

Lutheranism or Secularism?

Perspectives on the Lutheran Foundation of the Scandinavian Welfare States – and Signs of New Religious Impulses in the Contemporary Secular Setting

Kjell O. Lejon

Professor of Religious Studies, Linköping University

kjell.o.lejon@liu.se

In modern Sweden and Scandinavia, a correlation between secularization and prosperity can be found, but hardly any arrows of causation from ideological secularism to prosperity. Instead, pillars of the modern welfare states correspond with Luther's teaching on man, vocation, and the priesthood of all believers. Furthermore, the importance of education for all citizens, manifested in the Swedish Church Laws of 1686, formed a foundation of the democratization process – along with the Lutheran Pietists' stress on the importance on individual choice – and was manifested in the stress on literacy and the ability to understand (biblical) texts, sowing seeds of hermeneutical critical thinking. A description of the Swedish or Scandinavian situation will not be complete without taking the Lutheran heritage into consideration. In addition, signs of – even the need or a positive and meaningful possibility of – a religious dimension is back on the "secular" Swedish scene, also in academia, even though not always recognized in a secularist's approach.

In 1936, Marquis Child's *Sweden: The Middle Way* hit America "with the force of an intellectual hurricane."¹ The book was in print until 1985 and introduced generations of Americans to a vision of an economic and social reality, a middle way between collectivism and free individual enterprise, between socialism and capitalism.² Sweden, the modern welfare state, used the best of both systems and was seen as a model and an "attraction" for Americans "interested in social and economic reform."³

In 2008, another American sociologist, Phil Zuckerman, idealizes Sweden on the American intellectual scene. In his book titled *Society without God. What the Least Religious Nations Can Tell Us About Contentment*, Swedish or Scandinavian prosperity is strongly correlated to Scandinavian secularity.⁴ Thus, the welfare state is still in focus, but from another angle and in a different context. To use an analogy: Sweden is still a model, taking a middle way: Using one main concept from communism, namely atheism, and

one concept from American capitalism, prosperous economic policies and techniques. Thus, Sweden promotes "the best" of both in order to build a modern welfare state. At the same time it denounces non prosperous economic theory from the communist tradition and the heavily religious tradition in capitalist America.

Along with his description of prosperous Scandinavia, in Zuckerman's case Sweden and Denmark, he has an implicit claim: There is not only a correlation between secularity and prosperity, there is causation. Even though Zuckerman at one point correctly claims that correlation is not the same as causation,⁵ a causal argument is, if not explicit, always implicit at hand throughout the book. Also, he explicitly argues that the causes of Scandinavian prosperity are not "spiritual".⁶ In fact, at the same time as he claims that religion overall is "one of the main sources of tension, violence, poverty, oppression, inequality and disorder",⁷ he argues that secularity in Sweden and Denmark has led to economic wealth, gender equality, good education, low crime rates, low child mortality and the best of health care systems.⁸ In sum, a secular prosperity thesis is at hand. Secularity causes societal prosperity. The secular society is the ideal; Sweden and Denmark are something like secular heavens, in which religion, more or less, is a non-issue.⁹

However, Zuckerman's standpoint is not only questionable since his methodology is weak and unconvincing and his understanding, or at least his description, of Scandinavian cultural and political history is superficial and inadequate, but also since his secular conclusions quite naturally are highly problematic. Not only general knowledge of Swedish or Scandinavian religious and cultural history, but some recent Swedish dissertations can

shed light on Zuckerman's and other proponents' purely secular perspectives on the Scandinavian situation.

Regarding methodology, Zuckerman's method is highly questionable for at least two reasons: First, his selection of informants for his interviews was not done according to strict random criteria. Second, a usage of traditional religious language to understand the Scandinavian mentality as used by Zuckerman has been shown problematic. When the latter is taken into consideration, as done by Ina Rosen in her dissertation from 2009, *I'm a Believer – but I'll be Damned if I'm Religious*, "a majority of the Danes believe or are willing to identify as religious to a lesser or greater extent", a finding strikingly in contrast to Zuckerman's, and all this due to a different methodology.¹⁰

Furthermore, in his dissertation published in 2010 at Lund Institute of Economic Research, Lund University School of Economics and Management, Jonas Fjertorp concluded in his prologue that the description of Joseph's management in ancient Egypt, described in Genesis, can be a good example for decision-making concerning economics in modern society. This means, apparently, that biblical principles can be viewed as foundational in building a good modern welfare society, as in Sweden.¹¹ In a dissertation from the following year, *Vilsenhetens epidemiologi: en religionspsykologisk studie i existentiell folkhälsa* [*The epidemiology of lost meaning: a study in psychology of religion and existential public health in a Swedish context*],¹² Christina Melder at the School of Theology, Uppsala University, presents her findings in the area of psychology of religion, describing a clear correlation – and causation – between faith and what she calls existential health. The research question was: "How does the existential

dimension of health, understood as the ability to create and maintain a functional meaning-making system, affect the person's self-rated health and quality of life?" The conclusion was that faith as a meaning-making system is essential for existential health. Since existential health is a public health factor it could, for natural reasons, be argued that it is a long-term factor for the Swedish economy, for prosperity. Melder underlines in her conclusions "the need for – and offers a culturally-tested method and model to explore existential needs in this secularized context."¹³

These three examples in contemporary Swedish academia are signs not of what Zuckerman praises as Scandinavian secularism. However, they offer quite different understanding of the religious dimension – belief among "non-believers", the positive possibilities of scriptural principles, and even the need of a foundational faith perspective – in Sweden and Scandinavia, for the sake of a healthy and prosperous society.

A more intricate discussion on the role of religion in Sweden than Zuckerman presents is, for example, found in *Katedralen mitt i staden* [*The Cathedral in the Centre of the City*] (2010) by theology professor Mattias Martinsson at Uppsala University. Even when he presents his own nontraditional approach of "atheistic theology", he describes the interdependency of religious and anti-religious or atheist arguments in the Swedish debate, stating that not only atheism is returning to the debate in Sweden, but also religion. Even though the normal world view or cultural position among the philosophical and cultural elite is heavily secular, Martinsson argues that "the traditional belief system is still charging the secular normality with a certain amount of theological energy."¹⁴ Martinsson

perceives a dimension in the Swedish culture that Zuckerman misses: The "theological energy" and the return of religion. Two questions arise: Is it not possible to view "theological energy" as a constructive force contributing to a "prosperous" intellectual debate? And, could it be argued that religion really never left?

In any case, the Scandinavian situation has been described as post-secular. An argument is found in *Det bländande mörkret* [*The Glaring Darkness*] by Owe Wikström, Professor of Psychology at Uppsala University and a well-known author. In a comparison between the Swedish situation in 1994 and 2007, Wikström states: "The public discussion on questions of life, spirituality and Christian faith have become more open... I am beginning to recognize a greater curiosity regarding spiritual life within Christianity." This is "an obvious shift", he argues.¹⁵ It can be added, that the shift of interest is not from secularism to Christianity, but from alternative non-European spirituality to Christianity. Also, a new form of sacralization is seen in new forms of ritualization through so called "alternative therapies," using new "secular" platforms and therapies and/or coaches for improved health by searching, for example, spiritual meaning in a New Ages influenced language. Religion is in these circles often described in negative terms, spirituality with a very positive terminology. It is one form of sacralization of the "inner being" of the individual, of individual spiritual experiences and inner healing. Rituals are used but expressed in terms of "techniques" in order to underline a disconnection with traditional religions. Thus, new ritual entrepreneurs have appeared on the scene. The expansion of these new alternative therapies in Sweden during 2000s, heavily dominated by women, has been

called a new "revival".¹⁶ Lena Löwendal estimates in 2005 that one third of the Swedish population is "privately religious".¹⁷

In a recent dissertation, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, published 2013 in the series *Studies in Religion and Society* at Uppsala University, Marta Axner addresses issues concerning religion in the public sphere by analyzing the participation of religious debaters in the public sphere, using debate pages during the years 2001–2011 in three national newspapers as empirical material.¹⁸ Since there is a lack of earlier research in this field, this study cannot determine "whether there has been a return or even increase of participation of religious actors on the debate pages."¹⁹ However, Axner argues that her study does not show a strong presence of religious actors in the public debate and that the study cannot be used as a sign of a post-secular society. Nevertheless, the research study clearly manifests the presence of religious debaters in the public sphere in recent years. Also, new participants, for example in form of the Christian think tank Claphaminstitutet, founded in 2008, are mentioned.²⁰ In total, a wide variety of issues were brought up in the newspapers debate pages and the "articles addressing visible religion can be read as an ongoing meta-debate over the place of religion in the public arena".²¹ Axner raises and problematizes several important issues, for example the "de-privatization of religion", the role of religion in a modern liberal society, and the complicated relation between visibility and authority. Noteworthy is an introductory reference to research findings that point to an increased visibility of religion in Sweden, largely due to media.²² However, Axner clearly states that visibility does not equal authority.²³ In addition, an argument proposed by José Casa-

nova is included, namely that the secularist principle of 'no-establishment' seems to be both "insufficient and unnecessary"; secular states are no guarantee for democracy, while several well-functioning democracies, as in the Nordic countries, still have or recently have had state churches.²⁴

Further, it can be mentioned that in October 2013 the newly elected Norwegian government in its four-party agreement declared that Christianity will be more emphasized in the Norwegian public school education.²⁵ Also, in July 2013 the Finnish Minister of State, Päivi Räsänen, was straightforward in her speech on the situation in Finland, unambiguously stressing the importance of Christianity and the Christian values. She frequently cited the Bible, underlining the positive influences of the churches and Christian organizations for the stability and safety of a society, but also for the economy, culture and law, including a foundational view of the value of human beings and human rights.²⁶ It can be added that the best-selling Children's book in Denmark in the spring of 2010, was *Sigurd forteller Bibelhistorier* [*Sigurd tells Bible stories*]. Again, arguments contradict Zuckerman's thesis that religion is a non-issue in Scandinavia. Zuckerman overlooks recent trends, already at hand at the time of his interviews and conclusions of his study, as well as the Scandinavian Christian heritage as an instrumental factor in shaping the modern Scandinavian societies. Zuckerman's thesis needs to be problematized and his terminology partly rephrased in order to understand the multi-dimensional religious or spiritual condition.

Of course, the increased critique of religion, for example by neo-atheists, should be taken into account in further studies of the Scandinavian situation, but

also the importance of vital religiosity among the large immigrant groups of from various religious traditions.

The secularist perspective – and this is apparent in the case of Zuckerman – is indeed often missing the profound influence of theological thinking in the Scandinavian cultural history. For example, is Danish cultural history understandable without taking N. F. S. Grundtvig, Sören Kirkegaard and Hans Christian Andersen into consideration? Do not all three of these authors have a profound religious message which is based on the Lutheran heritage? Can the rest of Scandinavia be understood without a similar comprehension of the immense influence of Lutheranism? I would argue not. The reasons are evident and plentiful in the Scandinavian political, social and cultural history.

An obvious one is the history of education in Scandinavia. Some examples: The archbishop was pro-rector at Uppsala University, the oldest Swedish university, until 1954, and the formal connection between the Lutheran state church and the local school boards in Sweden was upheld until 1958. At the same time, the diocesan boards were replaced by secular educational boards on the regional level, and the role of the bishop as supervisor (*euforus*) of education in Sweden ended.²⁷

In this context, another issue, showing the reaction of the Swedish people, should be mentioned. When the government, led by the Social Democrats, in 1963 proposed a change in the syllabus of the Swedish schools, exchanging the subject "Christianity" for "Religious Studies", more than 2,1 million Swedes signed a petition asking the government to keep "Christianity" as a subject on its own – a petition neglected by the Social Democrats – even though it had massive support of the Swedish people. Ideology was

more important than the will of the people.²⁸ Another sign of the long-term connections between the Lutheran church and the Swedish state: A local priest was a mandatory member in the child welfare committee on the local governmental level until 1960.²⁹ Only a few years earlier, in 1951, the Religious Freedom Act was accepted by the Swedish parliament. If a scholar, as Zuckerman, disregards the vast Protestant, and more specifically the Lutheran impact on the Swedish or Scandinavian societies, it naturally has repercussions. A description of these societies, even though it includes some essential points and gives interesting perspectives and original portraits, lacks essential dimensions and perspectives, and not least academic validity, if the Lutheran history is left out.

Although often seen as a cultural relic, it can still be seen as a forceful symbol that the head of state in Sweden, the monarch, has to be a Lutheran "of pure evangelical faith," according to the Constitution. The Act of Succession, article 4, reads: "The King shall always profess the pure evangelical faith, as adopted and explained in the unaltered Confession of Augsburg and in the Resolution of the Uppsala Meeting of the year 1593, princes and princesses of the Royal House shall be brought up in that same faith and within the Realm. Any member of the Royal Family not professing this faith shall be excluded from all rights of succession."³⁰ We have the same phenomenon in Denmark. Article 6 of the Constitution reads: "The King shall be a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," i.e. the Established Church.³¹ Furthermore, article 4 states: "The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and as such shall be supported by the State."³² The Norwegian Constitution

states in article 4: "The King shall at all times profess the Evangelical-Lutheran religion."³³ Should not these parts of the Scandinavian constitutions be taken into consideration if one is searching for the "soul" of the Scandinavian culture(s)? It could be argued that the present situation is enlightened by cultural markers of historical significance expressed in current constitutions.

The Lutheran teaching, transmitted through generations of Scandinavians since the Reformation, has during the past century been secularized and become parts of mainline secular political arguments in Sweden, a process led by the Social Democrats. Three examples shall be given: first, Luther's teaching on *the priesthood of all believers*, with a foundation of a general Christian understanding of man as being created by God: all are created equal and all are of the same value. Luther stressed the equality of all believers in a reformist way, which in the case of Sweden resulted in church-driven education for *all* Swedes, as described in the *Church Law of 1686*, with rulings about general literacy.³⁴ This law, which also was the law of the Swedish state, ordered the parishes to educate all Swedes, including children, and even the lowest of the lowest on the social ranking scale – as farm-hands and maid-servants – in order to make them able to read. The purpose was religious: The people should "learn to read and see with their own eyes what God bids and commands in His Holy Word."³⁵ The idea was also that the parishioners should be able to critique the parish priest if he did not follow the Scripture in his teachings.

Every individual was to be able to read and understand, interpret Scripture, and more precisely summarize biblical teachings in the form of Luther's *Smaller*

Catechism. Examinations were held by the local pastor and special examination registers on the progress concerning reading and learning capabilities and Catechism knowledge were kept by the Church.³⁶ Another purpose behind the law, of course, was political. The teachings included the standpoint that a Christian life demonstrated faith in a social and political order as described in the *hustavla*, i.e. words from the Scripture laid down as guiding principles for the whole society.³⁷

The ability to read, along with a hermeneutical foundation and an ability of critical thinking, was hereby laid by the Church (and the State), which had a tremendous impact on the people of Sweden, and thereby its cultural life for centuries.³⁸ Illiteracy was "outlawed" in Sweden, for religious reasons some 350 years ago. Sociologist Rodney Stark's conclusion in his *For the Glory of God* comes to mind: "Western civilization really was God-given."³⁹ In any case, one of the most important factors in the creation of a basis for societal prosperity is literacy. While Zuckerman notes that Sweden and Denmark were among the first nations to "push for widespread literacy" he symptomatically fails to link this to Scandinavian Lutheranism.⁴⁰

In the case of Sweden, the foundational teaching of the priesthood of all believers (through baptism), was later transformed into a more or less secularized theme of equality, leading to the political drive for social security for all citizens and thereby for the modern welfare state.⁴¹ It can be mentioned that the teaching of the priesthood of all believers was partly reinterpreted and revitalized by the Pietists, stressing a subjective criterion, translated into individual conversion. This theme, stressing the choice of the individual, was, of course, later on

also underlined by other forces such as liberalism and led to the modern notion of individualism.

Second, Luther's teaching on calling (*vocatio*) can be seen as a theological foundation of the modern political welfare theme of full employment or everyone's right to work.⁴² Daily work is, according to Luther, a fulfillment of God's calling. And, as most famously observed by sociologist Max Weber, Luther's teaching on calling infused the so called Protestant work-ethic and laid the foundation of economic prosperity through its foundational impact on capitalism. Thereby, Luther's teaching had an enormous impact not only on the view of the importance of the use of the talents of each and every individual in the society for the best of society, but also of economic prosperity in the building of the Scandinavian welfare states.

As German language Professor Birgit Stolt puts it, Luther's teaching on calling not only led to the "democratization of the life of faith", but it gave a dignity also to the simplest work, for both males and females.⁴³

Third, in Luther's teaching of the two regiments and the three estates, he outlined the third estate, *economia*, as foundational. The family is seen a cornerstone in a society. In the various homes throughout Sweden, the children – actually everyone – was educated in the "correct" belief system, outlined by Luther. This stress on the importance of the family was transformed into the political theme of "folkhemmet", a Social Democratic vision of the Swedish society as the "people's home". The state replaced the family, but the theme of the importance of correct teaching in the "home" remained. Now, it was the Social Democratic version of a correct belief system that should be trans-

mitted to the coming generations.

In all, the history of Scandinavian prosperity includes the immense impulse of Lutheranism. In fact, as we have seen, the two pillars of the welfare states in Scandinavia, social security and full employment, correspond with Luther's teaching on the priesthood of all believers and vocation. The Protestant work ethic was a driving force towards economic development and prosperity. Thus, Lutheranism, both in a general and more specific understanding, is a cornerstone not only in the Scandinavian cultural history, but also in the political and economic history. In addition, the work for equality has a solid base in the general Christian understanding of *all* human beings created in the image of God and being of equal value. Individualism was promoted by revivalist groups such as the Lutheran Pietists. Secularism is more of a contemporary phenomenon and has, quite naturally, not the same foundational role in the history of Scandinavian prosperity or in the foundational building of Scandinavian welfare states. In modern Scandinavia, there is an evident correlation between secularization and prosperity. However, a simplified description of arrows of causation from *ideological* secularism to prosperity is questionable. The important intellectual foundation was laid by Scandinavian Lutheranism. This is, of course, not to say that secularized religious concepts and modern "secular" economic ideas have not had significant and principal contributions to the modern process of developing prosperous Scandinavian societies. But, again, the base of the prosperous Scandinavian societies is heavily informed by foundational Christian ideas – Lutheran in character – of man and society. Thus, neither the transformation of some of these ideas into modern seculari-

zed concepts, nor negligence of historical evidence, changes the history of necessary preconditions when building the modern Scandinavian well-fare states.

It seems like Zuckerman's account is highly problematic both when it comes to methodology and his theoretical perspective, which has repercussions on his description of the Scandinavian situation as well as on his conclusions. It is possible that his vision of a "middle way" to a prosperous secular society is a cul-de-sac?

Historical evidence and new research in several academic fields point to far more complex and multidimensional conditions than Zuckerman portrays. Faith, spirituality and religion are still alive in Scandinavia, not only canalized through Lutheranism and old-time-revivalist groups, nowadays formalized in various denominations, but also through a wide range of immigrant groups and "alternative therapies".

Notes

1. Logue, John, "The Swedish Model: Visions of Sweden in American Politics and Political Science." *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* No. 50:3, (Chicago: Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1999), 163–172. Child's book was published by Yale University Press.
2. Logue, "The Swedish Model", 163f., 171 (note 9). The definition of the "middle way" varied slightly with the commentators, and also in Child's own view in different editions of the book.
3. Logue, "The Swedish Model," 164.
4. Zuckerman, Phil, *Society without God. What the Least Religious Nations Can Tell Us About Contentment* (New York/London: New York University Press, 2008).
5. Zuckerman, *Society without God*, 29.
6. Zuckerman, *Society without God*, 30.
7. Zuckerman, *Society without God*, 18.
8. Zuckerman, *Society without God*, 25-29.
9. Zuckerman, *Society without God*, 2.
10. Rosen, Ina, "I'm a Believer – but I'll be damned if I'm religious: Belief and religion in the Greater Copenhagen Area", *Lund Studies in Sociology of Religion* 8 (2009): 163.
11. Fjertorp, Jonas, *Investeringar i kommunal infrastruktur: Förutsättningar för en målfokuserad investeringsverksamhet* (diss., Lund Institute of Economic Research, 2010), prologue.
12. Melder, Cecilia, *Vilsenhetens epidemiologi: en religionspsykologisk studie i existentiell folkhälsa* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2011).
13. Melder, *Vilsenhetens epidemiologi*, 4 (abstract). Also, see results 256ff. Existential meaning-making systems "which have an emotional connection to the existential needs of each individual and an existential interpretation" can be linked not only to a religious, but also a philosophical and/or ideological reflection, 261.
14. Martinsson, Mattias, *Katedralen mitt i staden* (Lund: Arcus Förlag, 2010), 10.
15. Wikström, Owe, *Det bländande mörkret* (Örebro: Libris förlag, 2007), 17f.
16. Hornborg, Ann-Christine, *Coaching och lekmanaterapi. En modern väckelse?* (Stockholm: Dialogus, 2012), 7f., 11ff, 19, 20ff., 208, 211f.
17. Hornborg, *Coaching och lekmanaterapi*, 26f. She is referring to Löwendahl, Lena, *Religion utan organisation – om religiös rörlighet bland privatreligiösa* [Religion without Organization – On Religious Mobility Among the Privately Religious] (Stockholm: Symposion, 2005), 141, 148.
18. Axner, Marta, *Public Religion in Swedish Media. A Study of Religious Actors on Three Newspaper Debate Pages 2001–2011*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studies in Religion and Society, 11 (Uppsala: Teologiska fakulteten, Uppsala Universitet, 2013).
19. Axner, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, 173.
20. Axner, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, 83 et al.
21. Axner, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, 176.
22. Axner, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, 15.
23. Axner, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, 186f.
24. Axner, *Public Religion in Swedish Media*, 36. Reference to Casanova, José, "Public Religion Revisited," in *Religion: Beyond the Concept*, edited by Hent de Vries (Fordham University Press, 2008), 101–119.

25. "Avtale mellom Venstre, Kristelig Folkeparti, Fremskrittspartiet og Høyre" in: <http://www.krf.no/ikbViewer/Content/76788/Samarbeidsavtale.pdf> (accessed Oct. 19, 2013). Jakob Zettermann: "Kristendoms kunnskap tilbake i Norge" in *Dagen*, October 17, 2013, <http://www.dagen.se/nyheter/kristendoms-kunnskap-tillbaka-i-norge/> (accessed Oct. 19, 2013). This is a reaction to a 9-8 decision in the European Court of Rights in 2007, when the stress on Christianity in the Norwegian school education was seen as discriminatory. Regjeringen Stolteberg II, "Den norske stat dømt av Den europeiske menneskerettsdomstol i saken om KRL-faget", Kunnskapsdepartementet, <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumentarkiv/stoltenberg-ii/kd/Nyheter-og-pressemeldinger/pressemeldinger/2007/den-norske-stat-domt-av-den-europeiske-m.html?id=475650#> (accessed Oct. 19, 2013).
26. The speech, in Swedish translation, can be found at: <http://claphaminstitutet.se/2013/10/14/den-kristne-idet-sekulariserade-samhället-den-kristna-människosynen-utmanad/> (accessed Oct. 19, 2013).
27. Brohed, Ingmar, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, band 8. Religionsfrihetens och ekumenikens tid (Stockholm: Verbum, 2005), 169.
28. More precisely 2,134,513 out of 7,604,000 Swedes. Brohed, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 197, http://www.google.com/publicdata?ds=wb-wdi&met=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:%20SWE&dl=sv&hl=sv&q=befolkningsm%C3%A4ngd+i+sverige#met=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:SWE (accessed Feb. 11, 2011).
29. Lejon, Kjell O., *Tvångsteriliseringarna och Svenska kyrkan 1935–1975*. Tro & Tanke/Supplement 1/1999 (Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1999), 71.
30. Sveriges riksdag, "The Act of Succession" in http://www.riksdagen.se/templates/R_PageExtended_____6311.aspx (accessed Feb. 11, 2011).
31. Folketinget Copenhagen, "The constitutional act of Denmark" in <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/upload/application/pdf/0172b719/Constitution%20of%20Denmark.pdf>. (accessed Feb. 11, 2011). Lutheran membership is applicable to the royal house. This led Prince Consort Henrik to convert from Catholicism before marrying Queen Margrethe II in 1968, and Mary Donaldson to convert from Presbyterianism before marrying Crown Prince Frederik in 2004.
32. Folketinget København, "The Constitutional Act of Denmark" in <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/upload/application/pdf/0172b719/Constitution%20of%20Denmark.pdf> (accessed Feb. 11, 2011).
33. § 4 "Kongen skal stedse bekjende sig til den evangelisk-lutherske Religion." Lovdata, "Kongeriget Norges Grundlov, given i Rigsforsamlingen paa Eidsvold den 17de Mai 1814," <http://www.lovdata.no/all/hl-18140517-000.html#4> (accessed Oct. 19, 2013). "The Constitution, as laid down on 17 May 1814 by the Constituent Assembly at Eidsvoll and subsequently amended," <http://www.stortinget.no/In-English/About-the-Storting/The-Constitution/The-Constitution> (accessed Oct. 19, 2013).
34. See, for example, Johansson, Egil, "The History of Literacy in Sweden", in *Understanding Literacy*, ed. by Graff, Harvey J. & Mackinnon, Alison, et. al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009), p. 34f. The Church Law of 1686 was in fact, although with many changes, Swedish law until 1993, Notisum, "Lag (1992:301) om införande av kyrkolagen," <http://www.notisum.se/rnp/sls/lag/19920301.HTM> (accessed Feb. 11, 2011).
35. *Church Law of 1686*, Chapter 2, § 10. Quoted in Egil Johansson, "The History of Literacy in Sweden," 34f., and in Johansson, Egil (2002), "Kyrkan och undervisningen" in Montgomery, Ingun, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*. Enhetskyrkans tid (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), 258.
36. Johansson, "The History of Literacy in Sweden", 43. Johansson mentions that some examination registers in fact date as far back as to the 1620s.
37. Johansson, "The History of Literacy in Sweden", 35.
38. See, for example, Carlsson, Sten, "Den svenska kyrkans roll som kulturfaktor" in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 84 (1984), 134ff.
39. Stark, Rodney, *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism Led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 376.
40. Zuckerman, *Society without God*, 118.
41. Thorkildsen, Dag, "Religious Identity and Nordic Identity", in Øystein Sørensen and Bo Stråth, eds., *The Cultural Construction of Norden* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997), 159.
42. Thorkildsen, "Religious Identity and Nordic Identity", 159.
43. Stolt, Birgit, *Luther själv. Hjärtats och glädjens teolog* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2004), 31.