

9. MODERNIZATION AND SECULARIZATION IN SPAIN:

EVIDENCE FROM VALUES SURVEYS

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9.1 Introduction

As is well recognized in the existing literature and research, the systematic improvement in economic and material conditions, and the resulting massive access to education and health services, have consequences for citizens' value systems. In modern societies we observe a general process whereby external sources of authority, such as the Church, are substituted by more individualized options when it comes to establishing the orientation of citizens' values (Ingleh, Halman and De Mooi, 1994). In this respect, Louis Halman has made an outstanding contribution to the explanation of the process of secularization in Europe, in relation to the process of modernization and connecting secularization with other processes such as morality (Halman and Van Ingen, 2005). Spain is no exception to this process; in fact, the country has been one of the most visible examples of the transition from a predominantly Catholic and religious society to a broadly secular one. This chapter presents the data for this evolution towards post-materialism and secularization, while also demonstrating which factors explain these positions around religion at different levels: individual, institutional and societal (Dubbelaar, 2002).

9.1 The Rise and Fall of the Theory of Secularization Understood as a Consequence of Modernity

In 1844, Friedrich Nietzsche published his work *The Day after Tomorrow*. In section 129, he wrote his oft-repeated affirmation, "We have killed him – you and I... God is dead!". A few lines down, he added: "There was never a greater deed – and whoever is born after us will be account of this deed before a higher history than all history up to now!" (Nietzsche, 2000:129-130).

In the year 2004, Peter L. Berger published a book in which he reflects on an anecdote about a bumper sticker: "I saw the following, of all places, just off Harvard Road: 'Dear Mr. Nietzsche, You are dead. Yours very truly, God'. This comes rather close to the empirical reality of our age" (Berger, 2004:12).

Between these two assertions by Nietzsche (2000) and Berger (2004), the pro-

Abstract

Secularization is one of the most visible and widespread processes linked to modernization and subsequent value transformations in Europe across the 20th century. Spain is no exception to this relevant value shift and transformation. This chapter explores the process of secularization in Spain, showing, on the one hand, the evolution of various indicators of individual secularization, and, on the other hand, reflecting on which factors explain this process in Spain. For this purpose, we rely on EVS data available for Spain from 1985 to 2007. Our main findings is that Spain has experienced a clear process of secularization during the last decades, although relevant differences can be found in terms of age, job status, post-materialism and political ideology.

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cess of secularization is carved out. During the 1950s, the idea of the death of God, as stated by Nietzsche (2000), returned with a vengeance in the sociology of religion. Its influence was enormous, especially in Europe, in many places, such as Spain, it continues today. Let us recall the following titles: *The Death of God* by Gabriel Valentin (1971), *Unborn is dead* by John A.T. Robinson (1975), and *The Secular City* by Harvey Cox (1975), to name just a few.

Other authors followed, in the first place Protestant theologians or intellectuals who moved in left-wing academic circles, with particular reference to society and Christianity in the United States, where the eclipse of God was obvious (Kurz, 1981). *Time* magazine opened its 8 April 1966 issue with the question, "Is God Dead?" Shortly afterwards the subject of the death of God arrived in Spain. In 1968 the philosopher Victoria Camps was the first in that country to publish a study on the theologians of the death of God (*Los teólogos de la muerte de Dios*). One year later appeared the Spanish translation of Jurgen Habermas' essay "Theologians of the Death of God" (Bishop, 1973).

Of what does the phenomenon of secularization consist of? Charles Taylor (2007), in his great work *A Secular Age* emphasizes the following features:

1. The withdrawal of religion from the public sphere. This could involve two not necessarily simultaneous processes:
 - a) The privatization of religion. This thesis is very much supported in Spain, where secularism is understood to exclude religious practice.
 - b) The marginalization of religion, meaning religious considerations should not have any influence on public life and in public decision making.
2. The shrinking or decline of religious belief and practice.
3. A change in conditions of belief. This third aspect is linked to the formation of a *European alternative*, with an immanentist sign. Taylor (2007, p. 324) notes:

there is a ... powerful unthought operation: an outlook that holds that religion must decline either a) because it is false, and science shows this to be so; or b) because it is increasingly irrelevant now that we can care rationally for ourselves; or c) because religion is based on authority, and modern societies give an increasingly important place to individual autonomy, or some combination of the above.

Religion And Political Modernization

David Baud



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