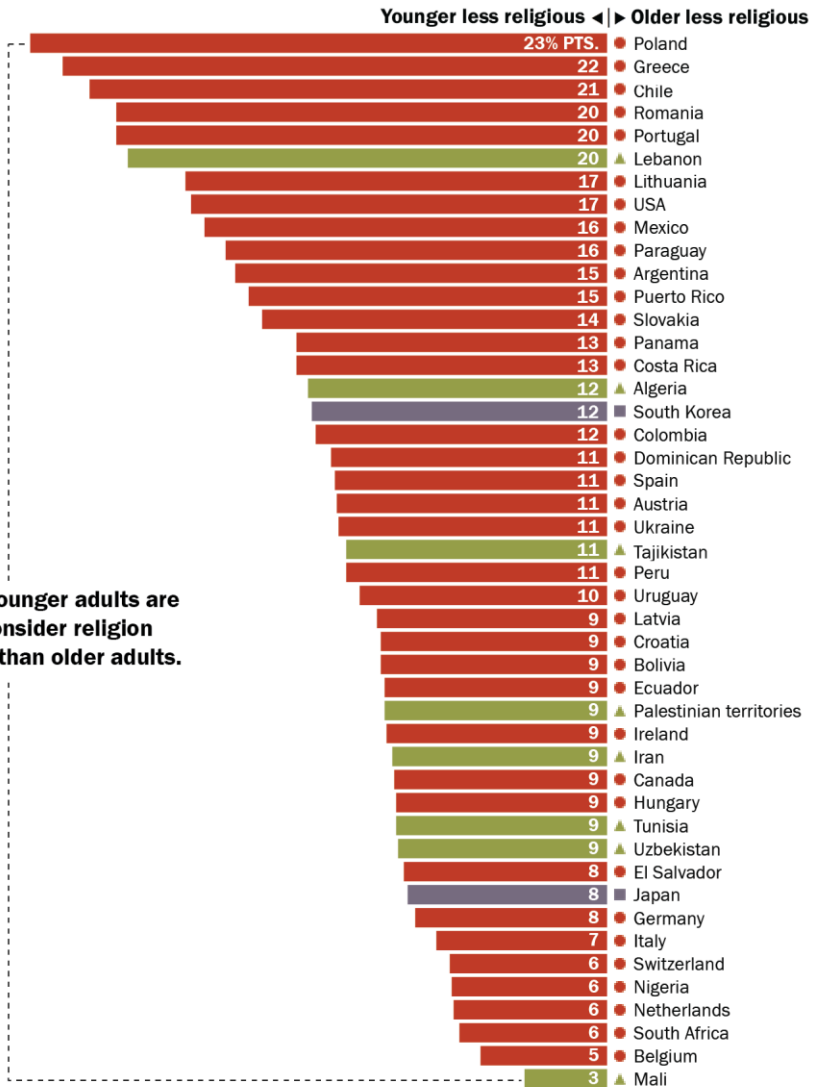
Largest religious group in country

- Christians
- ▲ Muslims
- Unaffiliated

In 46 countries, younger adults are less likely to consider religion “very important” than older adults.

In two countries, older adults are less likely to consider religion “very important” than younger adults.

In 58 countries, there is no significant difference between younger and older adults.*



*These include the following countries. **Christians are largest religious group:** Armenia, Australia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Kenya, Liberia, Moldova, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Norway, the Philippines, Russia, Rwanda, Serbia, Sweden, Tanzania, Uganda, United Kingdom, Venezuela and Zambia; **Muslims are largest religious group:** Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Chad, Djibouti, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Senegal and Turkey; **Unaffiliated are largest religious group:** China, Czech Republic and Estonia; **Folk religions are largest religious group:** Vietnam.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

Looking at specific religious groups, half (50%) of younger Christians in the average country – in contrast to 56% of those in the older age group – say religion is very important in their lives. The gap between younger and older Muslims in the average country is 3 percentage points, with 76% of those under 40 and 79% of those ages 40 and older saying that religion is very important.

Viewed another way, in

roughly half the countries where data are available on Christians (37 out of 78), young Christian adults are significantly less likely than older Christians to say religion is very important to them.

Muslims' responses about the importance of religion in their lives show less of a consistent age gap. Young Muslims in 10 countries surveyed are less likely than their elders to ascribe a high level of importance to religion, while in 32 other countries, there is no significant difference.

Among Christians, 7-point age gap in share who say religion is very important

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who say religion is very important in their lives, among those who are ...

Religion	Ages 18-39	Ages 40+	% point difference Younger less religious ◀
All	51%	57%	6 pts.
Christians	50	56	7
Muslims	76	79	3
Unaffiliated	3	4	1

Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers. Hindus, Buddhists and Jews are not shown because data on these groups are only available for a small number of countries.

Source: Pew Research Center Surveys, 2008-2017.

"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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Younger adults are rarely more religious than older adults, regardless of faith

Number of countries with each outcome, by religion

	Religion less important to younger adults	Religion less important to older adults	No significant difference
Overall	46	2	58
Christians	37	1	40
Muslims	10	0	32
Unaffiliated	8	2	19
Hindus	0	0	2
Buddhists	1	0	4
Jews	0	0	2

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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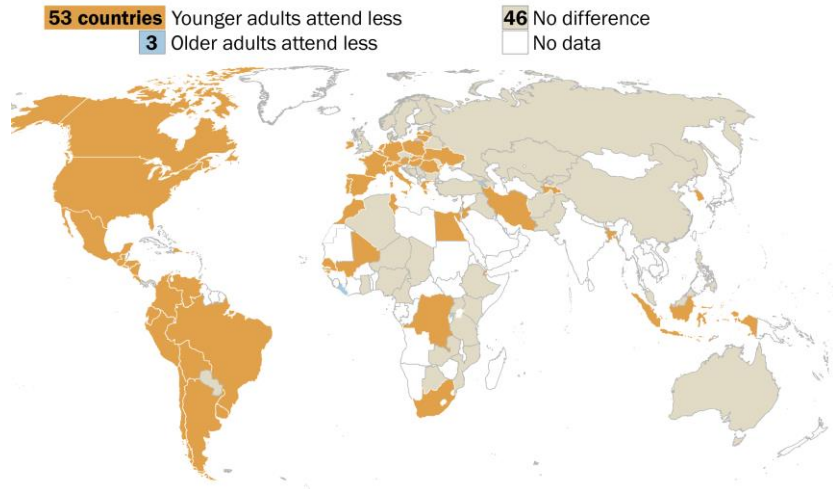
Weekly religious service attendance: Young adults worship less often in both Christian and Muslim populations

Young adults are, on the whole, less likely than their elders to say they attend religious services every week.

Lower attendance among young adults is especially pervasive in Latin America, where it is seen in 17 out of 19 countries, and in North America, where both the U.S. and Canada show substantial gaps. The pattern also applies to more than half of the countries surveyed in the Middle East-North Africa region and in Europe.

Younger adults are less likely to attend worship weekly than are older adults in 53 countries

In just three countries — Armenia, Liberia and Rwanda — older adults (ages 40+) are less likely to attend worship at least weekly



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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Globally, younger adults are less likely to attend prayer services than their elders in 53 out of 102 countries surveyed, while the opposite is true in just three – Liberia, Rwanda and Armenia. Liberia is a major outlier by this measure; younger Liberians are much *more* likely than their older compatriots to say they worship at least weekly (85% vs. 66%). One reason for this could be that recent civil wars in Liberia may have affected levels of religious commitment differently among older and younger Liberians (for more on this theory, see sidebar on page 40).

Sidebar: Unusual age patterns in religious commitment linked to violent conflict

While the general trend throughout the world is for younger people to enjoy more peace and prosperity than previous generations – forming the basis for one possible explanation for the persistent age gap in religious commitment – this is not always the case. In fact, the few countries where young adults are *more* religious than their elders all have something in common: a recent history of violent conflicts leading to civilian deaths.¹⁷

Any number of possible factors may explain these exceptional cases, and each country has its own set of unique circumstances. But it may be that conditions in these places were at least somewhat more stable when older adults were coming of age, and the existential insecurity experienced by younger adults explains why they are more religious. Indeed, research has found that religious identity is more likely to be influenced by events in early adulthood than later.¹⁸

In Liberia, younger adults are more likely than older adults to pray every day and attend weekly religious services. These age groups also differ in their affiliations: Younger Liberians are almost exclusively Christian or Muslim (96%), but a considerable minority of Liberians ages 40 and older (29%) identify with an ancestral, animist, tribal or other traditional African religion.¹⁹ Liberia has experienced two civil wars within the lifetimes of younger adults, one from 1989 to 1997 and the other from 1999 to 2003. The survey in Liberia was conducted in 2009; all adults under 40 in the survey would have been born after 1969, with most coming of age during wartime.

In addition, younger adults in Ghana – where clan-based violence over royal succession killed more than 2,000 people in the early 1990s – are more likely to be affiliated and to say that religion is very important. In Rwanda, where government forces and militias killed over 500,000 people and displaced millions in 1994, younger adults attend religious services more frequently than older adults. And in Chad, which has experienced violent conflicts involving the government, rebel groups and neighboring countries for decades, younger adults are more likely to identify with a religion and pray every day.

Not all of the examples are in Africa: Younger adults in Georgia say religion is very important to them more often than older adults do. Georgia has experienced a secessionist war in Abkhazia and a conflict with Russia in the past three decades, although the fall of the Soviet Union may also be a factor in religious differences by age. Older adults in Georgia mostly came of age during the Soviet period, when religion was repressed – including by Georgian-born leader Joseph Stalin.

At the same time, other countries have experienced conflict during the same period and do not show these types of patterns. In Bosnia-Herzegovina and Israel, for example, any differences in which younger adults may appear more religious are not statistically significant. And, in the Palestinian territories and the Democratic Republic of Congo, younger adults have experienced a great deal of armed conflict but still follow the prevailing global pattern of being *less* religious than their elders.

¹⁷ Sundberg, Ralph, and Erik Melander. 2013. “[Introducing the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset](#).” *Journal of Peace Research*. See also Croicu, Mihai, and Ralph Sundberg. 2017. “[UCDP GED Codebook version 17.2](#).” Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

¹⁸ Kroger, Jane, Monica Martinussen and James E. Marcia. 2010. “[Identity status change during adolescence and young adulthood: A meta-analysis](#).” *Journal of adolescence*.

¹⁹ In the 2008 census in Liberia, a very small share of both older and younger adults identified with folk religions. But the Pew Research Center survey, which offered respondents the explicit option to identify with folk religions, found a more substantial share (12% total) in the folk religion category.

In the average country around the world, adults under 40 are 6 percentage points less likely than older people to say they go to worship services weekly (36% vs. 42%).

Again, by this measure, gap sizes vary by region. In sub-Saharan Africa, younger and older adults attend at similarly high rates (averages of 78% and 79%, respectively). But in the average country in the Middle East-North Africa region, just 44% of young adults say they are weekly attenders – well below the 55% average of those ages 40 and older who describe themselves this way. The average country’s age gap in worship attendance in this overwhelmingly Muslim region is similar to the one in the predominantly Christian Latin America region (38% vs. 48%) There also is a 6-point gap in the average country in the religiously diverse Asia-Pacific region (31% vs. 37%).

In Europe, weekly attendance is less common overall, but there is still an age gap (10% vs. 16%). And Poland stands out as having by far the largest gap among all countries surveyed: 26% of Polish adults under 40 say they attend religious services weekly, compared with 55% of their elders. The unusually large age gap in Poland may be due to the Catholic Church’s association with nationalism, Polish identity and resistance to the Soviet Union during

Young adults are less likely than older adults to attend worship services weekly in 53 of 102 countries surveyed

Number of countries with each outcome, by region

	Younger adults attend less	Older adults attend less	No significant difference
Overall	53	3	46
Asia-Pacific	5	1	11
Europe	18	0	17
Latin America	17	0	2
Middle East-North Africa	5	0	4
North America	2	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	6	2	12

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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Age gaps in worship attendance are largest in the Middle East and Latin America, smallest in sub-Saharan Africa

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who attend worship weekly, among those living in ...

Region	Ages 18-39	Ages 40+	% point difference Younger less religious
All	36%	42%	6 pts.
Middle East-North Africa	44	55	11
Latin America-Caribbean	38	48	10
North America			
United States	28	40	12
Canada	16	22	6
Asia-Pacific	31	37	6
Europe	10	16	5
Sub-Saharan Africa	78	79	1

Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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Poland's communist period; younger Poles did not experience this period firsthand, but it may have had a lasting impact among the older generation.²⁰

Adults under 40 in Colombia, another predominantly Catholic country, also are much less likely than their elders to go to church regularly. And there are similar patterns in different religious contexts in the Muslim-majority countries of Iran, Jordan and Tunisia.

²⁰ Mandes, Sławomir, and Maria Rogaczewska. 2013. "[I don't reject the Catholic Church—the Catholic Church rejects me': How Twenty- and Thirty-somethings in Poland Re-evaluate their Religion.](#)" *Journal of Contemporary Religion*.

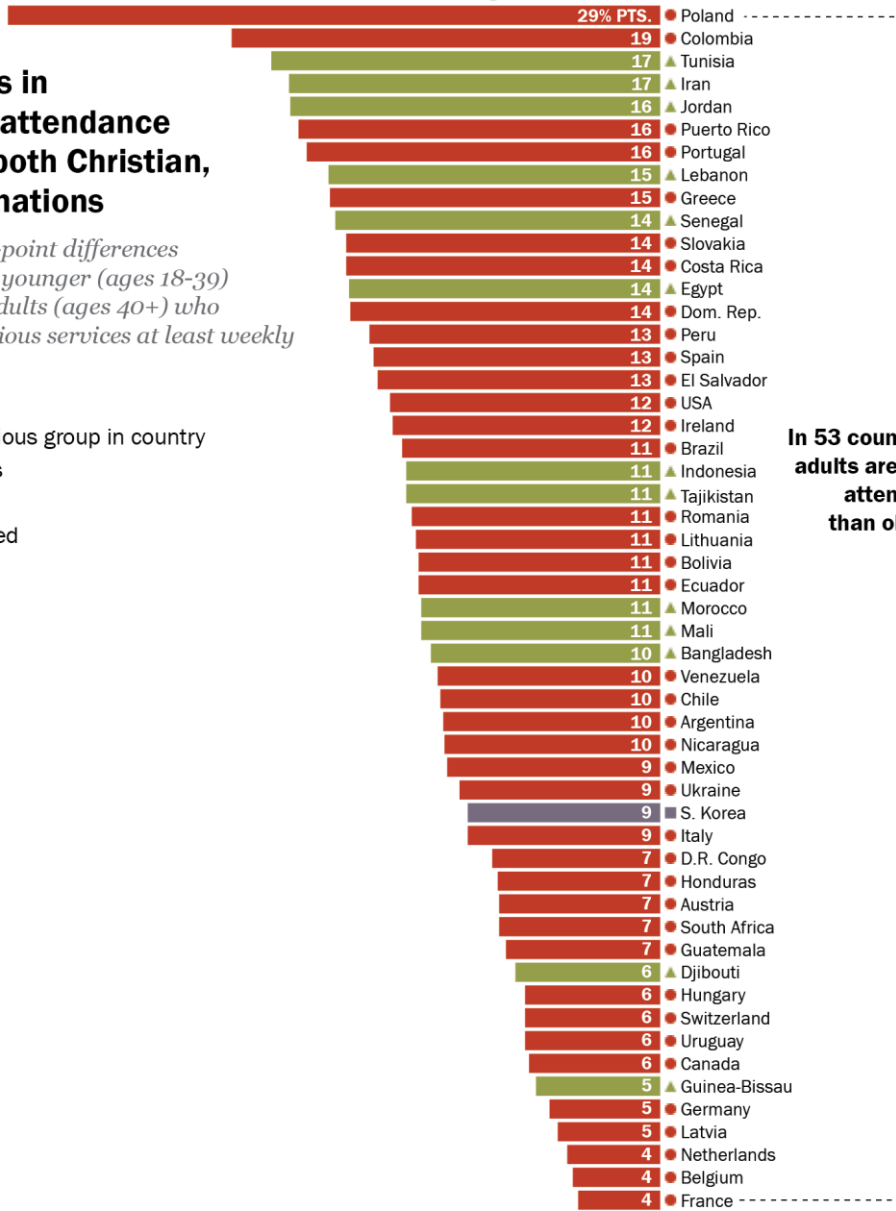
Age gaps in worship attendance seen in both Christian, Muslim nations

Percentage-point differences in shares of younger (ages 18-39) and older adults (ages 40+) who attend religious services at least weekly

Largest religious group in country

- Christians
- ▲ Muslims
- Unaffiliated

Younger attend less ◀ | ▶ Older attend less



In 53 countries, younger adults are less likely to attend weekly than older adults.

In 46 countries, there is no significant difference between younger and older adults.*

In three countries, older adults are less likely to attend weekly than younger adults.



*These include the following countries. **Christians are largest religious group:** Australia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Croatia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Georgia, Ghana, Kenya, Moldova, Mozambique, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, the Philippines, Russia, Serbia, Sweden, Tanzania, Uganda, United Kingdom and Zambia; **Muslims are largest religious group:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Chad, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Niger, Pakistan, Palestinian territories, Turkey and Uzbekistan; **Unaffiliated are largest religious group:** China, Czech Republic and Estonia.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
 "The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

Indeed, at the global level, younger Muslims attend mosque less frequently, on average, than older Muslims, just as younger Christians attend church less often than older Christians.

Measuring religious observance by weekly attendance at worship services does not work equally well for all major religious groups.

While it is generally a reliable measure of religious norms within Abrahamic faiths (Christianity, Islam and Judaism), it may be less well suited for Buddhism, Hinduism and other Eastern religions.²¹

For Hindus, data are only available from the U.S.; the 11-point gap in weekly attendance between older and younger American Hindus is not necessarily representative of Hindus globally, since the vast majority of the world's Hindus live in India.

Both Christians, Muslims show age gap in attendance

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who say they attend religious services at least weekly, among those who are ...

Religion	Ages	Ages	% point difference Younger less religious ◀
	18-39	40+	
All	36%	42%	6 pts.
Muslims	55	61	6
Christians	36	41	5
Unaffiliated	1	1	0

Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers. Hindus, Buddhists and Jews are not shown because data on these groups are only available for a small number of countries.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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Younger adults attend religious services less than their elders across groups

Number of countries with each outcome, by religion

	Younger adults attend less	Older adults attend less	No significant difference
Overall	53	3	46
Christians	35	1	41
Muslims	15	0	26
Unaffiliated	10	1	16
Hindus	1	0	0
Buddhists	1	0	2
Jews	0	0	2

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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²¹ Within the Abrahamic faiths, there are gender patterns of religious commitment. Generally speaking, among Christians, women are more likely to worship weekly; among Muslims and Israeli Jews, men are more likely to worship weekly, reflecting gender norms in each religion. See Pew Research Center's 2016 report "[The Gender Gap in Religion Around the World.](#)"

Daily prayer: Large age gaps in the Americas

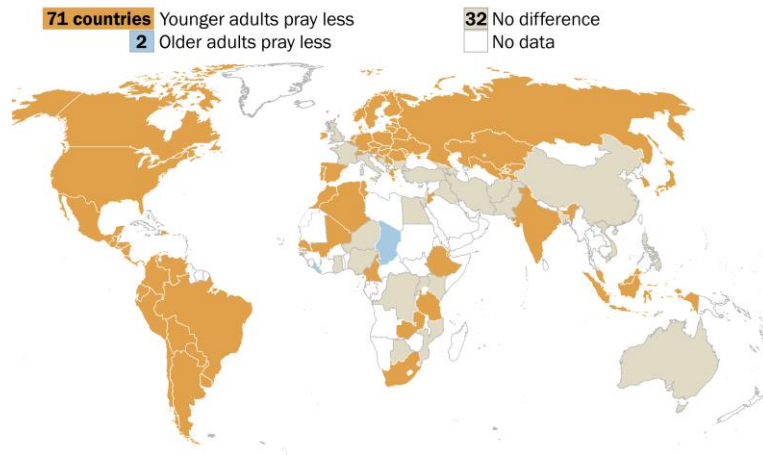
The generational divide in religious commitment is most apparent when examining daily prayer. Not only is it the measure with the highest number of countries with an age gap, but it is also the measure by which the average country has the biggest gap globally.

Young adults are less likely to pray daily in all 19 countries surveyed in Latin America, in both the U.S. and Canada, and in 27 out of 35 European countries. Gaps also exist in

several countries in the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East-North Africa region and sub-Saharan Africa. Overall, the pattern holds in 71 out of 105 countries surveyed.

Younger adults are less likely than older adults to pray daily in 71 countries

In just two countries — Chad and Liberia — older adults (ages 40+) are less likely to pray daily



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
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In the U.S., 44% of young adults engage in daily prayer, compared with 62% of those ages 40 and older. Canadians in both age groups pray less than their American counterparts, yet they also have a large age gap, with 16% of younger and 30% of older adults praying daily. There also are double-digit differences between the average shares of older and younger adults who pray daily in Latin America, the Middle East and Europe.

In a clear majority of countries surveyed, young adults are less likely to pray daily

Number of countries with each outcome, by region

	Younger adults pray less	Older adults pray less	No significant difference
Overall	71	2	32
Asia-Pacific	9	0	11
Europe	27	0	8
Latin America	19	0	0
Middle East-North Africa	6	0	3
North America	2	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	8	2	10

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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In sub-Saharan Africa, again, the average country's gap is negligible at 3 percentage points, with high rates of daily prayer among both younger and older adults (74% vs. 77%). Similar to religious service attendance, Liberia bucks the global pattern – young Liberians are *more* likely than older Liberians to pray daily. This is also the case in Chad, where young adults also are more likely to be religiously affiliated.

Despite regional variations, the global pattern is clear: In the average country, across 105 countries surveyed, fewer than half of adults under 40 (44%) say they pray at least once a day, while most people ages 40 and older (54%) do this.²²

Some of the countries with especially large age gaps in daily prayer are highly religious overall, while others are not. For example, in Nicaragua, young adults are 17 percentage points less likely to say they pray daily than older Nicaraguans (67% vs. 83%).

Finland has a similarly sized gap of 15 points, even though daily prayer is far less common among Finns in both age groups (8% vs. 23%).

Double-digit gaps in daily prayer in several regions

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who pray daily, among those living in ...

Region	Ages 18-39	Ages 40+	% point difference Younger less religious ◀
All	44%	54%	9 pts.
North America			
United States	44	62	18
Canada	16	30	13
Latin America-Caribbean	55	69	14
Middle East-North Africa	65	77	12
Europe	16	26	10
Asia-Pacific	46	55	9
Sub-Saharan Africa	74	77	3

Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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²² All percentages are rounded to the nearest integer. However, the gaps are calculated from unrounded figures. For example, an average of 44.4% of younger adults pray daily, compared with 53.6% of older adults, a difference of 9.2 points.

Japan has a 29-point age gap in daily prayer

Percentage-point differences in shares of younger (ages 18-39) and older adults (ages 40+) who pray daily

Largest religious group in country

- Christians
- ▲ Muslims
- Unaffiliated
- ★ Hindus

In 71 countries, younger adults are less likely to pray daily than older adults.

*32 countries have age gaps that are not statistically significant. These include the following countries.

Christians are largest religious group: Armenia, Australia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, France, Georgia, Ghana, Italy, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Philippines, Rwanda, Uganda, United Kingdom;

Muslims are largest religious group: Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Iran, Iraq, Kosovo, Niger, Pakistan, Turkey; **Unaffiliated are largest religious group:** China; **Folk religions are largest religious group:** Vietnam.

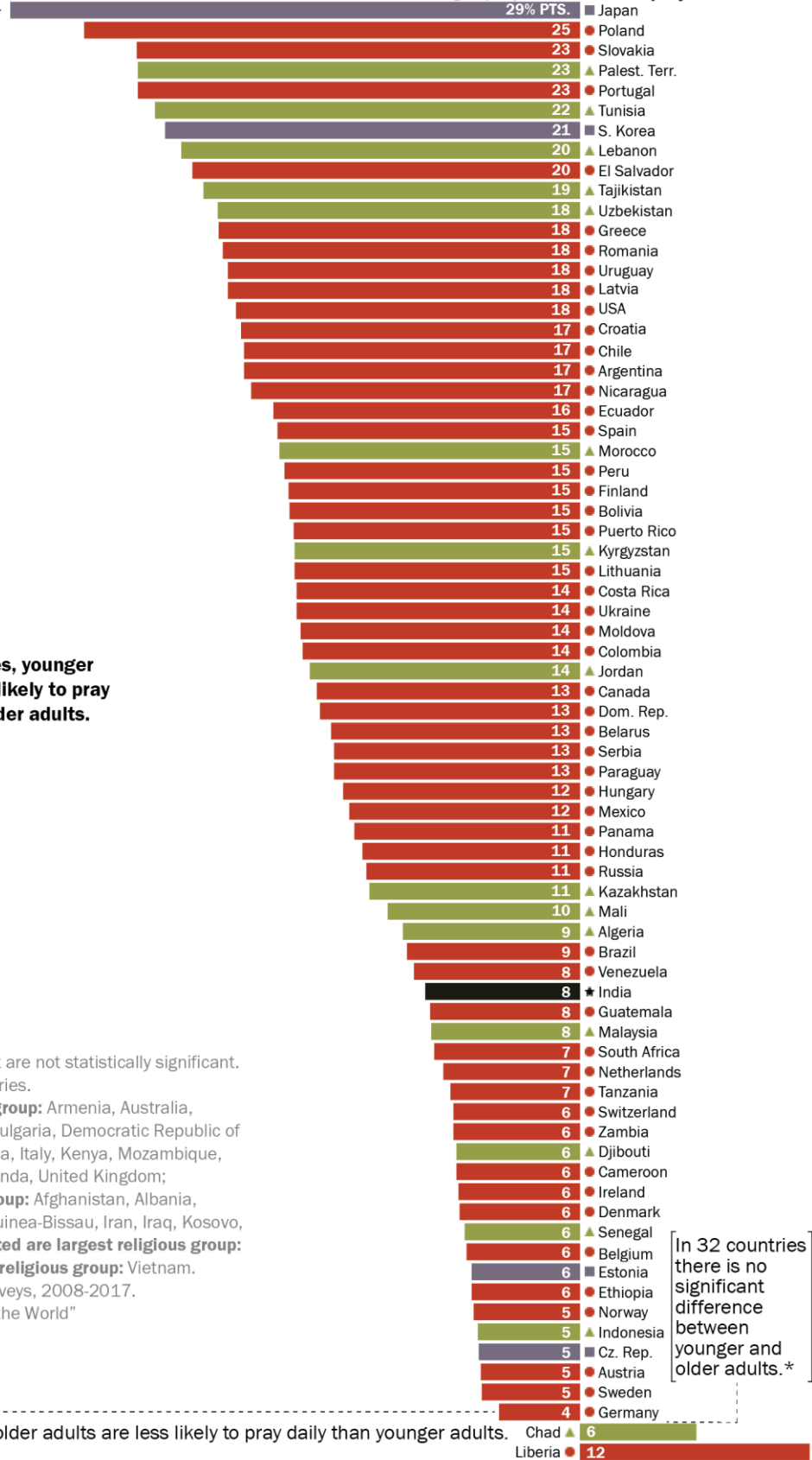
Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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In two countries, older adults are less likely to pray daily than younger adults.

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Younger pray less ◀ ▶ Older pray less



In 32 countries there is no significant difference between younger and older adults.*

An age gap in daily prayer is also found within multiple religious groups. Overall, young Christian adults are less likely to pray daily in 48 countries – a solid majority of the 77 countries with a sufficient sample of Christians to analyze. In the average country, 42% of young Christians pray daily, compared with 51% of older Christians. For Muslims, there is a significant age gap in daily prayer in 16 of 41 countries with data, with an average gap of 7 percentage points across those countries.

Substantial age gaps in daily prayer among both Christians and Muslims

In the average country surveyed, % of adults who pray daily, among those who are ...

Religion	Ages 18-39	Ages 40+	% point difference Younger less religious ◀
All	44%	54%	9 pts.
Christians	42	51	9
Muslims	68	76	7
Unaffiliated	4	7	3

Note: Black bars indicate a difference greater than 5 percentage points. Differences are calculated based on unrounded numbers. Hindus, Buddhists and Jews are not shown because data on these groups are only available for a small number of countries.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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There is a similar age gap among Hindus in India (74% vs. 81%) – where more than 90% of the world’s Hindus live – and an even larger one among Hindus in the U.S. (39% vs. 62%). (India and the U.S. are the only countries with a sufficient number of Hindu respondents to enable comparisons between age groups.)

Among Jews in both the U.S. and Israel, there is no significant age gap in daily prayer, perhaps in part because Orthodox Jews – who tend to have more children – make up a growing share of both Jewish populations, and thus a larger percentage of young Jewish adults.

Younger Christians pray less than their elders in 48 of 77 countries

Number of countries with each outcome, by religion

	Younger adults pray less	Older adults pray less	No significant difference
Overall	71	2	32
Christians	48	1	28
Muslims	16	0	25
Unaffiliated	10	1	18
Hindus	2	0	0
Buddhists	3	0	2
Jews	0	0	2

Note: Younger adults are those ages 18 to 39; older adults are those 40 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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3. How religious commitment varies by country among people of all ages

The wide collection of cross-national Pew Research Center surveys analyzed in this report on age gaps in religious commitment can also be used to look at the ways religious observance varies among all adults – defined as people ages 18 and older – in different parts of the world.

The four standard measures of religious commitment (affiliation, importance of religion, worship attendance and frequency of prayer) used in this report may not be equally suitable for all religious groups. In particular, rates of prayer and attendance at worship services generally are seen as reliable indicators of observance within Abrahamic faiths – Christianity, Islam and Judaism – but they may not be as applicable for Buddhism, Hinduism and other Eastern religions. In fact, religious identity itself is often conceived of differently in East Asia, where observance is more a matter of culture and tradition as opposed to membership in a particular group. (For more on religious affiliation around the world, see the Pew Research Center’s 2015 report “[The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050](#).”)

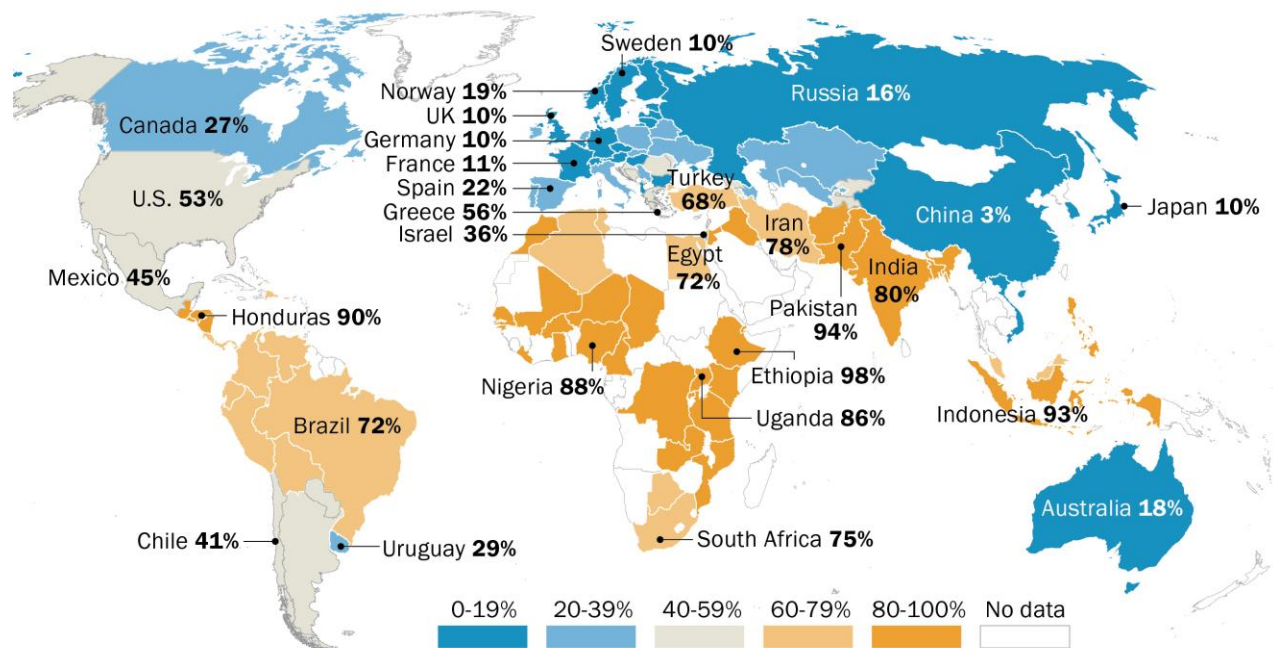
Nevertheless, by these measures, some global patterns are clear: The most religious countries are in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Latin America, while people generally are less religious in Europe, North America, East Asia and Australia. For a discussion of theories that attempt to explain these regional variations, see Chapter 1.

Religion is very important to most people in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia

Overall, in the average country surveyed, 54% of adults say religion is very important in their lives. However, levels of religious commitment vary widely around the world, as well as between countries within the same geographic area. In the Asia-Pacific region, for instance, the share of those who say religion is very important in their daily lives is highest in Muslim-majority countries such as Pakistan, Indonesia and Afghanistan; in these countries, more than 90% say religion is very important. Meanwhile, Japan (10%) and China (3%), where majorities of the population are religiously unaffiliated, have the lowest shares of people who say this.

People in Europe and East Asia say religion is not very important to them

% who say religion is very important in their lives



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008 to 2017.
"The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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There is also wide variation in Latin America, with the share of those who say religion is very important ranging from 90% in Honduras to 29% in Uruguay. In general, religion is more important to people in Central America and less important moving south toward Argentina and Chile and north to Mexico.

Further to the north, U.S. respondents (53%) are about twice as likely as Canadians (27%) to say that religion is very important.

The share of adults who consider religion to be very important in their lives is generally low in Europe, where 23% of survey respondents in the average country say this. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Georgia and Romania, where at least half of people say religion is very important, are above the regional average on this measure, while in most countries in the Baltics, Scandinavia and Western Europe, fewer than one-in-five say religion is very important in their lives.

In sub-Saharan Africa, on the other hand, the share of respondents who consider religion very important in their daily lives is much larger, ranging from a high of 98% in Ethiopia to a low of 71% in Botswana. In all but two countries in the region (South Africa and Botswana), more than 80% of adults say religion is very important to them, yielding a regional average of 89% who say this.

In the Middle East and North Africa, at least 70% of people say religion is very important to them in all countries surveyed except Lebanon (57%) and Israel (36%).

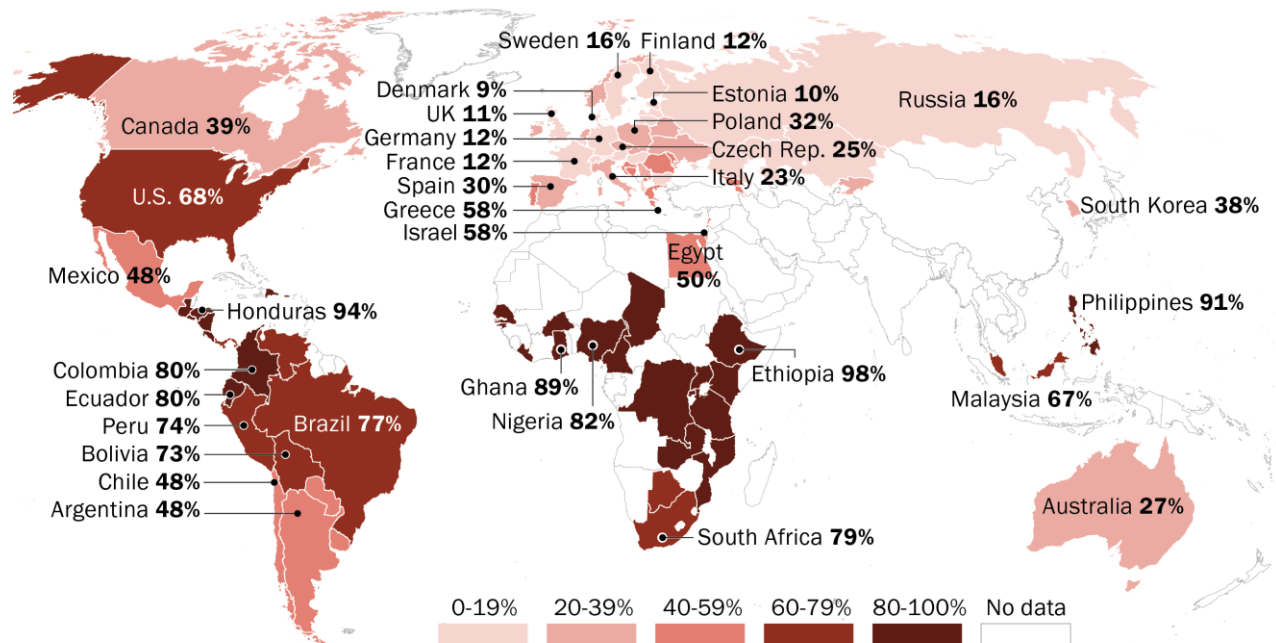
How the importance of religion varies geographically among Christians and Muslims

Christians and Muslims – the two largest religious groups in the world – have substantial populations in several regions, and Pew Research Center data permit analysis of how religious commitment varies among members of these two groups in different parts of the world.

Christians in sub-Saharan Africa are most likely to say religion is very important in their lives, while those in Russia and Western Europe are least likely to say this. Muslims, meanwhile, widely rate religion as very important in their lives in Africa, the Middle East and South and Southeast Asia; religion is less important to Muslims in Europe and the post-Soviet republics of Central Asia. U.S. Muslims fall somewhere in between.

Among Christians, religion most important in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and the United States

% of Christians who say religion is very important in their lives



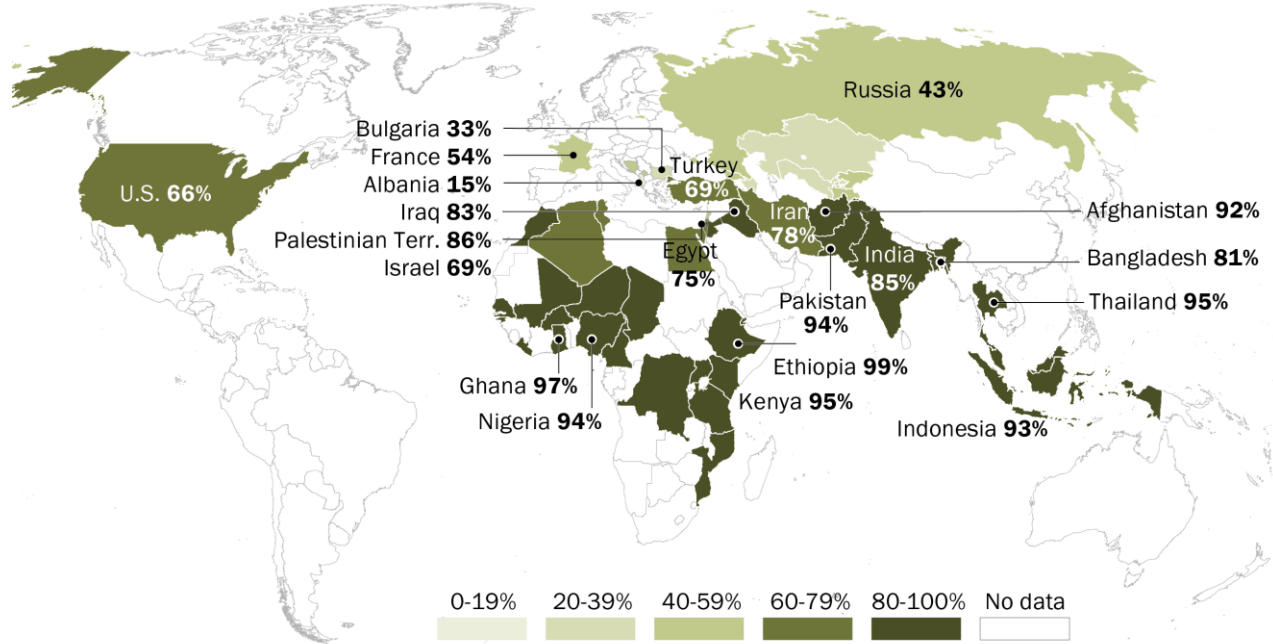
Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008 to 2017.

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Among Muslims, religion most important in Africa, Middle East, South Asia

% of Muslims who say religion is very important in their lives



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008 to 2017.
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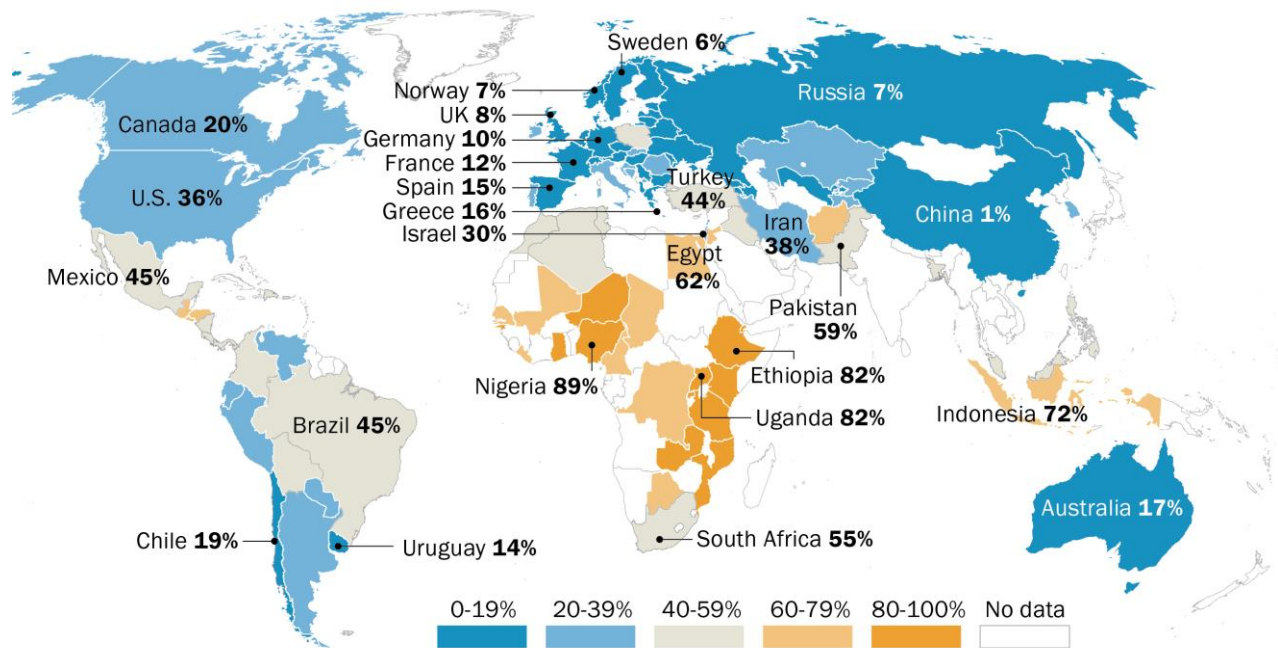
Worship attendance low in Europe

About four-in-ten adults in the average country surveyed say they attend religious services at least weekly. But this figure varies widely in different parts of the world, in part due to geographic differences in religious commitment and in part due to religious norms. For example, unlike those who practice Abrahamic faiths, Buddhists and Hindus do not observe weekly holy days, and weekly communal worship services are not necessarily a part of their religious traditions.

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa with predominantly Christian or Muslim populations tend to have the world's highest levels of regular worship attendance; in the average country in that region, 79% of adults say they attend services weekly. In 12 sub-Saharan African countries surveyed, eight-in-ten or more adults are weekly attenders; no country surveyed in any other region reaches this level.

Weekly worship attendance highest in sub-Saharan Africa

% who say they attend worship services at least weekly



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008 to 2017.
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Attendance across Europe is at the other end of the spectrum. Aside from Poland, where 42% of respondents attend weekly, every other European country in this analysis has rates of attendance at or below 25%. Several countries in Scandinavia and Western Europe are in the single digits.

The other major regions fall somewhere in between these two extremes, with wide variation within each region. In the Americas, weekly attendance ranges from 75% in Guatemala to 14% in Uruguay. Slightly more than one-third of U.S. adults report attending weekly, compared with 20% of Canadians.

In Asia and the Pacific, weekly attendance is highest in Indonesia (72%) and lowest in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and China, all of which have rates of weekly attendance in the single digits. (In China, just 1% of adults report attending religious services weekly.) And in the Middle East-North Africa region, most Jordanians (64%) and Egyptians (62%) attend services weekly, while only 30% of Israelis do.

Daily prayer is especially common in Muslim-majority countries

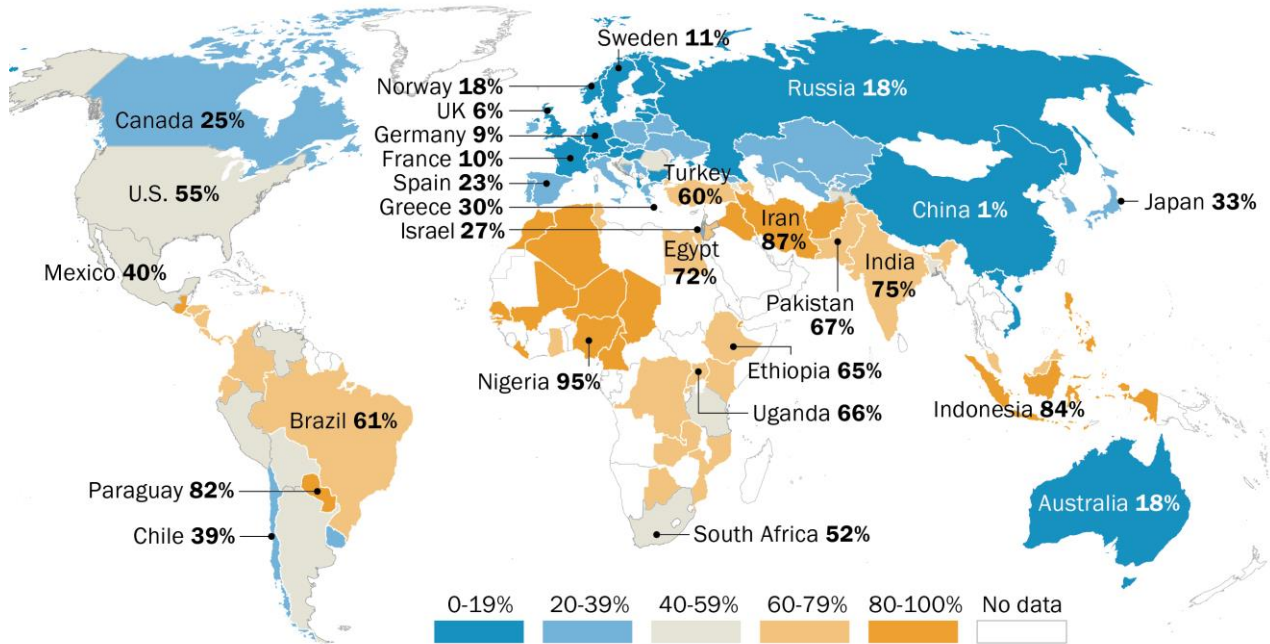
Compared with weekly worship attendance, daily prayer is somewhat more common around the world. In the average country across 105 surveyed, about half of adults (49%) say they pray every day, including majorities in sub-Saharan Africa (75%), the Middle East and North Africa (70%) and Latin America (62%).

Prayer frequency varies widely across Asia. Fully 96% of Afghans and 87% of Iranians – both overwhelmingly Muslim populations – report praying daily, reflecting a global pattern of high levels of prayer in Muslim-majority countries (prayer is one of the Five Pillars of Islam). Daily prayer is also very common in Hindu-majority India, where 75% pray daily, but it is much less common in some other parts of Asia, such as Vietnam (14%) and China (1%).

Low levels of prayer can also be found across Europe, where, in the average country, fewer than one-in-four respondents pray daily. In North America, meanwhile, Canadian respondents are less than half as likely as their U.S. counterparts to pray daily (25% vs. 55%).

Rates of daily prayer lowest in Europe, China

% who say they pray daily



Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008 to 2017.

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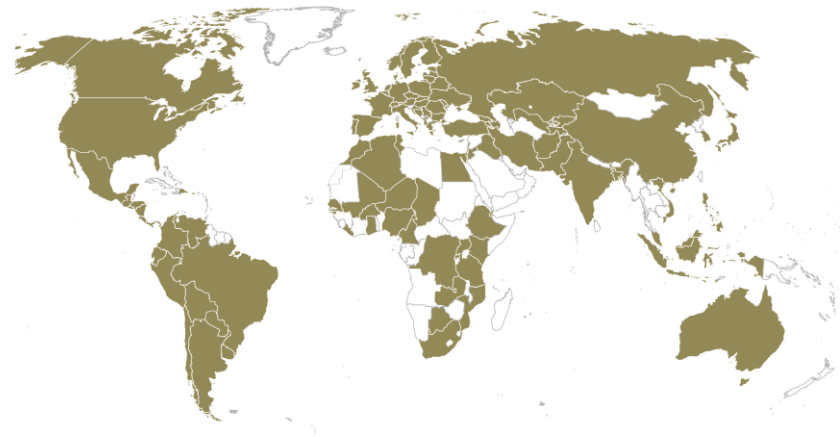
Appendix A: Methodology

This appendix provides an overview of the data sources and analytic approaches used in the report.

The general population data underlying this study come from 106 countries for religious identity, 106 countries for the importance of religion, 105 countries for prayer frequency and 102 countries for religious service attendance. The countries where religious service attendance was measured are home to 70% of the world's population (data on religious service attendance were not collected in India, Japan or South Korea).²³ The countries in which the other measures were collected are home to 91% of the world's population.²⁴ In addition, Thailand's Muslim population was included in the global analysis of Muslims, although Pew Research Center does not have nationally representative data for Thailand's overall population on these measures.

Countries with Pew Research Center data on religious commitment

106 countries are included in this study



Note: There are slight differences in coverage by religion measure: affiliation (106 countries), prayer frequency (105), importance of religion (106) and worship service attendance (102). Data on affiliation, prayer, and importance of religion are available for countries that are home to more than 90% of the world's people.

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.

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²³ Data on worship attendance by religious group are available for national populations that represent 85% of the world's Christians, 84% of the religiously unaffiliated, 82% of Jews, 74% of Muslims, 54% of Buddhists and 1% of Hindus (service attendance data were not collected in India, where 94% of Hindus live).

²⁴ Data on prayer frequency and the importance of religion by religious group are available for the national populations that represent 96% of the world's Hindus, 93% of the religiously unaffiliated, 85% of Christians and Muslims, 82% of Jews and 66% of Buddhists.

Data

Figures on various measures of religious commitment presented in this report come from a variety of surveys carried out by the Pew Research Center between 2008 and 2017. These surveys use consistent wording in questionnaires to measure religious commitment across years and geographical areas:

- Sub-Saharan Africa Survey (2008-2009). Results and methods reported in the 2010 report [“Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa.”](#)
- Global Survey of Islam (2010-2011). Results and methods reported in the 2012 report [“The World’s Muslims: Unity and Diversity.”](#) This report also used data gathered as part of the sub-Saharan Africa survey.
- Latin America Survey (2013-2014). Results and methods reported in the 2014 report [“Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region.”](#)
- Asian Americans Survey (2012). Results and methods reported in 2012 report [“Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths.”](#)
- Jewish Americans Survey (2013). Results and methods reported in 2013 report [“A Portrait of Jewish Americans.”](#)
- Religious Landscape Study (2014). Results and methods reported in 2015 report [“America’s Changing Religious Landscape.”](#)
- Religion in Israel Survey (2014-2015). Results and methods reported in 2016 report [“Israel’s Religiously Divided Society.”](#)
- Central and Eastern Europe Survey (2015-2016). Results and methods reported in 2017 report [“Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe.”](#)
- Western Europe Survey (2017). Results and methods reported in 2018 report [“Being Christian in Western Europe.”](#)
- Muslim Americans Survey (2017). Results and methods reported in 2017 report [“U.S. Muslims Concerned About Their Place in Society, but Continue to Believe in the American Dream.”](#)

Pew Research Center's annual spring surveys that measure global attitudes in 25 to 40 countries also collect some data on religion. They measure up to four indicators of religious commitment: religious affiliation, prayer frequency, attendance frequency and how important religion is to a person. This report uses data on these indicators collected during the 2013, 2015 and 2017 global attitudes surveys for countries not covered in surveys that focus on religion. Details about methods used in the [2013](#), [2015](#) and [2017](#) Global Attitudes surveys are available online.

Using all the above sources, researchers measured differences between younger and older adults in religious affiliation in 106 countries as well as by other religious commitment measures in 102 to 106 countries. (The number of countries varies slightly for each indicator of religious commitment because data on some measures were not collected in all countries.) Together, results from these sources provide a comprehensive and up-to-date portrait of global age-related differences in religious commitment.

Methods

In order to have sufficient statistical power to make comparisons, this report examines differences between younger (under age 40) and older adults (ages 40 and older) only if the sample size for a particular religious group within a country is at least 250 survey respondents. This report presents as statistically significant those differences between younger and older adults for which we can reject the null hypothesis of no differences between the two age groups with a 95% level of confidence. These calculations also take into consideration the survey design effects, which make estimates of significance more conservative. All differences at the country level have been tested for statistical significance, and the country-level differences presented in this report are statistically significant unless noted otherwise.

In this report, data from each country are weighted equally without taking population size into account when calculating averages across all countries globally and in each region.

Tests of whether age gaps in this report are statistically significant rely on weights constructed for each country that account for the design effects of clustered sampling units. However, appropriate weights are not available to evaluate the statistical significance of age gaps aggregated at the level of region, religion, or all countries combined. Therefore, to describe the statistical significance of results aggregated beyond the country level, the report relies on tallies of the number of countries in which there are statistically significant differences and countries in which there are no statistically significant differences.

Dividing younger and older adults at 40

Partitioning the world's adults into halves representing "older" and "younger" was done for the sake of illustrating broad trends in a simple way. The same general pattern described in the report still holds if the generational divide is made at a slightly younger or older threshold. Moreover, defining the transition from younger adults to older adults at 40 is not completely arbitrary. There are a few reasons this cutoff might be better than others. The differences in religiosity between older and younger adults might be due to changes over the lifespan, changes between generations, or (likely) both, so both processes were considered.

Research, particularly in countries with advanced economies, has found evidence of changes in religious commitment across the lifespan. Religious identity and commitment may be in flux during young adulthood, with changes tied to major life events like marriage and becoming a parent. The age when people first get married and have children varies widely by region and religion, but a majority of people who will marry or have children have done so by age 40.

Age gaps stable across potential group cutoffs

In the average country, % points by which younger adults are less religious with each age cutoff

	Age 40 divides younger from older	Age cutoff at ____ years old			
		30	35	45	50
Affiliate	5	5	5	5	5
Attend weekly	6	5	6	6	7
Pray daily	9	8	9	9	10
Say religion is very important	6	6	6	6	7

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
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Globally, percentage point gaps between older and younger adults are stable if the division is made at 30, 35, 45, 50 or the country-level median age instead of 40. Changing the cutoff point between older and younger results in no more than a 2 percentage-point difference in the average size of the age gap. The overall percentage-point gap between older and younger adults is the same on all measures if the split is made at 35, 40 or 45. If older adults are defined as those 30 years old or older, the gaps between age groups on weekly attendance and daily prayer are one percentage point smaller than if the split is made at 40, and the same gaps are one point *larger* if the split is made at 50 instead.

Global patterns are similar with different age thresholds

Number of countries following each pattern under every age cutoff

	Age 40 divides younger from older	Age cutoff at ____ years old			
		30	35	45	50
Affiliate less					
Younger adults	41	35	38	42	42
Older adults	2	1	1	0	0
Attend less					
Younger adults	53	37	43	52	51
Older adults	3	3	3	3	3
Pray less					
Younger adults	71	56	62	68	71
Older adults	2	2	2	2	2
Religion less important					
Younger adults	46	40	45	49	55
Older adults	2	1	1	2	2

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
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Comparing counts of countries that follow each pattern under different age-group thresholds also shows broad consistency. In the vast majority of countries where there is a significant difference, younger adults typically affiliate less, attend religious services less, pray less and are less likely to say that religion is very important, whether "younger" is defined as everyone under 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, or the country's median age.

Appendix B: Detailed tables showing overall figures and age breaks by country and measure

% indicating each type of religious commitment by country and age group. Global and regional averages represent values for the average country surveyed (countries are weighted equally, not by population size).

Country	Overall				Adults < 40				Adults 40+			
	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
World	88%	39%	49%	54%	85%	36%	44%	51%	90%	42%	54%	57%
Asia-Pacific	85	34	50	53	82	31	46	51	86	37	55	55
Europe	81	14	22	23	75	10	16	19	85	16	26	26
Latin America-Caribbean	90	43	62	68	87	38	55	63	93	48	69	73
Middle East-North Africa	100	49	70	73	100	44	65	71	100	55	77	78
Sub-Saharan Africa	98	79	75	89	98	78	74	88	98	79	77	89
Afghanistan	100	61	96	92	100	59	95	92	100	64	97	93
Albania	99	7	15	15	99	8	17	12	100	6	12	19
Algeria	99	48	88	73	99	45	85	69	99	52	94	81
Argentina	89	20	40	43	86	15	31	35	92	25	48	51
Armenia	98	10	45	53	98	12	44	54	98	8	46	53
Australia	57	17	18	18	43	15	14	17	66	18	19	19
Austria	84	11	8	12	74	6	5	6	90	13	10	17
Azerbaijan	100	2	76	38	100	2	74	39	100	2	78	36
Bangladesh	100	54	57	80	100	50	56	79	100	61	60	83
Belarus	97	16	25	21	96	16	18	19	97	16	31	22
Belgium	62	6	11	11	54	3	8	8	67	7	13	13
Bolivia	96	42	56	71	95	37	49	67	98	48	64	76
Bosnia-Herz.	97	24	33	54	97	27	33	55	98	23	33	54
Botswana	91	61	66	71	91	63	66	70	90	58	66	72
Brazil	92	45	61	72	88	39	57	70	96	51	66	76
Bulgaria	95	9	15	19	93	9	12	18	96	10	16	19
Burkina Faso	100			93	100			93	100			92
Cameroon	98	70	82	90	98	70	80	89	99	71	86	91
Canada	67	20	25	27	49	16	16	22	77	22	30	30
Chad	97	77	83	86	97	78	84	87	94	76	79	84
Chile	84	19	39	41	77	14	29	29	90	24	46	50
China	13	1	1	3	12	1	1	3	14	1	1	3
Colombia	94	50	73	77	93	41	66	71	96	60	81	83
Costa Rica	91	52	78	76	88	45	72	70	94	59	86	83
Croatia	93	24	41	42	94	20	29	36	93	26	47	45

Country	Overall				Adults <40				Adults 40+			
	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Czech Republic	28%	7%	9%	7%	19%	5%	6%	6%	34%	8%	11%	8%
Congo DR	96	78	69	88	96	76	68	88	96	84	73	88
Denmark	70	3	10	9	53	3	6	8	79	3	12	9
Djibouti	100	87	87	89	100	85	85	89	100	91	92	89
Dominican Rep.	82	48	74	78	74	42	68	73	91	55	82	84
Ecuador	95	38	63	76	93	33	56	72	97	44	72	82
Egypt	100	62	72	72	100	56	70	71	100	70	74	74
El Salvador	88	61	77	85	85	55	68	81	91	68	88	90
Estonia	55	2	9	6	48	1	5	5	58	3	11	6
Ethiopia	100	82	65	98	100	82	64	99	100	84	69	98
Finland	78	4	18	10	67	4	8	8	84	5	23	11
France	72	12	10	11	63	10	10	10	79	13	11	13
Georgia	100	17	38	51	100	20	36	56	100	16	40	48
Germany	76	10	9	10	65	7	6	5	83	12	10	13
Ghana	99	84	76	89	100	85	76	91	97	81	75	85
Greece	96	16	30	56	94	7	17	41	97	21	36	63
Guatemala	94	75	82	89	93	71	79	88	95	78	86	90
Guinea-Bissau	100	81	83	91	100	80	83	91	100	85	84	91
Honduras	90	64	78	90	89	61	74	89	91	68	85	92
Hungary	79	9	16	14	74	5	8	9	81	11	20	17
India	100		75	80	100		72	79	100		80	81
Indonesia	100	72	84	93	100	68	82	92	100	79	87	94
Iran	100	38	87	78	100	32	86	74	100	48	90	83
Iraq	100	42	87	82	100	40	86	80	100	47	91	86
Ireland	85	20	19	22	79	13	15	17	90	25	21	26
Israel	97	30	27	36	98	32	29	38	97	29	25	35
Italy	85	23	21	21	77	18	20	16	90	26	21	23
Japan	44		33	10	31		10	4	49		39	12
Jordan	100	64	76	85	100	57	71	83	100	74	85	87
Kazakhstan	95	22	20	22	95	22	15	20	95	22	26	25
Kenya	100	81	79	87	100	81	78	87	100	82	79	86
Kosovo	100	23	54	48	100	23	51	45	100	21	60	53
Kyrgyzstan	98	21	24	47	98	22	19	45	98	20	33	49
Latvia	79	6	18	11	73	3	7	5	83	8	24	14
Lebanon	100	35	51	57	100	28	41	47	100	42	62	67

Country	Overall				Adults <40				Adults 40+			
	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Liberia	100%	79%	80%	90%	100%	85%	83%	91%	100%	66%	72%	89%
Lithuania	94	9	15	16	91	2	5	5	96	13	20	22
Malaysia	99	45	61	77	99	43	57	78	99	46	65	77
Mali	100	79	81	94	100	75	77	93	99	86	87	96
Mexico	93	45	40	45	91	40	34	37	96	50	46	53
Moldova	98	15	49	42	97	14	42	40	99	16	56	45
Morocco	100	55	80	91	100	52	74	90	100	62	90	94
Mozambique	87	84	68	87	87	83	68	87	86	87	70	88
Netherlands	51	12	20	20	41	9	15	16	57	13	22	22
Nicaragua	93	55	75	88	92	50	67	88	95	60	83	89
Niger	99	88	87	86	99	88	85	83	100	90	90	91
Nigeria	100	89	95	88	100	90	95	86	99	87	95	92
Norway	57	7	18	19	44	8	14	15	64	7	20	21
Pakistan	100	59	67	94	100	55	64	93	100	67	74	96
Palestinian Terr.	100	55	78	86	100	51	70	83	100	63	93	92
Panama	93	48	69	61	91	45	64	55	95	51	75	68
Paraguay	99	32	82	56	98	31	76	48	99	34	89	64
Peru	96	36	51	73	96	30	44	68	97	43	59	78
Philippines	100	53	82	91	100	51	79	89	100	57	85	94
Poland	93	42	29	30	89	26	14	16	95	55	39	40
Portugal	85	25	38	36	75	16	24	24	91	31	46	44
Puerto Rico	92	47	67	77	88	37	58	68	95	53	73	82
Romania	99	24	45	50	97	17	34	38	99	28	52	58
Russia	85	7	18	16	82	6	12	15	88	8	23	17
Rwanda	99	80	62	90	99	83	62	91	99	73	64	89
Senegal	100	69	88	98	100	63	86	98	100	78	92	98
Serbia	96	7	27	34	94	6	19	31	97	7	31	35
Slovakia	75	23	31	23	71	17	20	17	80	31	43	31
South Africa	93	55	52	75	93	52	49	72	94	59	57	78
South Korea	54	29	32	16	39	24	19	8	63	33	40	21
Spain	70	15	23	22	58	7	13	15	76	20	29	26
Sweden	58	6	11	10	45	6	8	8	64	6	13	11
Switzerland	79	11	8	9	68	7	3	5	85	13	10	11
Tajikistan	100	31	48	50	100	27	40	46	100	38	59	56
Tanzania	99	82	56	93	99	81	53	93	99	83	60	94

Country	Overall				Adults <40				Adults 40+			
	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Tunisia	100%	47%	67%	78%	100%	39%	57%	74%	100%	57%	79%	83%
Turkey	99	44	60	68	99	39	55	65	100	50	66	72
Uganda	100	82	66	86	100	83	66	85	100	82	67	88
Ukraine	93	17	30	23	92	12	22	17	95	20	36	28
United Kingdom	77	8	6	10	67	7	4	8	82	9	7	11
United States	77	36	55	53	66	28	44	43	83	40	62	60
Uruguay	63	14	29	29	52	10	18	22	70	16	36	33
Uzbekistan	99	9	26	29	100	8	18	26	98	11	36	34
Venezuela	93	26	47	67	91	21	44	64	97	31	52	70
Vietnam	36		14	18	36		15	16	36		13	21
Zambia	99	86	78	91	99	86	76	91	99	84	83	92

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Appendix C: Detailed tables showing age gaps by country, religious group and measure

The following table shows percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religious commitment. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded. Average values for Hindus, Buddhists and Jews are not shown at the global or regional levels because data are only available for a small number of countries. Regional averages are not provided for North America because this region consists of only two countries, the U.S. and Canada (Mexico is included in the Latin America-Caribbean region). Global and regional averages represent values for the average country surveyed (countries are weighted equally, not by population size).

Country/Region	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
World	Affiliate	5						
	Attend weekly	6	5	6	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	9	9	7	3	-	-	-
	Very important	6	7	3	1	-	-	-
Asia-Pacific	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	6	2	8	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	9	9	10	6	-	-	-
	Very important	4	7	4	1	-	-	-
Europe	Affiliate	10						
	Attend weekly	5	6	6	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	10	11	2	2	-	-	-
	Very important	7	8	1	1	-	-	-
Latin America-Caribbean	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	10	9	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	14	12	-	6	-	-	-
	Very important	10	9	-	1	-	-	-
Middle East-North Africa	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	11	2	10	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	12	6	13	-	-	-	-
	Very important	7	9	7	-	-	-	-
Sub-Saharan Africa	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	1	1	4	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	3	3	3	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	2	2	-	-	-	-
Afghanistan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	5	-	5	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Albania	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	-	3	-	-	-	-
	Very important	7	-	6	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Algeria	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	7	-	7	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	9	-	9	-	-	-	-
	Very important	12	-	13	-	-	-	-
Argentina	Affiliate	7						
	Attend weekly	10	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	17	16	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	15	14	-	-	-	-	-
Armenia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	2	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	0	-	-	-	-	-
Australia	Affiliate	23						
	Attend weekly	4	7	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	6	-	0	-	-	-
	Very important	1	3	-	2	-	-	-
Austria	Affiliate	16						
	Attend weekly	7	8	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	5	-	2	-	-	-
	Very important	11	13	-	2	-	-	-
Azerbaijan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	0	-	0	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	-	5	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
Bangladesh	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	10	-	11	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	-	5	-	-	-	-
	Very important	4	-	4	-	-	-	-
Belarus	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	0	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	13	13	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	Affiliate	14						
	Attend weekly	4	7	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	10	-	2	-	-	-
	Very important	5	8	-	3	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Bolivia	Affiliate	4						
	Attend weekly	11	10	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	14	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	8	-	-	-	-	-
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	4	2	4	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	0	4	3	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	6	5	-	-	-	-
Botswana	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	5	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Brazil	Affiliate	8						
	Attend weekly	12	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	9	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	6	2	-	-	-	-	-
Bulgaria	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	2	4	-	-	-	-	-
Burkina Faso	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	1	0	-	-	-	-
Cameroon	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	8	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	2	3	-	-	-	-	-
Canada	Affiliate	28						
	Attend weekly	6	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	13	6	-	4	-	-	-
	Very important	9	6	-	1	-	-	-
Chad	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	2	1	8	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	2	1	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	2	4	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Chile	Affiliate	13						
	Attend weekly	10	8	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	17	13	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	21	19	-	-	-	-	-
China	Affiliate	2						
	Attend weekly	0	-	-	0	-	1	-
	Pray daily	0	-	-	0	-	3	-
	Very important	0	-	-	0	-	1	-
Colombia	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	19	18	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	14	12	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	12	11	-	-	-	-	-
Costa Rica	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	14	11	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	14	12	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	13	10	-	-	-	-	-
Croatia	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	5	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	17	18	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	10	-	-	-	-	-
Czech Republic	Affiliate	14						
	Attend weekly	2	5	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	0	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	1	9	-	1	-	-	-
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	7	10	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	4	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	0	2	-	-	-	-	-
Denmark	Affiliate	26						
	Attend weekly	0	3	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	6	-	4	-	-	-
	Very important	1	3	-	1	-	-	-
Djibouti	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	6	-	6	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	-	5	-	-	-	-
	Very important	0	-	1	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Dominican Republic	Affiliate	17						
	Attend weekly	14	7	-	2	-	-	-
	Pray daily	13	8	-	6	-	-	-
	Very important	11	5	-	3	-	-	-
Ecuador	Affiliate	5						
	Attend weekly	11	10	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	16	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	7	-	-	-	-	-
Egypt	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	14	-	15	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	-	5	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	-	2	-	-	-	-
El Salvador	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	13	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	20	17	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	8	5	-	-	-	-	-
Estonia	Affiliate	10						
	Attend weekly	1	2	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	6	-	2	-	-	-
	Very important	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Ethiopia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	2	3	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	7	3	-	-	-	-
	Very important	0	0	1	-	-	-	-
Finland	Affiliate	17						
	Attend weekly	0	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	14	-	6	-	-	-
	Very important	3	1	-	0	-	-	-
France	Affiliate	16						
	Attend weekly	4	2	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	1	3	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	3	5	-	1	-	-	-
Georgia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	4	5	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	8	9	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Germany	Affiliate	18						
	Attend weekly	5	5	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	6	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	8	10	-	0	-	-	-
Ghana	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	4	0	0	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
	Very important	6	4	4	-	-	-	-
Greece	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	15	16	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	18	19	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	22	22	-	-	-	-	-
Guatemala	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	7	7	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	8	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	2	3	-	-	-	-	-
Guinea-Bissau	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	5	6	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	1	1	5	-	-	-	-
	Very important	0	1	2	-	-	-	-
Honduras	Affiliate	2						
	Attend weekly	7	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	11	12	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
Hungary	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	6	6	-	2	-	-	-
	Pray daily	12	13	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	9	10	-	0	-	-	-
India	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	8	-	-	-	7	-	-
	Very important	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Indonesia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	11	-	12	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	-	6	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	-	1	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Iran	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	17	-	17	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	4	-	4	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	-	9	-	-	-	-
Iraq	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	8	-	8	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	-	6	-	-	-	-
	Very important	6	-	6	-	-	-	-
Ireland	Affiliate	11						
	Attend weekly	12	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	8	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	12	-	-	-	-	-
Israel	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	3	8	13	-	-	-	1
	Pray daily	3	20	1	-	-	-	0
	Very important	3	5	11	-	-	-	1
Italy	Affiliate	12						
	Attend weekly	9	11	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	1	4	-	2	-	-	-
	Very important	7	8	-	1	-	-	-
Japan	Affiliate	18						
	Attend weekly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	29	-	-	17	-	30	-
	Very important	8	-	-	1	-	9	-
Jordan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	16	-	16	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	14	-	14	-	-	-	-
	Very important	4	-	4	-	-	-	-
Kazakhstan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	1	0	4	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	11	9	13	-	-	-	-
	Very important	5	11	4	-	-	-	-
Kenya	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	1	0	9	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	1	1	3	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	1	1	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Kosovo	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	2	-	6	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	9	-	4	-	-	-	-
	Very important	8	-	5	-	-	-	-
Kyrgyzstan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	1	-	0	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	-	16	-	-	-	-
	Very important	4	-	5	-	-	-	-
Latvia	Affiliate	10						
	Attend weekly	5	4	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	18	20	-	3	-	-	-
	Very important	9	10	-	0	-	-	-
Lebanon	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	15	11	17	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	20	9	25	-	-	-	-
	Very important	20	13	24	-	-	-	-
Liberia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	19	3	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	12	7	4	-	-	-	-
	Very important	2	3	8	-	-	-	-
Lithuania	Affiliate	5						
	Attend weekly	11	11	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	17	18	-	-	-	-	-
Malaysia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	3	-	7	-	-	1	-
	Pray daily	8	-	9	-	-	13	-
	Very important	0	-	0	-	-	2	-
Mali	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	10	-	9	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	-	4	-	-	-	-
Mexico	Affiliate	5						
	Attend weekly	9	7	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	12	10	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	16	16	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Moldova	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	14	14	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	5	5	-	-	-	-	-
Morocco	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	-	15	-	-	-	-
	Very important	4	-	4	-	-	-	-
Mozambique	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	4	4	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	2	3	3	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	2	0	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	Affiliate	16						
	Attend weekly	4	4	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	7	3	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	6	6	-	2	-	-	-
Nicaragua	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	10	8	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	17	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Niger	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	-	2	-	-	-	-
	Very important	7	-	7	-	-	-	-
Nigeria	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	3	0	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	0	3	1	-	-	-	-
	Very important	6	9	4	-	-	-	-
Norway	Affiliate	20						
	Attend weekly	1	5	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	4	-	0	-	-	-
	Very important	5	8	-	1	-	-	-
Pakistan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	12	-	12	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
	Very important	4	-	4	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Palestinian territories	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	12	-	12	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	23	-	23	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	-	9	-	-	-	-
Panama	Affiliate	4						
	Attend weekly	6	4	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	11	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	13	11	-	-	-	-	-
Paraguay	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	4	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	13	12	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	16	15	-	-	-	-	-
Peru	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	13	13	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	11	10	-	-	-	-	-
Philippines	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	6	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	5	5	-	-	-	-	-
Poland	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	29	28	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	25	25	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	23	23	-	-	-	-	-
Portugal	Affiliate	16						
	Attend weekly	16	14	-	2	-	-	-
	Pray daily	23	18	-	14	-	-	-
	Very important	20	15	-	4	-	-	-
Puerto Rico	Affiliate	7						
	Attend weekly	16	14	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	13	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	15	10	-	-	-	-	-
Romania	Affiliate	2						
	Attend weekly	11	10	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	18	18	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	20	19	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Russia	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	2	4	11	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	11	15	6	0	-	-	-
	Very important	3	4	10	0	-	-	-
Rwanda	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	9	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	2	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Senegal	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	14	-	18	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	-	5	-	-	-	-
	Very important	0	-	1	-	-	-	-
Serbia	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	13	13	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	4	3	-	-	-	-	-
Slovakia	Affiliate	9						
	Attend weekly	14	15	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	23	25	-	3	-	-	-
	Very important	14	15	-	2	-	-	-
South Africa	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	7	7	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	7	7	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	6	7	-	-	-	-	-
South Korea	Affiliate	24						
	Attend weekly	9	18	-	2	-	-	-
	Pray daily	21	21	-	11	-	-	-
	Very important	12	14	-	1	-	-	-
Spain	Affiliate	18						
	Attend weekly	13	15	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	15	19	-	3	-	-	-
	Very important	11	11	-	1	-	-	-
Sweden	Affiliate	20						
	Attend weekly	1	2	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	5	9	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	3	3	-	1	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
Switzerland	Affiliate	17						
	Attend weekly	6	4	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	6	-	0	-	-	-
	Very important	6	6	-	2	-	-	-
Tajikistan	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	11	-	12	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	19	-	20	-	-	-	-
	Very important	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
Tanzania	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	2	3	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	7	6	8	-	-	-	-
	Very important	0	1	3	-	-	-	-
Thailand	Affiliate							
	Attend weekly	-	-	12	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
	Very important	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Tunisia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	17	-	17	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	22	-	21	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	-	9	-	-	-	-
Turkey	Affiliate	1						
	Attend weekly	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	11	-	11	-	-	-	-
	Very important	7	-	7	-	-	-	-
Uganda	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	0	0	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
	Very important	3	3	2	-	-	-	-
Ukraine	Affiliate	3						
	Attend weekly	9	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	14	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	11	11	-	-	-	-	-
United Kingdom	Affiliate	15						
	Attend weekly	2	1	-	0	-	-	-
	Pray daily	2	3	-	1	-	-	-
	Very important	3	4	-	1	-	-	-

Appendix C: continued

Percentage point differences between older and younger adults on each measure of religiosity. Gray cells indicate that younger people are more religious than older people. Otherwise, the direction of the number displayed shows percentage points by which older adults are more religious than younger adults. Statistically significant differences are bolded.

Country	Measure	All	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Jews
United States	Affiliate	17						
	Attend weekly	12	6	1	1	11	1	0
	Pray daily	18	10	10	8	24	16	1
	Very important	17	9	1	4	7	15	3
Uruguay	Affiliate	18						
	Attend weekly	6	3	-	1	-	-	-
	Pray daily	18	16	-	6	-	-	-
	Very important	10	9	-	1	-	-	-
Uzbekistan	Affiliate	2						
	Attend weekly	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	18	-	20	-	-	-	-
	Very important	9	-	9	-	-	-	-
Venezuela	Affiliate	6						
	Attend weekly	10	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	8	9	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	7	5	-	-	-	-	-
Vietnam	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	2	-	-	0	-	2	-
	Very important	5	-	-	5	-	7	-
Zambia	Affiliate	0						
	Attend weekly	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Pray daily	6	7	-	-	-	-	-
	Very important	1	1	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix D: Question wording from each survey

Question wording asking about religious affiliation

The analysis of religious identity in this report distinguished between those who identify with a religion and those who do not. Pew Research Center surveys around the world allow respondents to choose an identity from a list of common options or to name another identity. Those not classified as identifying with a religion include those who say they are atheist, agnostic, have no religion in particular, refuse to answer the religion question or say they don't know. Below are examples of the religious affiliation questions asked in various surveys.

Asian Americans Survey (AAS)

What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?

Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe (CEEU)

What is your present religion, if any?

Christian

Muslim

Jewish

Buddhist

Baha'i

Hindu

Ancient religion/ancient religion or traditional religion/ancient Greek religion or Hellenistic religion

Traditional or folk religion/Folk religion/Spiritist

Atheist

Agnostic

Old Believer

Something else (SPECIFY _____)

Nothing in particular

Don't know

Refused

Global Attitudes Survey (GA, 2013, 2015, 2017)

What is your current religion, if any? (READ LIST – country specific, for Canada as an example)

Catholic (incl. Roman Catholic and Orthodox)

Protestant (United Church of Canada, Anglican, Orthodox, Baptist, Lutheran)

Christian Orthodox

Jewish

Muslim
 Sikh
 Hindu
 Buddhist
 Atheist (do not believe in God)
 Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
 Something else (SPECIFY _____), or
 Nothing in particular
 Just a Christian
 Don't know
 Refused

Global Survey of Islam (GSI)

What is your present religion, if any? (READ LIST)

Muslim
 Christian
 Hindu
 Buddhist
 Baha'i
 Jewish
 Atheist
 Agnostic
 Ancestral or tribal beliefs
 Druze
 (Pakistan) Parsi; (Iran) Zoroastrian;
 Something else
 Nothing in particular
 Don't know
 Refused

Jewish Americans Survey (JAS)

What is your present religion, if any? Are you ...

Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Nondenominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal,
 Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, etc.)
 Roman Catholic (Catholic)
 Jewish (Judaism)
 Muslim (Islam)

Buddhist

Hindu

Atheist (do not believe in God)

Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)

Something else (SPECIFY: _____)

Or nothing in particular

Christian

Jewish and Christian (including Protestant, Catholic, Baptist, etc.; also includes “Messianic Jew,” “Jews for Jesus,” and “Completed Jew”) (SPECIFY CHRISTIAN IDENTITY: _____)

Jewish and something else (SPECIFY WHAT SOMETHING ELSE IS: _____)

Don't Know/Refused

Latin America Survey (LAS)

What is your present religion, if any?

Roman Catholic

Protestant/Evangelical

Jehovah's Witness

Mormon

Jewish

Afrobrazilian (Umbanda, Candomble, Macumba, Quimbanda); AfroUmbandista; Indigenous religion (Santeria; Mayan Traditional Religion; Israelitas del Ultimo Pacto Universal)

Spiritist/Kardecist

Something else (SPECIFY)

Atheist

Agnostic

No religion in particular

Muslim

Just a Christian

Don't know

Refused

2017 Muslim Americans Survey (MAS)

What is your religious preference? Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, or something else?

Christian (includes Protestant, Catholic, etc.)

Jewish

Muslim (includes “Islam, Islamic, Nation of Islam, etc.”)

Hindu
 Buddhist
 Something else [SPECIFY: _____]
 No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic
 Don't know/refused

Religion in Israel Survey (RIS)

What is your present religion, if any? Are you ...
 Jewish (DO NOT READ IN EAST JERUSALEM)
 Muslim
 Christian
 Druze
 Another religion (SPECIFY _____)
 Or no religion (atheist, agnostic or no religion in particular)
 Messianic Jew/Jews for Jesus/Completed Jew
 Don't Know
 Refused

2014 Religious Landscape Survey (RLS)

What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?
 Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Nondenominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, etc.)
 Roman Catholic (Catholic)
 Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints/LDS)
 Orthodox (Greek, Russian, or some other orthodox church)
 Jewish (Judaism)
 Muslim (Islam)
 Buddhist
 Hindu
 Atheist (do not believe in God)
 Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
 Something else (SPECIFY)
 Nothing in particular
 Christian
 Unitarian (Universalist)

Jehovah's Witness
 Don't Know/Refused

Sub-Saharan Africa Survey (SSAS)

What is your present religion, if any?

Christian
 Muslim
 Ancestral, tribal, animist, or other traditional African religion
 Hindu
 Buddhist
 Bahai
 Jewish
 Atheist
 Agnostic
 Something else (SPECIFY)
 Nothing in particular
 Don't know
 Refused

West Europe Survey (WEUP)

What is your present religion, if any? Are you Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Atheist, Agnostic, Something else or Nothing in particular? [If respondent names more than one of the listed groups, classify as "Something else."]

Christian (Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Orthodox, etc.)
 Muslim (Sunni, Shia, etc.)
 Jewish
 Buddhist
 Hindu
 Atheist (do not believe in God)
 Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
 Something else [SPECIFY QCURRELB]
 Nothing in particular
 Don't know
 Refused

Attendance questions

General questions asked of non-Muslim populations

(CEEU, GA, GSI, LAS, RLS, SSAS, WEUP) Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

(AAS) Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you [IF NOT BUDDHIST OR HINDU INSERT "ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES"; IF BUDDHIST OR HINDU OR INSERT "GO TO YOUR HOUSE OF WORSHIP"]... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

Question asked of Jews

(JAS) Aside from special occasions like weddings, funerals and bar mitzvahs, how often do you attend Jewish religious services at a synagogue, temple, minyan or Havurah, more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, such as for high holidays, seldom, or never?

(RIS) Aside from special occasions like weddings, funerals and bar mitzvahs, how often do you attend religious services at a synagogue, minyan or Havurah, more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, such as for high holidays, seldom, or never?

Question asked of Muslims

(CEEU) On average, how often do you attend the mosque for salah? More than once a week, once a week for Friday afternoon Prayer, once or twice a month, a few times a year, especially for Eid, seldom or never?

(GSI) On average, how often do you attend the mosque for salat and Jumah Prayer, more than once a week, once a week for Jumah prayer, once or twice a month, a few times a year especially for Eid, seldom, or never?

(MAS, SSAS) On average, how often do you attend a (the) mosque or Islamic Center for salah and Jum'ah Prayer, more than once a week, once a week for Jum'ah Prayer, once or twice a month, a few times a year especially for the Eid, seldom, or never?

(WEUP) On average, how often do you attend a mosque or Islamic Center for salah or Friday Prayer? More than once a week, once a week for Friday Prayer, once or twice a month, a few times a year especially for Eid, seldom or never?

Prayer questions

General prayer questions asked of non-Muslim population

(AAS, GSI, LAS, RLS, RIS, SSAS) People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, seldom, or never?

(CEEU, WEUP) Aside from religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, seldom, or never?

(GA) People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

Prayer questions asked of Muslims

(CEEU) Aside from religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, seldom, or never?

ASK IF MUSLIM AND PRAYS SEVERAL TIMES A DAY: Do you pray all five salah every day, or not?

(GA) How often, if at all, do you pray: hardly ever, only during religious holidays, only on Fridays, only on Fridays and religious holidays, more than once a week, every day at least once, or every day five times?

(GSI, SSAS) People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, seldom, or never?

ASK IF MUSLIM AND PRAYS SEVERAL TIMES A DAY: Do you pray all five salat every day, or not?

(MAS, WEUP) Concerning daily salah or prayer, do you, in general, pray all five salah daily, make some of the five salah daily, occasionally make salah, only make Eid prayers, or do you never pray?

The importance of religion

(Identical wording across surveys: AAS, CEEU, GA, GSI, JAS, LAS, MAS, RLS, RIS, SSAS, WEUP)
How important is religion in your life – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

Appendix E: Sources

This appendix lists the survey sources for estimates of the gender gap by country and religious group for each of the four measures of religious commitment. Surveys used in the report include Pew Research Center's Sub-Saharan Africa Survey (SSAS), Global Survey of Islam (GSI), Latin America Survey (LAS), Religion in Israel Survey (RIS), Muslim Americans Survey (MAS), Asian Americans Survey (AAS), Jewish Americans Survey (JAS), the 2014 Religious Landscape Study (RLS), Central and Eastern Europe Survey (CEEU), Western Europe Survey (WEUP), and the spring 2013, 2015 and 2017 Global Attitudes surveys (GA2013, GA2015, GA2017). Due to data limitations, it was necessary to use different sources for different measures of religious commitment.

Source surveys

Survey abbreviation for each country, religion and measure combination

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Afghanistan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Afghanistan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Albania	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Albania	Christians		GSI	GSI	GSI
Albania	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Algeria	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Algeria	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Argentina	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Argentina	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Argentina	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Armenia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Armenia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Australia	Total Population	GA2017	GA2013	GA2015	GA2015
Australia	Christians		GA2013	GA2015	GA2015
Australia	Unaffiliated		GA2013	GA2015	GA2015
Austria	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Austria	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Austria	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Azerbaijan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Azerbaijan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Bangladesh	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Bangladesh	Hindus		GSI	GSI	GSI
Bangladesh	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Belarus	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Belarus	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Belgium	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Belgium	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Belgium	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Bolivia	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Bolivia	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Muslims		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Botswana	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Botswana	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Botswana	Unaffiliated		-	SSAS	-
Brazil	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Brazil	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Brazil	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Bulgaria	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Bulgaria	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Bulgaria	Muslims		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Burkina Faso	Total Population	GA2015	-	-	GA2015
Burkina Faso	Christians		-	-	GA2015
Burkina Faso	Muslims		-	-	GA2015
Cameroon	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Cameroon	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Cameroon	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Canada	Total Population	GA2017	GA2013	GA2017	GA2015
Canada	Christians		GA2013	GA2017	GA2015
Canada	Unaffiliated		GA2013	GA2017	GA2015
Chad	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Chad	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Chad	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Chile	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Chile	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Chile	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
China	Total Population	GA2015	GA2013	GA2015	GA2015
China	Buddhists		GA2013	GA2015	GA2015
China	Unaffiliated		GA2013	GA2015	GA2015
Colombia	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Colombia	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Costa Rica	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Costa Rica	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Costa Rica	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Croatia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Croatia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Croatia	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Czech Republic	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Czech Republic	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Czech Republic	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Denmark	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Denmark	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Denmark	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Djibouti	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Djibouti	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Dominican Republic	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Dominican Republic	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Dominican Republic	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Ecuador	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Ecuador	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Egypt	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Egypt	Christians		GSI	GSI	GSI
Egypt	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
El Salvador	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
El Salvador	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
El Salvador	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Estonia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Estonia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Estonia	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Ethiopia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	SSAS	CEEU
Ethiopia	Christians		CEEU	SSAS	CEEU
Ethiopia	Muslims		CEEU	SSAS	CEEU
Finland	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Finland	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Finland	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
France	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
France	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
France	Muslims		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
France	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Georgia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Georgia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Georgia	Muslims		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Germany	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Germany	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Germany	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Ghana	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Ghana	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Ghana	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Greece	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Greece	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Guatemala	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Guatemala	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Guinea-Bissau	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Guinea-Bissau	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Guinea-Bissau	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Honduras	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Honduras	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Honduras	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Hungary	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Hungary	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Hungary	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
India	Total Population	GA2017	-	GA2017	GA2017
India	Hindus		-	GA2017	GA2017
India	Muslims		-	GA2017	GA2017
Indonesia	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Indonesia	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Iran	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Iran	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Iraq	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Iraq	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Ireland	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Ireland	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Ireland	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Israel	Total Population	RIS	RIS	RIS	RIS
Israel	Christians		RIS	RIS	RIS
Israel	Jews		RIS	RIS	RIS
Israel	Muslims		RIS	RIS	RIS
Italy	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Italy	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Italy	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Japan	Total Population	GA2017	-	GA2015	GA2017
Japan	Buddhists		-	GA2015	GA2017
Japan	Unaffiliated		-	GA2015	GA2017

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Jordan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Jordan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Kazakhstan	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Kazakhstan	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Kazakhstan	Muslims		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Kenya	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Kenya	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Kenya	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Kosovo	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Kosovo	Christians		GSI	GSI	GSI
Kosovo	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Kyrgyzstan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Kyrgyzstan	Christians		GSI	GSI	GSI
Kyrgyzstan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Latvia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Latvia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Latvia	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Lebanon	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Lebanon	Christians		GSI	GSI	GSI
Lebanon	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Liberia	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Liberia	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Liberia	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Lithuania	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Lithuania	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Malaysia	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Malaysia	Buddhists		GSI	GSI	GSI
Malaysia	Christians		GSI	GSI	GSI
Malaysia	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Mali	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Mali	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Mexico	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Mexico	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Mexico	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Moldova	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Moldova	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Morocco	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Morocco	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Mozambique	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Mozambique	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Mozambique	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Mozambique	Unaffiliated		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Netherlands	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Netherlands	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Netherlands	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Nicaragua	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Nicaragua	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Nicaragua	Unaffiliated		LAS	-	-
Niger	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Niger	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Nigeria	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Nigeria	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Nigeria	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Norway	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Norway	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Norway	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Pakistan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Pakistan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Palestinian territories	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Palestinian territories	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Panama	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Panama	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Paraguay	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Paraguay	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Peru	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Peru	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Philippines	Total Population	GA2017	GA2013	GA2017	GA2017
Philippines	Christians		GA2013	GA2017	GA2017
Poland	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Poland	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Portugal	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Portugal	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Portugal	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Puerto Rico	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Puerto Rico	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Puerto Rico	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Romania	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Romania	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Russia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Russia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Russia	Muslims		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Russia	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
Rwanda	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Rwanda	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Senegal	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Senegal	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Senegal	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Serbia	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Serbia	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Slovakia	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Slovakia	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Slovakia	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
South Africa	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
South Africa	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
South Korea	Total Population	GA2017	GA2013	GA2015	GA2017
South Korea	Buddhists		GA2013	GA2015	GA2017
South Korea	Christians		GA2013	GA2015	GA2017
South Korea	Unaffiliated		GA2013	GA2015	GA2017
Spain	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Spain	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Spain	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Sweden	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Sweden	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Sweden	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Switzerland	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Switzerland	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Switzerland	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
Tajikistan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Tajikistan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Tanzania	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Tanzania	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Tanzania	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Thailand	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Tunisia	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Tunisia	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Turkey	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Turkey	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Uganda	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Uganda	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Uganda	Muslims		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Ukraine	Total Population	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Ukraine	Christians		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU
Ukraine	Unaffiliated		CEEU	CEEU	CEEU

Country	Religion	Affiliate	Attend weekly	Pray daily	Very important
United Kingdom	Total Population	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
United Kingdom	Christians		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
United Kingdom	Unaffiliated		WEUP	WEUP	WEUP
United States	Total Population	RLS	RLS	RLS	RLS
United States	Buddhists		AAS	AAS	AAS
United States	Christians		RLS	RLS	RLS
United States	Hindus		AAS	AAS	AAS
United States	Jews		JAS	RLS	JAS
United States	Muslims		MAS	MAS	MAS
United States	Unaffiliated		RLS	RLS	RLS
Uruguay	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Uruguay	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Uruguay	Unaffiliated		LAS	LAS	LAS
Uzbekistan	Total Population	GSI	GSI	GSI	GSI
Uzbekistan	Muslims		GSI	GSI	GSI
Venezuela	Total Population	LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS
Venezuela	Christians		LAS	LAS	LAS
Vietnam	Total Population	GA2017	-	GA2017	GA2017
Vietnam	Buddhists		-	GA2017	GA2017
Vietnam	Unaffiliated		-	GA2017	GA2017
Zambia	Total Population	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS	SSAS
Zambia	Christians		SSAS	SSAS	SSAS

Source: Pew Research Center surveys, 2008-2017.
 "The Age Gap in Religion Around the World"

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