

Kamarás István:

Religiousness, lifestyle, taste

1. Social position, life style and religiosity

P. Bourdieu (2002) analysed the correlation among the fields of a) social positions, b) the dispositions (the habitude, the way of doing things) c) standpoints and choices in the several spheres of the life (meal, sport, politics, art). He found that the field of standpoints and choices reflects the field social positions mediating by the fields of dispositions. I think the disposition is more or less suitable for the lifestyle, the value-system or the taste. My questions are how we can fit the religiousness in this correspondence. *M. Weber* (1992) and others verified convincingly, that the different kinds of religions and religiosities can be connected looser or tighter with both social positions and lifestyles. A certain religion or religiousness very rarely coincidence completely with a certain social position, but – I think so – rather with a certain lifestyle, habitude, value-system, taste, which influence the particular decisions, behaviours and judgments of taste¹ of our everyday life.

When *P. Bourdieu* compares the sphere of the social positions with the sphere of the lifestyles, he finds in the sphere of self employed the following lifestyle elements: piano, whisky, golf, bridge, water ski, but in the sphere of skilled workers and foremen he finds beer, football, accordion, angling, snap. (Bourdieu, 2002:17) It's questionable whether among Catholics, Reformed believers, Jehovah's Witnesses or Krishna believers could we find such special lifestyle elements. I think *Andrew Greeley's* empirical research can serve the basis of this hypothesis.

Having compare the Protestant and Catholic imagination *Andrew Greeley* finds the catholic imagination (we can say also style, taste, habitude) richer in pictures, illustrations, rites and stories, and he name it sacramental imagination that rather perceive and interpret the reality as sacral and manifestation of presence of God. He also finds that the Catholic imagination collocates with a special Catholic lifestyle.² He verifies by means of statistical data that the Catholics of USA like the opera, classic music, fine art, dance, parties, bars and other places of entertainment, meetings with neighbours and friends than the Protestants, as well as their sexual life more creative the Protestant's one. (Greeley, 2000) He also demonstrated, that the world-view of Catholics more optimistic, than the one of Protestant, as well as they rather think, that a good man must deal with the things of the world. The Catholics also think, that God is reflected in the arts. Similarly the Catholics give proof of sympathy towards women and PWA-s.³ As in USA the Protestants⁴ are rather white Anglo-Saxons and among the Catholics we can find all sort of non Anglo-Saxon ethnic group, I suspect that the reason of the difference in lifestyle found by *Greeley* is not only the difference of religion but also the difference of ethnic that is partly positional difference. Of Course the ethnic differences at the same time social, economical and cultural differences, namely the Catholics in USA are poorer than the average, and the Protestant are above average.⁵ The question remains open: is there any difference in lifestyle between Catholics and Protestants, and it is so, what is the role of social position and the religiousness in the

¹ *P. Bourdieu* sometimes substitutes „habitude” with „taste”.

² He put to use data of representative surveys, and he could demonstrate in most of cases 10-20 % differences.

³ *Greeley* declares emphatically, that does not mean the majority of the Catholics, they are not better, only others than Protestants.

⁴ Comparing American Protestantism with European (and Hungarian) ones we have to consider another significant difference: in the most European countries where the Protestants are in majority (or they constitute relatively great part of the inhabitants) we can take into account only one dominant Protestant denomination többségben vagy jelentős arányban vannak a protestánsok, egy domináns protestáns felekezettel lehet számolni: in Scandinavia and Germany they are Lutherans, in Holland, Hungary and Romania Calvinists, in England Anglicans.

⁵ Of course I take into account, that in America the most dynamically developing trend of the Christianity is the Pentecostalism is very attractive also for the coloured poor, but it does not destroy my statement, but only qualifies it.

explanation. In other way: belonging to religious or ethnic group to what extent is the reason of the difference in lifestyle and taste. Another questions arise: are there differences in lifestyles in the same religious groups? What degree does religiousness influence lifestyle, and of course inversely?

2. About the survey⁶

Partly in order to check the Greeley hypothesis about the difference between the Catholic and Protestant habitude⁷, and partly in order to examine the lifestyle of people belonging to different protestant denominations (Calvinists, Lutherans, Baptists, Adventists, Jehovah's-Witnesses, Pentecostals) and non-Christian religions (Buddhists and two groups of Krishna-believers⁸). I have analysed⁹ in ten different groups representing religiousness:

- a) the character of religiousness (the dominant dimensions of religiousness¹⁰, the preferred holy things¹¹, the concepts of God, the world and the man), as the independent variable of the research;
- b) the lifestyle, that is free time habits, the scale of values as an organic part of the habitude and the attitude towards sexuality, humour;
- c) the taste, that is their attitude and behaviour to arts¹², as the dependent variable of the research.

From economic and cultural aspects all the groups (30-80-strong) proved quite homogenous, since their members are in their twenties holding a university degree or studying at tertiary level. The members of the different religious groups is regularly practising their religion.¹³ Beside the religious groups I investigate as control-groups non-religious youths and older than 50 age Catholics, Calvinists, Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses and non-religious with the aim of investigating the differences between the two generations, otherwise what extent is the age the reason of differences.

3. The character of religiousness

3.1. The concept of God

I have found a surprisingly firm similarity regarding both the concept of God and the personal relationship with God. The concept of God resulted on average in the middle of the „near-far” scale¹⁴ in all the ten groups. On the near end of the 1-5-grade scale are those, who consider God rather far, stranger, powerful, commander, judging, impersonal spiritual power, father, king, master; on the far end are those consider God rather near, inside, encouraging, consoling, personal, mother, friend, loving mate. Regarding the relationship with God – except for the Krishna believers – those who reported a personal, intimate relationship were in majority. With the exception of Calvinists (2,7) the majority of every groups¹⁵ (3.4 –3.8) feels God rather near to him/her, than far from themselves. God – in every group – is rather encouraging than commanding, rather consoling than judging, rather a friend

⁶ It is goes on backed by OTKA sponsorship. (the number of the project is K60289). The data processing is performing by the Bolsoft (manager: Endre Bolváry).

⁷ The words „catholic” and „protestant” mean different things in the United States and in Europe. This is because there are much smaller ethnical differences here if any. On the other hand, the composition of Protestantism in the Old World is different form that of in the New World.

⁸ One of them belongs to the traditional line of ISKCON (henceforth abbreviated: ISKCON Krishna-believers), the other named Hungarian Brahmana Mission represents an Europeanised, secular, individualistic version of the vasinava religion, and within this, the Krishna faith, namely the line of Sri Chaitanya Saraswat Math (henceforth abbreviated: HBM Krishna-believers).

⁹ Within the framework of the empirical research of the Department Anthropology and Ethics of Pannon University (Veszprém, Hungary)

¹⁰ Knowledge, faith, emotion, rite, community

¹¹ Holy scriptures, music, pictures, buildings, activities, clothes, pilgrimage and meditation.

¹² The choice and appreciation of certain works of art, the reception (effect and interpretation of particular works of art.

¹³ Regular church-goer etc.

¹⁴ One of whose extremity is the distant, abstract and the other extremity is the intimate, close friend God.

¹⁵ For the Buddhists instead of God: Buddha.

than a king but at the Krishna-believers only, God is rather mother than father. However the subtle differences are characteristic. Pentecostals and Jehovah's Witnesses feel God somewhat nearer and more personal to themselves, than the others, but they feel the God to a lesser degree mother, than the other. (Above all the ISKCON Krishna-believers.) In this respect we can not find essential differences between the two age groups.

3.2. The cognitive-emotional character of religiousness

We can place every answerer on the 1-5-grade scale on the evidence of the cognitive–emotional characteristic of religiousness.¹⁶ In this way the order of the investigated groups (in brackets the number of the members of the groups):

Jehovah's Witnesses	4.7 (24)
Pentecostals	4.0 (48)
Baptists	3.9 (34)
ISKCON Krishna-believers	3.7 (29)
Adventists	3.6 (23)
Calvinists	3.6 (69)
Buddhists	3.5 (41)
Lutherans	3.4 (41)
Catholics	3.3 (68)
HBM Krishna-believers	3.0 (32)

We can very well experience, that the religiousness of the represents of the most fundamentalist trends of Christianity¹⁷ is strongly cognitive; on the other hand the religiousness of the HBM Krishna-believers (and lesser degree of Catholics, Buddhists and Lutherans) is more balanced. In this respect the religiousness of the two Krishna-believer groups differs to a high degree.

The believers of so called "historical" (Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran) churches in view of eight dimensions of the religion show the most similarity. According to the judgement other importance of two religious dimensions (belief and knowledge) we can perceive differences. The believers of the "historical" churches consider the community less important, than the others. The emotion and the experience for the HBM Krishna-believers are the most important, for the Jehovah's Witnesses are less important. The rites and meditation are the most important for the two Krishna-believer groups, and least of all for the Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostals. For the Catholics both of them are more important, than for the protestants. The importance of the moral principles are proclaimed first of all by the Jehovah's Witnesses and the traditional (ISKCON member) Krishna-believers. Adventists and Baptists in most of cases occupy a position between the traditional (as Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran) and fundamentalist (as Pentecostal and Jehovah's Witness) Christians.

With the exception of Calvinists in this respect we can experience among the elder higher values (with 0.1-0.4), than among the younger, that is to say the religiousness of youth is slightly emotional, than the one of the elderly group.

3.3. Preference of "holy things"

In respect of importance attached to "holy things" (in other words in respect of religious habits) the differences are more larger. The holy scriptures are a bit more important for the Baptists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses and Krishna-believers, that for the members of three traditional Christian denominations. Then holy music is a bit more important for the Pentecostals and Krishna believers, that for the others. In judgement of the other "holy things" we can find more significant differences, as the average values of the 1-5 scale of the importance show on the following table¹⁸:

¹⁶ The considerably cognitive attitude get the 5-grade, the considerably emotional attitude get the 1-grade.

¹⁷ I use this phrase in terms of description (not in qualification).

¹⁸ The different degree of the shading show the degree of the distance of the average value of the given group from the average value of the whole sample. The numbers with bold types show values below the average. The parentheses show that the number of the elements are very low.

	<i>holy scriptures</i>	<i>holy images</i>	<i>holy buildings</i>	<i>holy music</i>	<i>holy actions</i>	<i>holy clothing</i>	<i>pilgrimage</i>	<i>holydays</i>	<i>average</i>
Catholics	4.0	2.7	3.4	3.6	3.5	2.4	2.7	4.3	3.3
Calvinist	4.4	1.7	3.1	3.6	3.3	2.0	1.7	4.2	3.0
Lutherans	4.3	1.5	2.7	3.5	3.1	1.6	1.6	3.9	2.8
Baptists	4.7	1.3	2.6	3.9	3.0	1.8	1.0	3.6	2.7
Adventists	4.7	1.3	2.0	3.9	3.2	2.1	1.2	3.0	2.7
Pentecostals	4.9	1.0	1.4	4.0	2.7	1.3	1.1	3.0	2.4
Jehovah's Witnesses	5.0	1.0	1.2	3.4	2.3	1.2	1.1	1.8	2.1
ISKCON-Krishna believers	4.8	4.4	4.0	4.5	4.0	3.4	3.6	4.0	4.1
HBM--Krishna believers	4.4	4.2	3.7	4.5	4.2	3.0	3.5	4.4	4.0
Buddhists	4.0	3.3	3.4	3.0	3.3	1.6	2.5	2.4	2.9

table 1.

We can experience the most striking difference between the Krishna-believers and the others: for the Krishna devotees – with the exception of the holy scriptures – all of the holy things are more sacred, than for the others, that is to say the world of Krishna-devotees is less mundane, in their world to a smaller degree separate the holy and and mundane spheres. (It also holds true of those Krishna-devotees, who do not live in their “holy village”¹⁹, but in a mundane world.) In this respect the Catholics are nearest to them, furthest to them are Jehovah's Witnesses, who manifest themselves as most puritan. The holy scriptures – which are considered as most important in every religious group – are less important for the members of traditional Christians. The holy spectacles and actions – verifying Greeley's thesis – are more important for the Catholics, than the Protestants. The more emotional religiousness correlates with the fondness of holy spectacles and actions. (The value of Pearson-number is +0.35)

3.4. Judgement of the world and the man

I can find significant differences in the degree of the optimism and pessimism of the world-view and the notion of the human.²⁰

MBM Krishna-believers	4.2
Catholics	4.1
Buddhists	3.7
Lutherans	3.6
ISKCON Krishna-believers	3.5
Calvinists	3.3
Baptists	3.0
Adventists	3.0
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.7
Pentecostals	2.6

Both religions and the lifestyles within a religion significantly can be different in the respect whether they consider the world or the human nature good or bad, abandoned by God or enriched by God. In this respect we can experience differences between the Catholics and Protestants, between the traditional Christians²¹ (Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans) and the other Christians, between the traditional and individualistic Krishna believers. The attitude of the majority of Pentecostals and Jehovah's Witnesses towards the world and the men is distinctly pessimistic. All of the members of the ten religious groups completely agree with the statement “All over the world we can find a lot of good that is the sign of the

¹⁹ Near to Somogyvámos, which is called Krisnavögy (Krishna-valley)

²⁰ The questionees had to qualify by the help of 1-5 scale such pairs of statements as: „The world is basically wicked and guilty. — All over the world we can find a lot of good that is the sign of the goodness of God”, „The human nature basically is wicked. — „The human nature basically is good”, „God almost has completely retired from the guilty world. — God manifests himself everywhere in he world.” „The world is the place of chaos and struggle. — „The characteristic qualities of the word are the harmony and the cooperation”

²¹ In Hungary

goodness of God”²², but the degree of agreement with the statement “The world is basically wicked and guilty” is very different: the majority of Pentecostals (4.2.), Baptists (4.0), Jehovah’s Witnesses (4.0), Adventists (3.8) and Calvinists (3.6) agrees with the statement, but the definitive majority of Catholics (2.1), the “modernized” (HBM-member) Krishna-believers (1.6) and Buddhists (1.4) on the contrary. With the statement “The good man has to take part in solving of the problems of the world” only the Jehovah’s Witnesses disagree. In this respect the other pole is represented by the traditional Christians, Buddhists and the HMB-member Krishna-believers. With regard to good or evil character of the man Baptists, Adventists and Pentecostals are the most pessimistic, Catholics and Buddhists are the most optimistic. In this respect we can experience rather great difference between Catholics and traditional Protestants (Calvinists and Lutherans). We can find similarity in judgement of statement “Most of the human activities are useless and idle”, the only difference: in his respect we find the most pessimistic attitude among Jehovah’s Witnesses. Important task for the further investigations to the nature of the optimism experienced among Catholics and HBM-member Krishna-believers: whether is it responsible or easygoing. Similarly: how far means the pessimism of Pentecostals and Jehovah’s Witnesses denying of values or suffered responsible world view of.

Among Calvinists the aged, among the Jehovah’s Witnesses the youths are more optimistic, than the others.

I found positive connection (the Person-number is +0,27) between the optimistic world view and the emotional character of religiosity as well as between the optimistic world view and the stressing of importance of the holy actions and spectacles. (+0.47). The optimistic world view correlates positively with the intrinsic image of Good and negatively with the non-personal or distanced image of Good.-.

4. Value-system

4.1. Important matters

“If the religious persons give up themselves to Good, loved by all of the valuable and valueless elements of the world, the values will organize themselves into hierarchical structure for them”, declares R. Schaeffer (2003:151) and asks: “Does the acts of the catching of the values and constructing of the value-structure posses specifically religious character? Are the definitely secular moreover expressly anti-religious methods of the ranking of the values possible?” I endeavour to answer these questions, may be not at this preliminary study, but at the end of my research. To investigate the value system in my survey I apply the Shalom Swartz’s test (1992) used in his survey seeking the common values of the very different cultures.

Value-clusters →	universality ²³	independence ²⁴	pleasure of life ²⁵	achievement ²⁶	security ²⁷	tradition ²⁸	benevolence ²⁹
Catholics	4.0	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.9	3.6	4.1
Calvinist	3.8	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.0
Lutherans	3.7	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.9
Baptists	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.6	3.7	4.0	4.1
Adventists	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	4.2
Pentecostals	3.6	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.6	3.7	3.9
Jehovah’s Witnesses	3.7	3.2	3.0	3.7	3.2	3.8	4.0
ISKCON-Krishna believers	3.8	3.0	2.5	3.2	3.2	4.2	3.9

²² For Buddhists instead of God has appeared Buddha In he questionnaire.

²³ Such values as: *peace, wisdom, inner harmony, beauty, loving of nature.*

²⁴ Such values as: *independency, courage, freedom, creativity, own object of life.*

²⁵ Such values as: *successful, wealth, intersting life, pleasurable life, health.*

²⁶ Such values as: *enjoying the work done,, effectiveness,, ambition, talented, intelligence.*

²⁷ Such values as: *wealth, happiness, health, social order, obedience.*

²⁸ Such values as: *traditionalism, respect for parents, politeness, national security, family security.*

²⁹ Such values as *love, unprejudiced, reconciliation, humility, helpfulness.*

HBM--Krishna believers	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6
Buddhists	3.7	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.5
non religious	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.9	3.3	3.5

table 2.

First of all we can point out, that the value system of the groups on same level of the cultural capital and the age shows only slight differences. The greatest difference shows up in the lowest degree acceptance of the value of delight of life. The table 2. also shows us, that the value-system of Krishna-believers diverges most of all because of their asceticism and traditionalism. Value-system Pentecostals and Jehovah's Witnesses is best of all similar to this value-systems, and least of all the value-system of the three traditional Christian denominations. The Catholics show up themselves most "catholic" (i.e. universal) in the acceptance of the values called "universality". The values of the traditionalism are less popular among Buddhists and non-religious youths. The value-system of non-religious young persons is next to the modernized HMB-member Krishna-devotees.

Between the two age-groups we can find the slightest differences among Catholics, Calvinists and Baptists, the greatest on among the Jehovah's Witnesses.³⁰

4.2. Responsibilities and duties

	we are responsible			we are obliged to act on			
	<i>first of all for our family</i>	<i>equally for who are close to me and far from me</i>	<i>first of all for poor</i>	<i>all of armed violence</i>	<i>all of racial discrimination</i>	<i>all of religious-discrimination</i>	<i>all of sexual discrimination</i>
Catholics	4.3	2.9	2.6	3.4	4.3	3.3	3.0
Calvinist	4.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	4.4	3.1	2.4
Lutherans	4.1	2.7	2.6	3.6	4.8	3.5	3.1
Baptists	4.8	2.2	2.3	2.8	4.1	2.4	3.0
Adventists	4.5	2.9	3.0	3.5	4.7	3.5	2.7
Pentecostals	4.3	2.8	2.3	2.8	4.4	3.0	2.4
Jehovah's Witnesses	3.6	2.2	2.1	1.6	2.8	2.0	1.4
ISKCON-Krishna believers	2.9	3.8	2.4	2.9	3.9	3.7	2.3
HBM--Krishna believers	3.3	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.9	2.8	2.5
Buddhists	3.3	3.7	2.9	3.5	4.2	3.2	2.0
non-religious	4.3	2.4	2.2	3.0	4.1	3.4	2.0

table 3.

Unambiguously Jehovah's Witnesses show up themselves passive, closed and family-centred. In this respect the most secular, but strongly individualized HMB-member Krishna-devotees are nearest to them. With regard to responsibilities the traditional Krishna-devotees and Buddhists are the most open-minded towards the world. It could be explained by their high-degree internationality. It is also important, that most of the religious groups are more willing not only in helping of the needy, but in taking action against sex-related discrimination than the members of the non-religious control-group.

In every group those are in majority, who do not consider act on all of the manifestations of the capitalism and liberalism, first of all the Jehovah's Witnesses (1.4), the non-religious youth (2.0) and the Buddhists (2.1). The opinion of the Jehovah's Witnesses call for explanation: may be we can take into consideration, that this church as organisation has expressively international character and their Hungarian believers receive serious financial and moral support from the believers of the rich western countries.

With regard to duties Catholics, Lutherans and Adventists show themselves best of all ready to act. (Calvinists toward homosexuals, Baptist toward sects show themselves less tolerant, than the

³⁰ The values of „achievement”and „independenmce” are more popular among younger believers.

others. In the field of the responsibilities and duties we can not find significant differences between the two age groups.

5. Judgement of sexuality and love

In this respect – at least at the level of declaration – the disposition of Krishna-believers differs from the others most of all, because of they live in celibacy within the marriage too.³¹ On the basis of agreement of statements which are relating to sexuality and love has formed the following order:

Catholics	3.5
Buddhists	3.5
Lutherans	3.4
non-religious youths	3.4
Calvinists	3.2
Baptists	3.1
HBM Krishna-believers	3.1
Pentecostals	3.0
Adventists	2.8
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.3
ISKCON Krishna-believers	2.1

In this respect – as we can see not only in this – the Catholics, Lutherans, Buddhists and the non-religious youth are the most open-minded. (From another point of view: most mundane.) It is worthy of attention, that in this respect we can not register difference between non-religious youth and the keenly and ecclesiastically religious one that is rather seriously regulated as well as self-regulating. The attitudes toward sexuality show the following table:

Attitudes toward sexuality and love	Catholics (n=68)	Calvinists (n=69)	Lutherans (n=41)	Baptists (n=41)	Jehovah's Witnesses (n=24)	Buddhists (n=41)	non- religious (n=64)
<i>How far do you think good or bad, if a believer</i>							
delights in good-looking women / men	3.6	3.3	3.4	2.6	2.0	3.6	3.7
delights in artistic nude photos	3.1	2.5	2.7	1.8	1.3	3.2	3.2
delights in artistic works novels, films, short stories, paintings) with erotic topic (subject)	2.9	2.6	2.7	1.7	1.2	3.2	3.4
visits beach for nudists	2.4	1.8	1.9	1.4	1.3	3.0	2.7
<i>How far do you think good or bad, if a believer married couple</i>							
makes love frequently, minimum two times in a week	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.0	3.2	4.1	4.1
reveals longing of love to each other in the presence of their children	2.9	2.9	3.2	2.5	2.6	3.0	2.8
mixes into their lovemaking playful elements	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.8	2.9	4.0	4.1
celebrates religious holydays with lovemaking too	2.7	2.3	2.6	2.7	1.8	3.3	—
thinks that the lovemaking without enjoyment is guilty, but the lovemaking producing joy wins God's please.	3.3	3.2	2.9	3.5	2.3	3.1	3.2
thinks that love, sexuality, creativity and playfulness are closely bound up	3.9	3.6	3.8	3.8	2.9	3.9	3.8

³¹ They have taken part in the survey on condition that let them to fill out the questionnaire without the question concerning sexuality

with each other ³²							
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table 4.

We can point out, that next to the attitudes of non-religious youth are Buddhist's (small wonder that is so) and Catholic's (it is rather surprisingly) attitudes. While the attitudes toward sexuality and love of Baptists are more traditional and restrained, than the ones of members of traditional Christian churches, now in the judgement of the sexuality and love in the framework of the marriage we can not experience considerable differences. We can find strong similarity among the young and educated members of rather different religions and denominations in agreement with four statement linked with sexuality and love: it would be for goof of religious men too 1) if they deal with the building and smarting up of own body (values from 3.1 to 3.8); 2) if the wife and husband delight in each other body (values from 3.5 to 4.2)³³; 3) if the primary aim of sexual life within the marriage is not the procreation of offspring, but giving pleasure and the expression of love (values –with the exception of Krishna-devotees – form 3.8 to 4.4); 4) if they consider desirable for the married couple to make love frequently, minimum two times in a week(values form 3.2 to 4.3)³⁴. We can find significant differences between two age-groups of Catholics, Calvinists and Baptists in the judgment of importance of sexuality, especially among Baptists, on the contrary among Jehovah's Witnesses where the young generation takes further the point of view of the old generation.

6. The structure of the free-time activities

Having consider the diversity and the five grades of the frequency of the 21 main and 24 subordinate activities I have made a combined index of diversity and intensity of free-time activities. With its help the following order has formed:

Catholics	3.3
Calvinists	3.3
Lutherans	3.2
non-religious youths	3.1
Buddhists	3.0
Baptists	2.9
Adventists	2.9
Pentecostals	2.9
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.8
HBM Krishna-believers	2.6
ISKCON Krishna-believers	2.5

Although the differences are not too notable, the tendencies show up rather evident. The traditional Krishna believers doing most religious activities have the least time for secular activities. We have to consider that the content of several non-religious activities even may be religious, for example the reading, listening to music, playing music, but many devotees also watch religious tv- and video-programs. It is characteristic that in this (young and educated) circle we find only very small (maximum 0.4.) differences in using of internet, which is rather rare and slight. Verifying the Greeley hypothesis a few of regard: not only in visiting of theatre, museum, art-gallery and historic buildings, but also in liking of parade, fireworks, sport festivals Catholics take the lead, on the contrary Baptists, Pentecostals, Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and traditional Krishna-devotees. Ignoring the content in frequency and intensity of watching television and video non-religious youth (3.8). Lutherans (3.7) Catholics (3.5) and Calvinists (3.5) take the lead, on the contrary both of Krishna believer groups (2.2) . In this respect we can not find difference between two generation. Sports are the most frequent activities in the three

³² Arthur Koestler's statement.

³³ The ISKCON-member Krishna belivers rather reject (2.6), the HBM-member Krishna believers rather accept (3.5).

³⁴ In this respetv the Jehovah Witnesses are more restrained than the others..

highest degree secular groups (HBM-member Krishna believers, Buddhists and non-religious youth) and Catholics (values from 3.1 to 3.3). The frequency of artistic activity is rather high in every group (values from 2.8 to 3.4), but among Krishna-devotees it is has mainly, among Adventists, Baptists and Jehovah's Witnesses partly sacral character.

7. Understanding of humour and openness

7.1. The importance of humour

Tamás Nyíri regards the humour as one of the light of the other world, one of the advance of happiness of the next world (1972:262-264), *P. Berger* consider it tiny transcendence (1997:214). On the basis of agreement with the answers offered by the researcher to the question "What sort of role does humour play in Your life?" the following picture has been formed about the attitudes toward humour:

Calvinists	3.5
Catholics	3.5
non-religious youths	3.5
Lutherans	3.3
Buddhists	3.3
Baptists	3.1
Adventists	3.0
HBM Krishna-believers	2.9
Pentecostals	2.9
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.9
ISKCON Krishna-believers	2.7

Once again the three traditional Christian churches, Buddhists and non-religious youth are on the one end of the scale, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals and traditional Krishna-devotees in the other end. We can not find significant difference in the judgement of jokes, anecdotes as well as – with the exception of Krishna devotees – of parodies, film- and theatre-comedies. We can find significant differences in liking of cabaret, satire, joking, irony, kidding and clowning. Doing of them non-religious youth, Buddhists, HBM-member Krishna-believers and the members of traditional Christian denominations take the lead. In the judgement of importance of humour I have found relatively considerable (from 0.3 to 0.7) difference between the two age.

7.2. Can we make fun of holy things?

On the basis of the answers to the question "Could you imagine the religion, the church, the religious community, priests and other church persons as a topic of joking, cabaret, satire?" the former picture is changing slightly (using a 5-grades openness-closeness scale).

Buddhists	3.3
non-religious youths	3.2
Lutherans	3.0
HBM Krishna-believers	3.0
Catholics	2.8
Baptists	2.8
ISKCON-tag krisnások	2.6
Calvinists	2.6
Adventists	2.6
Pentecostals	2.4
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.1

In this case Catholics are slightly backward from Lutherans. We can explain it with the rather serious idiomatic expression "I make fun of holy things" regarding to serious sins. We can experience again, that the religiosity of Buddhists we can consider as rather mundane, and Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostals on the contrary. In this respect we can found also relatively considerable (from 0.4 to 0.9) differences between two ages.

7.3. Openness toward culture

We have asked the questioned subjects to classify several genres and works (novels, films) of the mass and high culture from the point of view how they fitting for believers.³⁵

	reality show	show programs	action films	cabaret	Kama-sútra	Scorsese: Jesus's last temptation	Fellini: Róma	Esterházy: A woman	Nádas: Book of memoirs	Rowling: Harry Potter
Catholics	2.6	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.0	3.6	3.1	3.4	3.2	3.1
Calvinist	2.8	3.3	3.0	3.0	3.4	3.5	4.1	3.2	3.2	3.2
Lutherans	2.5	3.1	3.4	3.6	2.8	3.7	3.6	4.0	(3.4)	3.2
Baptists	2.8	2.8	3.2	3.1	2.7	3.9	(3.0)	(3.6)	(2.1)	3.1
Adventists	1.9	2.6	2.7	3.4	2.8	4.4	(3.9)	(3.5)	(3.5)	2.2
Pentecostals	2.7	3.0	3.1	3.5	2.6	2.9	(3.7)	(3.0)	(2.7)	2.7
Jehovah's Witnesses	1.3	2.5	1.9	4.0	1.6	(2.1)	(2.0)	(2.0)	(3.0)	1.5
ISKCON-Krishna believers	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.9	1.6	2.9	1.9	1.9	(2.1)	1.9
HBM-Krishna believers	1.4	2.4	3.8	3.8	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.5
Buddhists	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.8	4.9	4.8	4.9	4.9

table 5.

In this case the “openness” means openness toward several genres and works of very different aesthetic values, among them genres and works of very low aesthetic and moral values, for this reason we have to differentiate the closeness toward all sorts of otherness from the indiscriminating endless openness as well as the selective and critical openness. Jehovah's Witnesses³⁶ and ISKCON-member Krishna-devotees³⁷ seem withdrawal or strongly critical attitude towards secular culture. It is considerable that and ISKCON-member Krishna-devotees representing and popularizing the hindoo culture refuse the Kama-Sútra, which is unambiguously accepted by the members of the other Krishna-believer groups standing on the same theological basic standpoint. The Buddhists represent the other pole: they do not find anything to be unsuited for believers. They have a little reservation about reality show. Adventists are rather critically opened as we can see in serious classifying of the entertaining genres without aesthetic and moral values. Though the Catholics accept the Scorsese-film (against of opinions of the critics of Catholic church dignitaries), they have reservations about Fellini's film. (Reminding of the fashion show of the Catholic high priests it is understandable.)

8. Artistic taste

8.1. Passive-active attitude towards art

I have investigated the active-passive attitude towards arts with the help of a Rokeach-type attitude scale³⁸, used it successfully in my several researches. On the base of receptional activity the next picture has been formed:

MBM Krishna-believers	4.3
ISKCON Krishna believers	4.3
Catholics	4.2

³⁵ The number of the element of the values in brackets are between 5 and 10.

³⁶ With te exception of cabaret.

³⁷ With te exception of the Scorses's film..

³⁸ Which content such satement as: „The good novel or film causes the troubles to be forgotten”, Those films, paintings and novels which we can understand with help of explanations have no value”, „Never mind if reading of certain literary works requires intellectual effort”, „There's no sense reread a novel if we remember its story”, A good novel or film shows the best way”, „I do not like the artistric works, which upsets me and forces me to face myself”, „The good artistic work tells about the secrets of Being.”

Lutherans	4.2
Buddhists	4.0
non-religious youths	3.9
Calvinists	3.8
Baptists	3.9
Adventists	3.8
Pentecostals	3.8
Jehovah's Witnesses	3.8

We can experience in this respect most serious difference between two ages, for the benefit of youth, the greatest among Jehovah's Witnesses (maximum 0.5).

8.2. The size of reading and viewer number

The questioned subjects have got a list of literary works and films, among them 11 works representing of light entertainment with lightweight aesthetic value (for example Cameron *Terminator*, Donner: *Superman*, Fischer: *Drakula*, Minghella: *English sick*, Spielberg: *Jurassic park*, Wallace: *Ben Hur*), 32 works representing high aesthetic value (among them works can be easily receipt for example Dumas's and Milne's novels and Hitckonk's films). On the basis of the their reader and viewer numbers can be point out the order of the size of reading and viewing of artistic works³⁹:

non-religious youths	3.4
Buddhists	3.2
MBM Krishna-believers	2.7
Catholics	2.6
Calvinists	2.6
ISKCON Krishna believers	2.6
Lutherans	2.5
Baptists	2.1
Adventists	2.1
Pentecostals	2.1
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.1

This picture is rather unambiguous: the most fundamentalist Christians have read and viewed definitely less works of artistic value (by the way less works of low artistic value as well), on the contrary the non-religious youth and the believers of more secularized religions. In the aged control-groups we can find similar trend, but the number of the size of reading and watching is higher with 0.4-0,6 (expecting the aged Jehovah's Witnesses.)

8.3. The level of artistic taste

Taking the index of the level of artistic taste⁴⁰ into consideration we have got the following order:

Catholics	3.5
Lutherans	3.3
non-religious youths	3.3
ISKCON Krishna believers	3.2
Buddhists	3.2
Calvinists	3.1
MBM Krishna-believers	2.9
Adventists	2.8
Baptists	2.7
Pentecostals	2.6
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.6

³⁹ The level of size of knowledge (reading and viewing) of 1-7 artistic works is very low (1), 8-13 works: rather low (2), 14-20 works: medium-size (3), 21-27 works: rather high (4), more than 27 works: veri high (5).

⁴⁰ On he basis of reception of the 36 artistic works with high aesthetic value, the most significat reading experiences and the current readings.

In this case we can find considerable difference only between the believers of fundamentalist religions and the others. We can experience – less than in size of reading and viewing artistic work – little (from 0.3 to 0.5) difference to the advantage of the aged.

8.4. Knowledge of codes

We can find more considerable differences in knowing and liking of artistic codes (that is knowing and liking of different artistic languages and styles..

Lutherans	3.0
non-religious youths	3.3
ISKCON Krishna believers	3.2
Buddhists	3.2
Calvinists	3.1
MBM Krishna-believers	2.9
Catholics	2.8
Baptists	2.2
Adventists	2.0
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.1
Pentecostals	1.7

In this respect we can experience more considerable differences the members of fundamentalist religions and the others, than in the size of acquaintance and reception of artistic works, but we can find only slight differences between the ages, again to the advantage of the aged.

8.5. The structure of artistic taste

The artistic works which can be consider on the basis of acquaintance and liking as the lowest common multiple of the artistic taste on the different religious groups are the following: Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, Hugo's *Les Miserable*, Milne's *Winnie the Pooh*, Kosztolányi's and Örkény's short stories. May be surprising, that poems of Pilinszky (who could be considered as Catholic poet) is well-liked on the same way for non-religious youth, Buddhists, Krishna-believers and Christian believers (among them Pilinszky is more famous). It can be explained in the case of non-religious youth⁴¹ by their education, in the case of the others by the openness towards transcendence. In acquaintance and liking we can experience the most difference in the following cases⁴²:

	Catho- lists	Calvi- nists	Luthe- rans	Bap- tists	Adven- tists	Pente- costals	Jehovah's Witnesses	ISKCON Krishna	HBM Krishna	Budd- hists	non- religious
Antonion: <i>Blowing up</i>	24% 3.9	23% 3.1	15% —	12% —	0% —	10% —	29 % (3.3)	31% (3.7)	22% (3.0)	27% 3.9	31% 4.0
Bergmann: <i>Whispers and screams</i>	21% 3.4	22% 3.4	22% (3.8)	18% (3.2)	4 % —	15% (2.3)	33% (1.8)	14% —	9% 4.0	32 % 3.5	20% 4.2
Bulgakov: <i>The Master and Margarita</i>	44% 3.9	54% 3.9	56% 4.6	15% (3.2)	26% (4.2)	50% 2.9	42% 2.3	59% 4.2	66% 4.5	66% 3.9	62% 3.8
Esterházy: <i>Harmonia coelestis</i>	16% 3.4	14% 2.9	15% —	12% —	17% —	6 % —	17% —	13% —	16% —	20% (2.4)	20% 3.5
Fellini: <i>Eight and half</i>	19% 4.1	26% 4.1	32% 4.1	12% —	13% —	12% (3.3)	33% (2.4)	17% —	12% —	41% 4.5	33% 4.0
Fellini: <i>On the Road</i>	25% 4.4	30% 3.9	32% 4.2	24% (3.8)	22% —	19% (3.0)	25% (2.8)	38% 4.0	38% 4.0	56% 4.2	45% 3.9
Golding: <i>Lord of flies</i>	68% 4.3	49% 3.7	44% 3.9	38% 2.8	30% (4.1)	40% 2.9	38% (2.9)	41% 3.4	56% 3.3	68% 4.0	70% 3.9
Hesse: <i>Beads-play</i>	16% 4.2	14% 3.3	17% —	9% —	9% —	8% —	8% —	21% (3.7)	28% (4.3)	27% 4.5	12% (3.8)
Hitchcock: <i>Birds</i>	65% 3.5	67% 3.3	56% 3.1	47% 2.8	39% 3.2	56% 2.4	58% 1.9	69% 2.7	78% 2.3	73% 3.4	91% 4.1
Hrabal: <i>Brewery-</i>	49% —	35% —	41% —	24% —	4% —	25% —	29% —	38% —	44% —	71% —	45% —

⁴¹ Among them the index of liking is the lowest (3.9 in opposite of the average: 4.1)

⁴² When only 1-5 answers have read or viewed the work, I do not give the index of liking, when 6-9 have done, I have taken the index into brackets. .

<i>capriccio</i>	4.2	4.0	4.4	(3.5)	—	3.2	(3.0)	3.9	3.9	4.3	4.3
Németh László: <i>Disgust</i>	34% 3.4	51% 3.8	49% 4.3	38% 3.7	30% (4.1)	25 % 2.5	33% (2.6)	21% (2.5)	25% (4.1)	37% 3.6	33% 4.1
Ottlik: <i>School on the border</i>	59% 4.2	54% 4.3	51% 4.0	26% (3.8)	26% (4.0)	19% (3.9)	21% —	34% 3.9	47% 4.7	46% 4.1	33% 4.3
Pasolini: <i>Matthew-gospel</i>	26% 4.6	33% 4.4	34% 4.1	24% (4.1)	30% (4.7)	40% 4.3	25% (4.5)	14% —	31% 4.2	34% 2.9	19% 4.2
Scott: <i>Winged headhunter</i>	41% 4.2	26% 3.3	27% (3.4)	12% —	17% —	29% 3.2	25% (3.2)	55% 2.8	44% 3.7	66% 3.9	52% 3.6
Tarkovsky: <i>Stalker</i>	4% —	14% 3.5	24% 4.3	9% —	4% —	6% —	17% —	17% —	9% —	39% 3.7	12% (3.2)

table 6.

The table shows well that the believers of three traditional denominations are most sensitive to the non-traditional valuable artistic works, the fundamentalist believers are on the opposite side, Baptists and Krishna-believers are in this respect in the middle. There are works which are rather well-known among traditional Christians⁴³ as among the non-religious youth: Hesse: *Beads-play*, Ottlik: *School on the border*, Pasolini: *Matthew-gospel* (which is also more liked). There are works which most well-known (but not most liked) among Buddhists and non-religious youth: the two Fellini's film, Pasolini's *Blowing up*, Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*, Golding's *Lord of flies*, Hitchcock's: *Birds*, Scott's *Winged headhunter*. (These works —excepting the topic of Bulgakov's novel — are not so spiritual as the works above average popular among religious youth. From the 15 works 4 slightly are better, 5 much better liked for Catholics, than Calvinists, moreover *Lord of flies*, *Matthew-gospel* and *Winged headhunter* are most popular and liked for Catholics. The most popular works among Lutherans are the Bulgakov's and Németh's novel and the Tarkovsky's film. Three works are the best ones of Buddhists: *Stalker*, *Eight and half* and *Beads-play*. In the case of Tarkovsky's film we can accept as a sufficient explanation Hesse's oriental orientation⁴⁴, The *Stalker's* meditative character and its "zen-buddhist music"⁴⁵ and the Fellini's film pebble-parabola (which has central importance). On the contrary: Buddhist believers have given Pasolini's film a cold reception. (HBM-member Krishna believers and non-religious youth has been positively received this film.)

8.6. Connection with art

On the basis of the index of the closeness of the connection with the arts⁴⁶ has formed the following order:

Catholics	3.6
non-religious youths	3.5
Calvinists	3.3
Lutherans	3.3
MBM Krishna-believers	3.3
Buddhists	3.2
Baptists	3.0
Adventists	3.0
ISKCON-tag krisnások	3.0
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.9
Pentecostals	2.7

⁴³ Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans.

⁴⁴ This is fortified by the fact. that the size of reading of Hesse's novel is the highest among devotees of the three oriental religion.

⁴⁵ Tarkovsky himself is worded such a way.

⁴⁶ It includes 12 sort of data: the frequency of reading of novels and poems, listening to music, visiting of cinema, theatre, museum, art-gallery and historic buildings, with double weight: the quality of the content of before mentioned activities, the artistic activity, the knowledge of artistic codes (languages), the volume of reading of literature and listening to music, the active-passive attitude towards art, with triple weight the level of artistic taste.

It the life of the believers of the traditional Christians (in Hungary), the more secular oriental religions and the non-religious youth the art plays more serious role than in the life of member of the fundamentalist religions. With the exception of Calvinist believers the indexes of younger age are higher with 0.2–0.4

We can point out positive correlation (with the help of Pearson-index) between close connection with arts and optimistic world-view, understanding oh humour, appreciation of sexuality and love, high frequency of free-time activities, openness towards culture, importance of independency.

We can find more differences in respect considering of the connection of art and religion on the basis of two oppositional statements⁴⁷

	"We can learn very much about God from the works of art"	"As the art essentially belongs to the mundane sphere, we have to be very cautious with the works of art" ⁴⁸
HBM Krishna-believers	4.3	3.7
Lutherans	3.7	3.5
Catholics	3.5	3.6
Adventists	3.2	2.9
Baptists	3.2	3.0
Calvinists	3.0	3.2
Buddhists	2.9	3.9
ISKCON-tag krisnások	2.9	2.6
Jehovah's Witnesses	2.7	2.4
Pentecostals	2.0	2.5

table 7.

The difference between Buddhists and HBM-member Krishna-believers in this respect can be explained by the expression "God". It is worthy of attention, that Calvinists form together with Baptists and Adventists, as well as they get close to fundamentalist religious groups.

In this case we can find greater differences between two ages of Calvinist (3.2 and 2.9), moreover Jehovah's Witnesses (2.6-1.8) on behalf of younger age.

We can experience close positive connection between the judgement of the connection of religion and art and optimistic world-view, the acceptance of the importance of sexuality and love, the openness toward culture. On the contrary we could find negative correlation with cognitive-type religiosity and the dominance of valises "traditionalism" in the value-system.

11. Conclusions

From the different dimensions of the religiousness (which can be considered as one of the independent variable of the research) we can find most significant similarity in image of God among the investigated religious groups. We can experience not too close (but worthy of attention) correlation between the cognitive-emotional religiousness and several dependent variables. We can experience close correlation between emotional religiousness (the importance of rites, community, emotions and experiences), the judgement of importance of sexuality and love, the culture, the role of the women in religious life, responsibilities and duties towards the extensive world as well as the values "independence" and "enjoyment of life". We can find it so first of all among Catholics, Lutherans, Buddhists and HMB-member Krishna-believers. (As we can see on the table 8.)

We can find closer connection between the optimistic world-view and several dependent variables: openness towards culture, spectacles, the religious role of women, sexuality and love, several spectacles, responsibilities and duties towards the extensive world. It is so first of all among Catholics

⁴⁷ „From the arts we can dicover a lot of about God”, „As the arts belong to secular world, we must handle arts with care.” The questiones subject could classify these stataments with help 5-grades scale.

⁴⁸ In this case the answer „I do not agree” is the level 5, and so on.

and HBM-member Krishna-believers. We can find these sort of connections more frequently among them in whose value-system the values “independency” and “enjoyment of life” are dominant, on the contrary among devotees in whose value-system the values “traditionalism” are dominant. You can experience at the following table other correlations as well.⁴⁹

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	R
A) the cognitive-emotional dimension of the religion	@	-0.35	-0.27		-0.13	-0.13		-0.18			-0.19		-0.17	-0.14	-0.14		-0.20
B) holy spectacles	-0.35	@	0.43		0.21									0.22	0.23		0.21
C) pessimistic-optimistic judgement of the world and the man	-0.27	0.43	@	0.24				0.30		0.21	0.33		0.36	0.24	0.29	0.20	0.42
D) values of “universality”			0.24	@				0.31	0.15				0.15		0.16		
E) values of “independency”	-0.13	0.21			@			0.48			0.21	0.29	0.30		0.23	0.20	0.22
F) values of “enjoying of life”	-0.13					@		0.46	0.16		0.26	0.20	0.19				
G) values of “traditionalism”							@	-0.20			-0.20						-0.14
H) importance of sexuality and love	-0.18		0.30	0.31	0.48	0.46	-0.20	@	0.42	0.32	0.80	0.55	0.59		0.44	0.35	0.36
I) intensity of the non-religious free-time activities				0.15		0.16		0.42	@	0.26	0.30	0.34	0.18		0.23	0.56	0.14
J) liking of spectacles			0.21					0.32	0.26	@	0.31	0.35					0.16
K) the openness towards culture	-0.19		0.33		0.21		-0.20	0.80	0.30	0.31	@	0.42	0.46	0.21	0.28	0.32	0.32
L) positive-negative judgement of humour					0.29			0.55	0.34	0.35	0.42	@			0.26	0.23	0.24
M) positive-negative judgement of the religious role of women	-0.17		0.36	0.15	0.30			0.59	0.18		0.46		@	0.25	0.37		
N) undertaking of responsibilities	-0.14	0.22	0.24								0.21		0.25	@	0.45		
O) undertaking of duties	-0.14	0.23	0.29	0.16	0.23			0.44	0.23		0.28	0.26	0.37	0.45	@	0.15	0.22
P) positive-negative attitude toward arts			0.20		0.20			0.35	0.56		0.32	0.23			0.15	@	0.19
R) positive-negative judgement of the relation of religion and art	-0.20	0.21	0.42		0.22		-0.14	0.36	0.14	0.16	0.32	0.24			0.22	0.19	@

table 8.

The youth who regularly church-goers, highly educated, opened towards culture and feel responsibility towards others and otherness attach importance to sexuality and love, the humour, the arts and the more serious role for women in the religious life.

The foregoing chapters we can see very well, that the religiosity of the ten religious groups less different than their habitude (that is lifestyle, habits, value-system, taste, attitudes). In this respect we can form different habitude-clusters.

In the cluster of Fundamentalists (that is Baptists, Adventists, Pentecostals and Jehovah's Witnesses) we can experience rather cognitive-type religiosity, the lesser importance of entertainment, theatre, and literature. From them the Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostals are closest to each other. As the last fundamentalist Adventists connect rather loosely to the cluster.

The devotees of the modernized oriental religions (Buddhists and HBM-member Krishna-believers) form the second cluster. Their main characteristic features are the emphasizing of the woman nature of God, the importance of meditation and holy spectacles, the optimistic world-view, the

⁴⁹ At the table we can see the values of the Pearson's „r” (index of correlation).

openness towards culture, a positive judgement of the religious role of women, the high evaluation of arts.

The position of ISKCON-member Krishna-believers (the third cluster) is very interesting. They are closest to Jehovah's Witnesses (first of all in judgement of the importance of religious knowledge and the moral as well as in the negative judgement of humour and values "independency"), but they are rather close to the other Krishna-devotees group (for example emphasizing the importance of the holy spectacles and the meditation and the woman dimension of God), and they show similarity to Catholics as well in positive judgement of holy spectacle and rites).

The members of the three traditional (in Hungary) churches form the fourth cluster with the similarity in judgement of the humour, sexuality and love. Rather surprising that not the members of the two Protestant denominations, but Catholics and Lutherans are closer to each other (for example in judgement of the humour, sexuality and love, in optimistic world view and in openness towards culture. The Catholics and Lutherans form a looser cluster (the fifth) together with two modernized oriental religions Buddhists and HBM-member Krishna-believers. Their similarities are in optimistic world-view and positive judgement of sexuality and love.

The Catholics, Lutherans and Buddhists are closest to non-religious youth (and they form the sixth cluster). They are similar to judgement humour and entertainment, as well as in undertaking of action against the sex-related discrimination.

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