

Contemporary fundamentalist Christianity in Finland: the variety of religious subjectivities and their association with values

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In sharp contrast to both academic and public expectations on secularisation, religious fundamentalism has lately exhibited vitality both socially and culturally. This raises questions regarding its characteristics and nature; and from the increasing academic interest a more definite and nuanced understanding of its defining features has emerged. In this article we address the internal diversity of religious fundamentalism. The findings we report are from a mixed-method study of Christian fundamentalism in Finland. The methods we used were the Schwartz's value survey using the PVQ-R questionnaire with Wulff's Faith Q-sort based on Q-methodology. We explore both values and religious subjectivities and the potential relationship between these. Our results indicate that contemporary religious fundamentalism should not be comprehended as a singular trajectory with some defining internal features, but rather as a negotiation between a diversity of individual motives and external and contextual influences. This finding can shed further light on the potential variation and change of contemporary fundamentalism in different contexts.

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1. Contemporary fundamentalist Christianity in Finland: the variety of religious subjectivities and their association with values

Fundamentalism was originally conceptualised as a self-identity in the US in the beginning of the 20th century. The term was then used in a series of 80 booklets called *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth* pointing to a certain form of religious movement and attitude.¹ Over the years, religious fundamentalism and fundamentalism in general have been the object of many scholarly studies and a more definite and nuanced understanding of characteristics of fundamentalism has emerged. Today fundamentalism has gained even more academic interest. Fundamentalism seems to belong to the form of religious trends and movements that exhibit vitality both socially and culturally, in sharp contrast to both academic and public expectations of secularisation. This raises questions regarding the nature of contemporary Christian fundamentalism in terms of values and subjective positions on religion and religious ideas – questions that we explore in this article with particular focus on the situation in Finland. Religious fundamentalism has been found to exhibit several common features such as a clear binary of good and bad, a conformity in relation to authorities, a selectivity of certain beliefs and practices, and some form of millennialism. In addition, it is also characterised by a reactivity or hostility to modernisation and current cultural and social developments, such as pluralism.² Different organisations and groups tend to exhibit these characteristic features in a varying degree, and in different cases fundamentalism does not necessarily exhibit all of the features mentioned above. Fundamentalism is typified, we argue, by a set of certain defining core features, but also internal and external negotiations and dialogues.³ In this article we examine Christian fundamentalism in Finland in the light of the following questions: 1) *What are the basic value profiles of people who are affiliated with fundamentalism in Finland?* and 2) *What kind of subjective positions on religion are found within this movement?*

Previous research has identified several significant general features of fundamentalist religiosity – for example on cognitive and attitudinal levels. However, it is also relevant to study contemporary religious fundamentalism as a movement constituted by individuals with an emphasis on how this constitution hides subjective variety both in views and in values. Our attempt in this article is, therefore, not only to address the common features among people affiliated with the movement, but also – in contrast – to highlight some relevant variations and perhaps tensions concerning both the value profiles and the religious subjectivities among the individuals. Our general assumption is that internal variety is

1 Sandeen 1967; The Fundamentals 1994.

2 Almond, Appleby and Sivan 2003; Herriot 2007, p. 6.

3 Herriot 2007.

common in religious movements and a degree of fluidity is characteristic also to fundamentalist movements. The article starts from a presentation of Christian fundamentalism in Finland and a brief discussion on the previous research on fundamentalism and on our methodology. The latter is based on a combination of The Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-R) with the recently introduced Faith Q-sort (FQS), a qualitative method that is particularly designed to account for subjective diversity in worldviews within the studied groups.

2. Contemporary Christian fundamentalism in Finland

Fundamentalism in Finland has lately gained increasing public visibility in a way that needs to be addressed with reference to Habermas's discussion of the "post-secular".⁴ In other words, the recent rise in the "public consciousness" of religion and religion-related issues throughout Western societies, including the European countries, is usually characterised by the post-World War II secularisation.⁵ The coupling of religion and global migration trends and the proliferation of religious voices within these supposedly secularised countries have brought about this growing public consciousness. This is particularly notable in connection with value-laden civil issues and controversies, such as same-sex marriage and abortion.⁶ Religious fundamentalism has regularly been highlighted in the media as an important feature of the current events.⁷ This is well exemplified with the situation in Finland. For instance, the process of legalising gay marriage has lately contributed to turning religion into an important subject matter in the public debate in media and engaged a wide range of both religious and secular actors.⁸ This has also signalled a development, through which the historically founded identification of the fundamentalist movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (ELCF) has shifted towards a more noticeable tension; this tension constitutes a new situation, understood as part of a more overarching historical process that involves, importantly, both the religious and the secular.

Today Finland should be seen, according to many measures, as a secular country. Despite the fact that Finland, in comparison with the rest of Europe, exhibits an exceptionally high rate of membership in the major religious institution, the ELCF, this number has dropped from 95 per cent (1950) to approximately 74 per cent of the population. This tendency has been particularly distinct during the last decade and it is also reflected in a low level of religious practice in the form of participation in worship. According to the survey *Gallup*

4 Habermas 2006; Habermas 2008.

5 Habermas 2008, p. 17.

6 See also Nynäs et al. 2012; Moberg et al. 2012.

7 See Herriot 2007; Salzman 2008.

8 See Moberg and Sjö 2012; Nynäs and Lassander 2014.

Ecclesiastica, only 35 per cent of the population in Finland takes part in religious services at least once a year. Furthermore, religiosity in Finland has increasingly become both privatised and individualised.⁹ The relatively high rate of membership in ELCF can be described as “believing in belonging”, meaning that belonging in itself becomes the main reason for church membership,¹⁰ or as “belonging without believing”.¹¹ This is a feature that is more comprehensible when put in a historical perspective. After the reformation of the 16th century, a strong state-church relationship was founded based on centralisation of power and control and an emphasis on religious and national uniformity. This history has contributed to the ELCF maintaining its position as a strong and influential folk church until the late 20th century. As Jeffrey Kaplan writes: “[...] many Finns find the notion of religious pluralism in Finland odd, if not disquieting. In the Finnish context, any religion outside of the mainstream Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, or of Finland’s Orthodox Church, holds a distinct air of radicalism given Finland’s religious homogeneity.”¹²

Until quite recently, most other religious groups have been rather small and they have lacked formal representation or organisation in the country. Historically revivalist movements have often voiced attitudes that resemble those of the 20th century fundamentalist movements, but they have remained a part of the ELCF. Starting in the late 19th century, there was a gradual and small-scale growth of various Christian and other religious communities, the most notable of which was the Pentecostal movement. Over the past three decades, however, the religious pluralism of Finnish society has grown significantly and today all the major world religions, as well as many contemporary spiritualities, esoteric groups, and non-institutional forms of religiosity are represented in the country.¹³ This growing plurality is also taking places within ELCF and indicates a general global trend. As Anne Haapalainen claims: “Christianity has been considered to be flexible and diversified and its stronghold has been in Western societies. However, this image has changed since global Christian trends have begun to emerge outside the traditional sphere.”¹⁴

In the light of this historical development it is understandable that fundamentalism in Finland still represents a relatively small and also a recent religious movement. Today, however, there are a couple of independent religious organisations in Finland that clearly represent a fundamentalist position. These organisations are the *St. Paul’s Synod* (Paavalin Synodi) of 1976¹⁵ and *The Luther*

9 See Palmu et al. 2012.

10 See Kääriäinen et al. 2005, p. 85.

11 Mikkola et al. 2007, p. 68.

12 Kaplan 2001, p. 121.

13 See Ketola 2008, pp. 338–339. See also Nynäs et al. 2015b.

14 Haapalainen 2015, p. 110.

15 See Holma 2006.

Foundation of Finland (Luther-säätiö) of 1999.¹⁶ Both explicitly promote a faith that is clearly rooted in the Bible and the Lutheran confession and clearly articulate their raison d'être in the light of what they consider to be a too liberal spiritual development in Finland to the extent that it deviates from what is held to be the true faith in the eyes of these organisations.

St. Paul's Synod takes a more explicit stand against, for example, the decision of the ELCF in 1986 to allow the ordination of women as ministers. Nevertheless, it has mostly remained an active voice within ELCF rather than seceding from it. *The Luther Foundation* is in a similar manner rooted in ELCF, but it is particularly affiliated with an organisation called the *Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland*. This is an old and well-established organisation that was already founded in the end of the 19th century. The foundation of this older association was motivated by the perceived need for both domestic and overseas missionary work to focus on conforming to the Bible in the way that they saw it.¹⁷ Its foundation clearly paralleled the emergence of free-churches in Finland that took place at the same time. This association has remained a vital part of ELCF. In contrast, while the groundwork of the *Luther Foundation* emerged in 1999 from this association, it was motivated by a strong and explicit criticism of the recent developments in the ELCF. The founders had realised that building, strengthening, and developing Lutheran congregations in Finland could not be done within the structures of the ELCF. Furthermore, the *Luther Foundation* describes itself today as a supporting member of *The Mission Province* in Sweden and Finland. This is a new network of several recent congregations and missions tended by their own ordained pastors. The recent developments have, in other words, signified an emerging split between ELCF and the fundamentalist movement in Finland.

A recent study found that, in contrast to some other religious movements, fundamentalists have a tendency to explicitly take a distance from emotionality and arguing that emotions interfere in a negative and disturbing way with faith and belief.¹⁸ This more cognitive orientation is in accordance with the fundamentalist approach to Christian faith and practice, and it is noticeable in how *St. Paul's Synod* and the *Luther Foundation* promote Christian literature and that associated publishing activity. The fundamentalist movement in Finland is a case in point of fundamentalism characterised by a religiously motivated attempt to provide alternatives for secular institutions and practices. This is motivated by perceived need to counter the erosion of religious identity and morality and to define clear boundaries for such religious identities and communities. It further displays well the characteristic features of fundamentalism; reactivity and hostility to modern development and change, a clear binary of good and bad, a focus

16 See The Luther Foundation Finland 2016.

17 See The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland 2016.

18 See Nynäs et al. 2015c.

on obedience or conformity in relation to an authority, selectivity of certain beliefs and practices, and the centrality of faith in the final triumph of God.

Finally, it is noteworthy how current fundamentalism in Finland tends both towards defensive reactions to current change,¹⁹ and emerges as contextual and particularistic in how they respond to current globalisation and plurality.²⁰ This taps into two different processes. Firstly, this has contributed to ecclesiastic schisms and disruptions in the notion of a national religious identity and doing so it also challenged the well-established idea of a cohesive folk-church. In this sense, contemporary fundamentalism is a part of the growing religious plurality and diversity in Finland that has already challenged the idea of national religious homogeneity. Secondly, this disruption has been paralleled and indirectly supported by recent political developments. For instance, both the Finnish Christian Democrats and the True Finns have promoted certain attitudes that clearly tap into fundamentalist viewpoints, with party agendas rooted in, respectively, “the universal and lasting values which arise from the Bible and the Christian heritage”²¹ and an emphasis of Christian traditionalism as a solid cultural basis for the nation. The True Finns also describe themselves as a nationalistic and Christian social party.²² Both parties seem to attract many supporters from the areas in Finland that are traditionally associated with strong conservative religious values and groups. However, of these two, the True Finns have been more successful, suggesting that an overtly religious agenda does not attract great masses of voters in Finland.²³

The fact that a proliferation of fundamentalist religious attitudes is overlapping with political shifts and growing plurality has some obvious consequences. For instance, the organisational boundaries are further blurred by how different religious actors from a wider range of religious organisations such as charismatic movements join forces and, in contrast to internal dogmatic differences, represent a seemingly unified public agency and position.²⁴ However, the extent to which such movements actually join forces in the public discussions of value-related issues and political processes portrays fundamentalism in Finland not only as the playground of specific organisations, but also as a collection of distinct movements with a shifting focus and character – it changes with the focus of ongoing debates and the participating actors, and shifts from one context and group to another.

19 See Castells 2004.

20 See Beyer 1994.

21 The Finnish Christian Democrats 2014.

22 See Perussuomalaiset 2011.

23 See Lassander et al. 2015.

24 The current charismatic movement in Finland and the ELCF is another example of Finnish fundamentalism, comparable with the case studies of this article (see: Haapalainen 2015).

3. Some defining features of religious fundamentalism

Scholars have placed distinct emphases on the relevance of different features of religious fundamentalism, but five features are commonly found: 1) *reactivity* or hostility to modern development, 2) *dualism* in the sense of a clear binary of the good and the bad, 3) a focus on obedience or conformity in relation to *authorities* in form of texts, traditions and leaders combined with 4) a *selectivity* of certain beliefs and practices, and finally 5) some form of *millennialism*, a final triumph of God.²⁵ Different organisations and groups tend to exhibit the characteristic features, in varying degree, but few clearly exhibit all of the five features mentioned above. Further, despite the fact that fundamentalism is often associated with explicit dissociation from dialogue, such forms of religion are nevertheless the results of both internal and external negotiations and dialogues.²⁶ Therefore some develop a more religious profile, whereas others might be more intertwined with nationalist, ethnic features or current social issues. For instance, the evangelical Christian movement has lately also explicitly turned their attention toward topical societal issues such as human rights, environment, and race.²⁷ It is also relevant to pay attention to how movements tend to develop more ephemeral forms of organisation in the form of fluid networks facilitated by social media today. Furthermore, it is important to note how the more radicalised religious positions are transmitted globally through, for example, the use of new media technology.²⁸

Despite the fact that religious fundamentalism can exhibit a degree of variety, we cannot neglect the more defining features of fundamentalism that have been addressed in previous research. The Religious Fundamentalism Scale has been very prominent in previous research. Bob Altemeyer and Bruce Hunsberger developed it with an aim to measure attitudes about one's religious beliefs rather than adherence to any particular set of beliefs.²⁹ Their definition of religious fundamentalism focused on cognitive processes and emphasised:

The belief that there is one set of religious teaching that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic, essential, inerrant truth about humanity and deity, that this essential truth is fundamentally opposed by evil forces which must be vigorously fought against and those who believe and follow these fundamental teachings have a social relationship with deity.³⁰

25 See Almond et al. 2003; Herriot 2007, p. 6.

26 See Herriot 2007.

27 See Steensland and Goff 2014, pp. 1 f.

28 See Castells 2012; Rajagopal 2001; Smith 2000.

29 See Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992; Altemeyer 1996.

30 Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992, p. 118.

This definition suggests that religious fundamentalists share some common central attitudes. They tend to return to the basics of their faith, relate positively with the idea of an absolute truth (e.g. in the form of religious texts), submit to their deity and the fulfilment of the deity's purpose for humanity and believe in an idea of an opposing force of evil.³¹

Many researchers have in a similar manner emphasised fundamentalism as a personality trait or as, for example, a series of rigid beliefs that have been associated with closed-mindedness or an authoritarian belief system and further negatively correlated with openness.³² Fundamentalism has also been discussed in terms of low cognitive complexity.³³ Another factor that possibly promotes a fundamentalist attitude is the individual need for cognitive closure. This encompasses a need for order and predictability in contrast to ambiguity. For instance, people with a strong need for cognitive closure tend to accept any belief or position and employ stereotypes as long as it reduces ambiguity, and they minimise the amount of cognitive work used in making decisions.³⁴

In the light of this, it has also been natural to further examine how fundamentalism is related to other attitudes such as prejudice, dogmatism, right-wing authoritarianism, intolerance, and social dominance.³⁵ As religion is a common core value for fundamentalists, and religious out-groups pose a threat to these values, it would indicate that fundamentalism affects social attitudes in a particular way. Indeed, for prejudice and hostility, fundamentalists exhibit more polarised responses when in-group out-group comparisons are based on religion.³⁶ Observations like these might indicate that fundamentalism in general is associated with social anxiety,³⁷ or issues regarding internal versus external control.³⁸

The above brief summary of the previous research on fundamentalism indicates that it has been approached from various theoretical perspectives. Several methodological approaches have also been developed to quantitatively assess religious fundamentalism.³⁹ Despite the differences in focus or interest, the previous research also amounts to a form of family resemblance strategy as the

31 See Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992; Johnstone 1997.

32 See Rokeach 1960; Glock and Stark 1966; Johnson et al. 1984; Costa et al. 1985; Costa et al. 1986; McFarland 1989; Streyffeler and McNally 1998; Kirkpatrick et al. 1991; Saroglou 2002; Krauss et al. 2006; Proctor and McCord 2009; Carlucci et al. 2011.

33 See Hunsberger et al. 1996.

34 See Webster and Kruglanski 1994; Jost et al. 2003; Berger 2014.

35 See Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992; Hunsberger 1996; Hunsberger et al. 1999; Altemeyer and Hunsberger 2004; Badley 2005; Heiser 2005; Morrison et al. 2005; Lehmiller and Schmitt 2007; Rowatt et al. 2013.

36 See Altemeyer 2003; Jackson and Esses 1997.

37 See Altemeyer 1996; Altemeyer & Hunsberger 2005.

38 See Kay et al. 2010.

39 See Hill and Hood 1999.

method of identification and definition in terms of associations with cognitive, affective and social attitudes. In accordance with this, the religious form of fundamentalism is also suggested to differ from other rigid ideologies. It is referred to as an overarching meta-system that controls not only its own religious domain, but also a range of attitudes, beliefs and practices.⁴⁰ It provides an absolute organising foundation for distinguishing right from wrong, for defining in- and out-group relations, and for describing what can be known and what cannot, and for understanding how these are defined by a transcendent referent.⁴¹

Nevertheless, this body of research simultaneously indicates the need to critically reflect on to what extent this “family resemblance” is partly the result of a particular methodological approach. For instance, many of these studies mainly indicate the negative characteristics of religious fundamentalism, whereas Ralph W. Hood, Peter C. Hill, and W. Paul Williamson present a broader approach recognising also the positive sides, such as a search for meaning and community.⁴² Previous research has been more or less focused on extracting the defining features of religious fundamentalism and the associated characteristics. To some extent this means that the internal diversity of religious fundamentalism stemming from internal and external negotiations risks being methodologically neglected. This motivates us to explore further how current fundamentalism can harbour and make space for a diversity of values and subjectivities – the variety of individual emphases also pointed to in the summary of Finnish religious fundamentalism above.

4. The Scope and method of this article

Religious fundamentalism, on the one hand, tends to exhibit a particular character but, on the other hand, a growing fluidity seems to emerge as a part of the current post-secular condition. This means that there is a necessity not only to focus on the defining characteristics of fundamentalism, but also to address the variation, tensions, and potential contradictions within the movement. For this purpose, we have employed a mixed-method approach that explores both the subjective positions as well as the shared features of the movement and provides generalisable accounts of these.

Our methodological focus was therefore on the people who are affiliated with fundamentalism (1) from a perspective of basic values, and (2) from a perspective of their subjective position on religious matters. This has been operationalised in the form of two main instruments that were implemented in the study: The Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-R), and The Faith Q-Set (FQS). Analytically

40 See Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992.

41 See Koltko-Rivera 2004.

42 See Hood et al. 2005.

these parts complement each other mutually and neither of them is given analytical priority. In this sense, our study represents a mixed-method design that can be defined as a fully mixed sequential equal status design.⁴³ In addition to the value survey our questionnaire also included relevant demographic questions.

The Schwartz Value Model

Working on Milton Rokeach's well-established work on the nature of human values,⁴⁴ Shalom Schwartz developed a model of universals in the content and structure of human values.⁴⁵ In contrast to ideas in cross-cultural psychology that was engaged in cultural-level comparative study of cultural traits,⁴⁶ Schwartz reasoned that the basic values likely to be found in all cultures are those that represent universal requirements of human existence, such as biological and psychological needs, requisites for coordinated social interaction, and demands of group functioning; and these values can be organised under a limited number of value types.

The value model that was published in 1992 included 10 distinct value types and was based on an extensive meta-analysis of previous value studies. It was field-tested by an international team of scholars working in 20 countries in 13 different languages and spanning cultures on every inhabited continent. One key feature of the Schwartz Value Model is based on the finding that the basic value types are related to each other in a way that is universal (see Fig. 1). Some value types are congruent with each other while others are oppositional – or somewhere in between. The value types also form two dimensions and the resulting four “higher-order” value types represent these more general motivational values and their oppositions, namely conservation versus openness to change and self-transcendence versus self-enhancement. In statistical analysis the opposing poles are found to have strong or very strong negative correlation with each other. This same relational structure is found in surveys from all cultural regions with supporting empirical evidence from hundreds of studies. The theoretical structure of these human values was confirmed through multidimensional scaling and confirmatory factor analysis, and the same structure can be found across the hundreds of studies that have used the model.⁴⁷

Schwartz and colleagues published a revised version in 2012, which includes 19 distinct value types that found nuances within some of the value types to be so significant that these were divided into subtypes, for example “security” was split

43 See Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009.

44 See Rokeach 1973.

45 See Schwartz 1992; Schwartz 1994.

46 See Hofstede 1980; Triandis et al. 1990.

47 See Schwartz et al. 2001; Spini 2003; Schwartz 2008.

into “security: personal” and “security: societal”, seen in Figure 1 as the innermost labels. Two new value types were also introduced, namely “Face” and “Humility”.⁴⁸ The revised model, used in this study, has been tested with multiple samples from nine countries. It has also been demonstrated that the 19 value types of the revised model can be collapsed into the original 10 types in order to provide backward compatibility. The current value survey is a standard questionnaire of 57 portrait items with a six-point Likert-scale from “exactly like me” to “not at all like me”. The PVQ-R is a widely used survey for assessing basic human values. In the light of a growing fluidity it might be assumed that basic values play a more crucial role in directing how individuals identify with religion in contrast to assumptions claiming a close inherent connection between institutional affiliation and values. The value survey provides us with a universal approach to human values that has been used and validated internationally.

The Wulff Faith-Q-Sort

The FQS is a new qualitative instrument developed by David Wulff.⁴⁹ It has been asserted that methods used thus far to assess individual religiosity suffer from being normative and biased, and provide limited options for persons of non-Christian faiths or of a secular disposition.⁵⁰ In contrast to this, Wulff turned to Q-methodology for developing a new instrument. Q-methodology provides a foundation for a systematic study of subjectivity, a person’s viewpoints, opinions, beliefs, attitude, and the like – and it is developed for small groups and samples.⁵¹

Typically, in a Q-methodological study people are asked to sort a sample of statements (Q-set) according to their importance to them. These statements are selected through a qualitative analysis of the discursive field of the topic under study. The sources should include all the relevant research as well as mainstream literature, assertions, and opinions and also accommodate all possible discursive stands of all the different stakeholder positions or paradigms related to the topic. The selection of statements aims at including enough statements to sufficiently represent all these positions. Wulff developed the Faith Q-Set, or FQS, with the ambition to meet the requirements in Q-methodology of assessing the discourses on worldviews, religion, spirituality and faith in general through which the statements should be defined. He made use of a broad variety of sources in order to account for observations from the history of religion, different religious traditions, and observations from both psychology and sociology of religion.⁵² This

48 See Schwartz et al. 2012.

49 See Wulff 2009.

50 See Spilka et al. 2003, pp. 30 f.

51 See Watts et al. 2007; Watts and Stenner 2012.

52 See Wulff 2009; Wulff forthcoming.

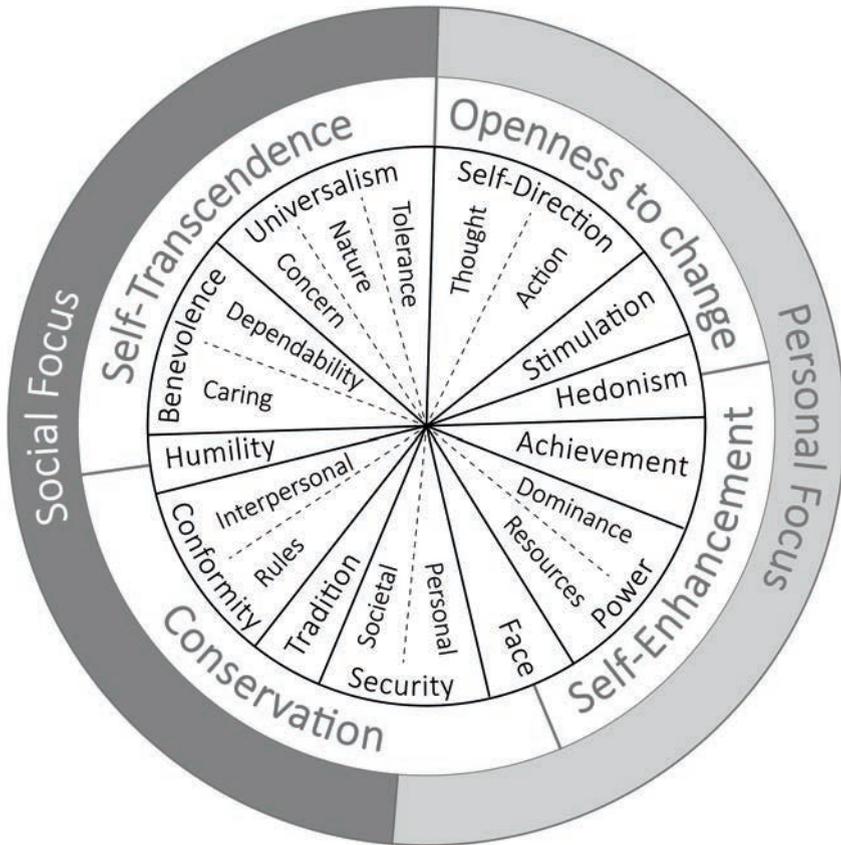


Figure 1: The relational structure of the Schwartz Value Model (Schwartz et al. 2012). Note: The ten original value types are in the middle tier with the two additional types (Face, Humility) introduced in the revised model and the divisions of the original types in the revised model are in the centremost tier (e.g. Societal and Personal Security). The positions of the types reflect the congruence or opposition of the types. The four higher-order value types are in the middle tier, indicating of which values they are composed, and the outermost tier indicates values that rise from individualistic personal focus and those that rise from collectivistic social focus.

resulted in a Q-set with 101 statements that we translated from English to our target languages of Swedish and Finnish using a double forward and back translation process.

Collecting data is markedly different in Q-method than in conventional interviews or surveys. In what is called the sorting procedure the participant organises the set of statements according to their own views on the matter on a layout that has places indicated for the number of statement-cards used. Usually

these places are in a shape of a roughly normal distribution curve. Whereas each ‘sort’ is essentially unique, it is possible to discern both shared and unique patterns in the sorts, known as prototypes. Statistical methods are used to aid in the definition of the prototypes, but the process of defining the prototypes is qualitative in nature, including the individual assortment of the most important statements, the detailed output of a specialised analysis software⁵³, and the interviews of the participants.

While in regular surveys it has to be assumed that both the researcher and the participant agree what certain statements refer to (e.g. “I believe in God”, “I consider myself religious”), in Q-method differences in these assumptions are allowed and they become evident. Because the sorting is done in the presence of the researcher, and questions and comments regarding the statements are encouraged, a natural on-going discussion provides valuable information regarding what the statements mean or do not mean to the participants and on how the participants themselves interpret and personally relate to the vocabulary employed in the FQS. This is the strength of the Q-method as a qualitative method assisted by statistical procedures.

For our study we approached the main organisations in Finland mentioned above: *St. Paul’s Synod* and the *Luther Foundation*. We introduced our study and asked them to forward our survey to people in their network. We provided them with the possibility of participating either online or by filling out paper-surveys. Those who participated in the survey were asked about their interest to participate in the second part of the study, which was the FQS sorting and the interview. They were offered coffee vouchers or movie tickets as a compensation for their time. If they volunteered for the second part we asked them to provide their contact information or to contact us in order to arrange the interview date. Altogether 108 people completed the survey (56 men and 48 women, 4 did not indicate gender) and 32 people (22 males and 10 females) also completed the FQS. The large majority was between 25 and 64 years old (appr. 75 per cent in both parts of the study). The whole sorting process was recorded and transcribed. It was archived together with data from the survey and the participation consent forms that guaranteed all participants full anonymity.

5. Religious subjectivities of fundamentalists in Finland

The analysis of the FQS sorts in combination with the interviews provides us with prototypes of the religious subjectivities that can be found in the sample. The analysis also indicates the commonalities – the views that are shared by each of the prototypical profiles of religious fundamentalism.

⁵³ PQMethod, maintained by Peter Schmolck (see online, available at: <http://schmolck.userweb.mwn.de/qmethod/> [26.04.2016]).

Among the commonalities is the importance for all of the fundamentalist Christians in Finland to affirm a positive, thankful and forgiving personal relationship with the divine. They all also have thorough knowledge of the Bible and feel guided and sustained by certain familiar scriptural passages. From their point of view certain religious propositions are true, and crucial for salvation. They see themselves as active, contributing members of some religious community, and consider regular attendance at religious services to be an essential expression of faith. Finally, they live their earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter.

There is also a shared pattern in the things people in the sample want to distance themselves from. They clearly do not reject religious ideas even if these conflict with scientific and rational principles. In addition, they find some religious statements very foreign to them, such as ideas of reincarnation, feminine images of the divine, the emphases to follow a spiritual path that is in harmony with the Earth, or to hold ritual or dietary practices central to their faith or belief. The idea of human progress (e. g. the attainment of peace) on a worldwide scale is also often viewed negatively.

Finally, some particular statements *do not appear to play a role* at all in how the fundamentalists understand themselves, at least in comparison with statements that are more prominent to their self-understanding as above. These are statements about the importance of certain places, holidays, and objects. Notably in line with the above-noted distancing from emotional aspects of religiosity, the experiential side of religiosity is not relevant to them. Neither strong positive experiences of a divine presence nor experiences of threatening evil or dark forces are central in the views of our participants. Also, the societal or altruistic aspects of religious practice, such as reaching out to those in need, being dedicated to making the world a better place to live, or trying to change societal structures stand out as relatively irrelevant for the fundamentalist religious self-understanding in this sample.

Five different prototypes emerge from our fundamentalist Christian sample: *the Orthodox Theists, the Dedicated Theists, the Sick-Souled Fundamentalists, the Traditional Theists, and the Spiritual Detectives*. These are described in detail below.⁵⁴ Table 1 provides a list of the most important FQS statements for each prototype as well as the “loading” of the prototype on that particular statement. Some of these are positive and some are negative, indicating the prototype’s position on the statement. While the listed statements are the most notable differentiating ones, the output of the Q analysis provides much more detail for a thorough analysis of the prototypes and the sample. The following is a list of brief vignettes of each of the five fundamentalist prototypes.

The Orthodox Theists seek to follow a well-defined set of moral principles. Being religious is at the core of their identity and they have experienced moments

54 These are named in accordance with the earlier findings by Wulff: Wulff 2009.

distinguished by an intensified sense of divine presence. Familiar scriptural passages guide and sustain them and – affirming that certain specific beliefs are crucial – they feel confident of attaining eternal salvation. They markedly distance themselves from unfamiliar religious doctrines and ideas, such as reincarnation, the concept of a feminine divine or the Goddess, enlightenment or illumination, and Earth-focused spirituality.

The Dedicated Theists's core identity is religious or spiritual even though their religious outlook is not like that of their parents. They take a keen interest in religious matters and have a thorough knowledge of religious scriptures. They are active and contributing members of a religious community, but think that hypocrisy is common in religious circles. They spend much time reading or talking about their faith and hold that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation.

The Sick-Souled Fundamentalists attest that the meaning of religious scriptures is clear and unambiguous and that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation. They are burdened by a sense of guilt and personal inadequacy and they see this world as a place of suffering and tears. Certain familiar scriptural passages guide and sustain them and they turn to the divine with joy and thanksgiving. They consider regular attendance at religious services to be an essential expression of faith and they are active, contributing members of a religious community.

Firmly rooted in the religious custom and conviction of the family they grew up with the *Traditional Theists* view all events in this world within a religious or spiritual framework. Being religious or spiritual is at the core of their identity and they seldom if ever doubt their religious views. Settled and confident in their outlook, they are also active, contributing members of a religious community. They feel divine forgiveness for earlier thoughts and deeds and live their earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter. They feel guided and sustained by certain familiar scriptural passages and take for granted that certain religious propositions are true.

The Spiritual Detectives take delight in paradox and mystery. Longing for a deeper and more confident faith they do not see religious scriptures as clear and unambiguous. They are interested in and frequently think about religious or spiritual matters and they assert a religious or spiritual identity. The divine is significant and meaningful to them, but they do not observe religious practices and prohibitions nor do they participate in religious practices in order to satisfy others' wishes.

Altogether these indicate that current fundamentalism in Finland can be attractive to people with rather different emphases in life, starting from a focus on firm morality, or the reliance on tradition to a more explorative interest in religion as a mystery. In addition, we can also observe a relevant variety in the emphases on cognition, emotion, practice and experience. This clearly indicates, that despite some common and shared features, current fundamentalism caters for individuals with marked differences in their views. A closer analysis of the

potential relevance of gender, age, and education in the composition of defining sorts did not show any significant differences.

#	Item	Prot Z
1 The Orthodox Theist		
54	Seeks to follow a well-defined set of moral principles.	1.62
15	Considers the meaning of religious scriptures to be clear and unambiguous.	-0.28
89	Has experienced moments of profound illumination.	-1.08*
13	Conceives of religious faith as a never-ending quest.	-1.35
44	Senses a transcendent or universal luminous element within him- or herself.	-1.89
2 The Dedicated Theist		
101	Considers hypocrisy – not practicing what one preaches – to be common in religious circles.	1.38
75	Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life difficulties.	-0.19
58	Has a religious outlook much like one or both parents.	-1.85*
3 The Sick-Souled Fundamentalist		
15	Considers the meaning of religious scriptures to be clear and unambiguous.	1.93
69	Is burdened by a sense of guilt and personal inadequacy.	1.66
34	Sees this world as a place of suffering and tears.	1.65*
72	Moves from one religious group to another in search of a spiritual home.	0.56
8	Longs for a deeper, more confident faith.	-1.1*
4 The Traditional Theist		
58	Has a religious outlook much like one or both parents.	1.65*
9	Grew up in a religious household.	1.63*
79	Views all events in this world within a religious or spiritual framework.	1.03
57	Seldom if ever doubts his or her religious views.	0.86

#	Item	Prot Z
64	Centers his or her life on a religious or spiritual quest.	0.06
100	Champions individual freedom of choice if it is thoughtfully responsible.	-0.39*
72	Moves from one religious group to another in search of a spiritual home.	-1.58
5 The Spiritual Detective		
91	Takes delight in paradox and mystery.	2.18*
8	Longs for a deeper, more confident faith.	1.96
38	Feels confident of attaining eternal salvation.	-0.11*
97	Is an active, contributing member of some religious community.	-0.44*
52	Lives his or her earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter.	-0.87*
67	Observes with great care prescribed religious practices and prohibitions.	-1.42
15	Considers the meaning of religious scriptures to be clear and unambiguous.	-1.64
* = significant at the $p < 0.01$ level, others are significant at the 0.05 level.		

Table 1: Distinguishing FQS statements for the fundamentalist prototypes

6. The basic values of fundamentalist Christians in Finland

With the value survey we can further address some distinguishing features of the fundamentalist sample ($n=108$). The results show that they place highest emphasis on the values of benevolence and universalistic concern (but notably not universalistic tolerance or nature). This is in an interesting contrast with the finding from the FQS study that societal or altruistic aspects of religion were generally irrelevant to the people. This latter finding should probably be read in the context of the entire Q-set in the sense that there were so many more relevant statements that these were relegated to the neutral or irrelevant status. Still, their value assertion and the lack of integration of items related to benevolence and caring into their worldview is a contradiction. Societal security and freedom of thought are also highly rated, but the mean score for the values of nature, personal security, and interpersonal conformity are lower than expected according to Schwartz's theoretical model. As expected, the values of power and hedonism are rated very low (Table 2, $n=108$).

Value type	Mean	Min	Max	SD	N
Self-Transcendence	0.69	-0.32	2.32	0.47	108
Benevolence: Caring	1.02	0.05	2.56	0.61	108
Benevolence: Dependability	1.32	-0.47	2.65	0.69	108
Universalism: Concern	1.10	-0.93	2.72	0.77	108
Universalism: Nature	0.08	-2.30	2.65	1.02	108
Universalism: Tolerance	0.50	-2.60	2.02	0.90	108
Openness to Change	-0.19	-1.49	1.67	0.54	108
Self-direction: Thought	0.86	-1.30	2.65	0.76	108
Self-direction: Action	0.29	-1.65	2.56	0.83	108
Stimulation	-0.75	-2.35	1.93	0.91	108
Hedonism	-1.17	-3.14	1.50	0.99	108
Self-Enhancement	-1.12	-2.41	0.04	0.55	108
Achievement	-0.96	-2.68	0.98	0.80	108
Power: Dominance	-1.50	-3.61	2.07	0.93	108
Power: Resources	-1.66	-3.02	0.07	0.67	108
Face	-0.30	-2.47	1.89	0.95	108
Conservation	0.12	-1.48	1.21	0.43	108
Security: Personal	0.04	-1.89	1.49	0.73	108
Security: Societal	0.93	-1.00	2.65	0.81	108
Tradition	0.20	-2.00	2.40	0.93	108
Conformity: Rules	0.39	-2.67	2.00	0.92	108
Conformity: Interpersonal	-0.53	-2.82	1.86	1.01	108
Humility	0.15	-2.35	2.65	0.83	108

Table 2: PVQ value type scores for the fundamentalist sample

Correlation between the higher order value types replicate the theoretical model well with strong negative linear correlation between the oppositional types (Table 3). This is in line with the usual pattern of correlations and confirms the validity of the two major dimensions in the case of our sample as well.

	CON	OTC	STR	SEN
Conservation		-0.795**	-0.184**	-0.214**
Openness to Change	-0.795**		-.222**	0.382**
Self-Transcendence	-0.184**	-0.222**		-0.780**
Self-Enhancement	-0.214**	0.382**	-0.780**	
** Correlation is significant at the $p < .01$ level (2-tailed).				

Table 3: Pearson correlation between the higher-order value types

There were some significant value differences within the group. When looking at the basic demographics, the differences seem to be associated to a large extent with gender, education, and age.⁵⁵ Gender is directly associated with benevolence and conformity; women emphasised caring and conformity to rules significantly more than men ($p < .01$). There is, however, also age and gender interaction in the associations with conformity, in that middle-aged men (the 45 to 64 age group) emphasised conformity/rules significantly more than did the other men ($p < .01$).

Education seems to be associated with the universalistic values, but with some interaction with gender. Higher educated people rated universalism/concern and universalism/tolerance higher than did people with lower levels of education, but this association is stronger among men. Accordingly, among the highest educated people, men scored universalism/concern higher than women whereas among the less educated it was the other way round ($p < .05$). Men with a vocational college diploma or less education gave significantly lower scores, by a big margin, on universalism/tolerance (-0.52 while the others range from 0.17 to 0.92; $p < .05$) and higher scores on power/dominance (-0.05 while all others score less than -1.29; $p < .01$). The polarisation of the universalistic values on the one side and the self-enhancement values on the other is, then, mainly found among men in this sample.

Multidimensional scaling (SPSS 21, PROXSCAL) indicates that the PVQ-R model of value structure is to a large extent replicated in this sample. However, as is seen in Figure 2, there are also some considerable deviations that are idiosyncratic to this sample (compare Fig. 2 with Fig. 1 above). Benevolence and uni-

⁵⁵ These were tested using SPSS 21 MANCOVA procedure with value types as the dependent variables and age group, gender, and level of education as the fixed variables. Main and all interaction effects were tested for. The SNK procedure was used for the post-hoc tests. In order to minimise notation and improve readability only the degree of significance of the differences is indicated in brackets in the text below apart from the cases where the differences are between extreme ends of the range for the particular value type.

versalism seem to have swapped places and the two benevolence types appear to be scored identically and, notably, the benevolence types are associated with the self-direction value types. In general population samples self-direction is usually, throughout the world, located next to universalism and distinct from it indicating the different motives that feed openness to change and self-transcendence. However, particularly freedom of thought seems to be associated with self-transcendence whereas the other self-direction value and particularly stimulation and hedonism form what is left of the distinct openness to change pole.

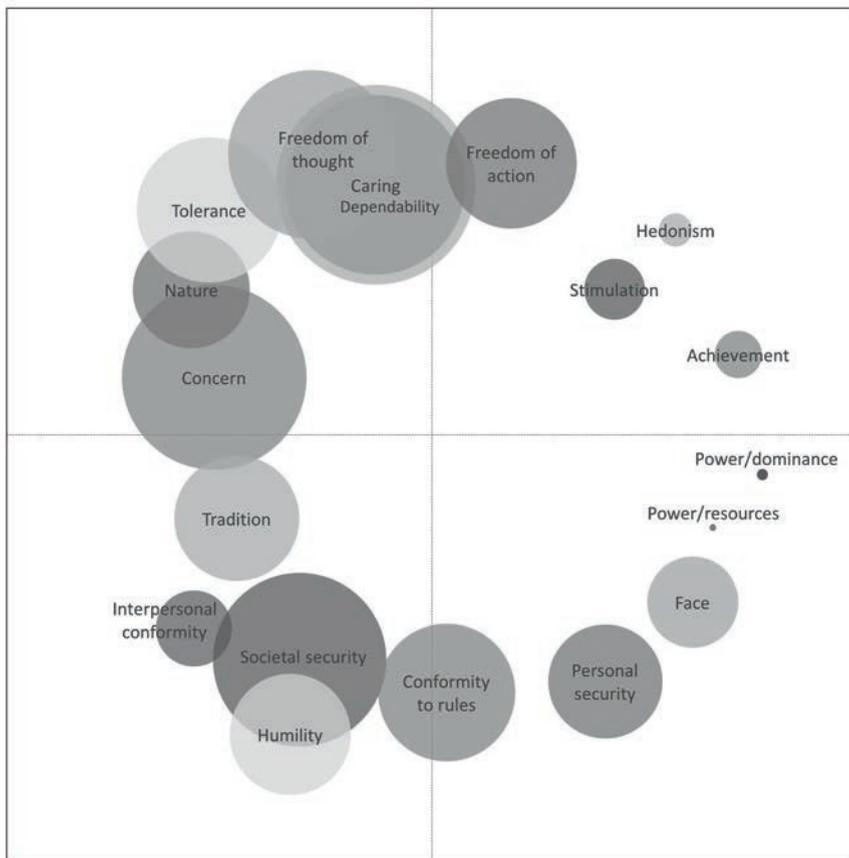


Figure 2: The Finnish fundamentalist value structure and emphasis.

Note: The size of the bubble indicates the importance of the value type and the location is based on the correlations between the value types. This is comparable with the theoretical model found in Figure 1.

On the opposite side, tradition is unusually closely associated with universalistic concern, suggesting perhaps that the Christian tradition also acts as a motive for such concern. Another notable deviation from the general value model is the location of the value of societal security as separated from the personal security type and mixed in with conformity and humility. Societal security is also one of the highest rated values, and its association with the strongly normative value types can be seen as a potential source of stress and strong emotions in an increasingly global and multicultural context. If societal security is associated with similarity on an individual level, then increasing plurality can be seen and justified as a threat to that security. Because these basic values operate with emotions rather than cognitions, this can be seen as one source of the conflict in contemporary societies like Finland.

The structure of fundamentalist values – in this sample – appears also to be bipolar. On one side normative and collectivistic values like humility, conformity, societal security, and tradition are emphasised and on the other side values concerning the individual – and relations between individuals – such as freedom of thought and benevolence are emphasised. Freedom of thought with caring and dependability on one side and societal security with conformity on the other side have positive scores almost equally high yet they are located at the opposite sides of the MDS plot. In the general model they are also considered to be oppositional value types. This may indicate a division in our sample. Some score freedom of thought high and societal security low and others do the opposite. This is not explained by gender differences nor are age or education contributing factors to this division. The combination of the FQS prototypes and PVQ value survey data provides some clues to this seemingly contradictory value profile of the fundamentalist sample.

7. Associations between value types and worldview prototypes

Each of the above-presented fundamentalist prototypes has a distinct value profile. The correlations between the prototype loadings and the value type scores are listed in Table 4 with the significant correlations highlighted, positive in lighter and negative in darker shading. Correlations should be interpreted as relations to the overall value scores for the entire sample. Consequently, low correlation scores indicate that the value score for that prototype is close to the sample mean and significant correlations in one way or the other mean deviance from the sample mean.

	OT		DT		SSF		TT		SD	
	Mean	Corr.								
BEC	.75	0.30	.61	-0.23	.75	-0.32	1.10	0.11	1.21	0.10
BED	.92	0.30	.94	-0.07	.42	-0.22	1.19	0.01	1.38	0.22
UNC	1.09	0.23	.83	0.03	1.09	-0.00	.48	-.41*	1.54	.41*
UNN	.59	0.10	-.95	-.42*	.59	-0.07	-.10	0.11	-.12	0.11
UNT	.59	-0.06	1.05	0.26	.92	0.05	.48	-0.18	.38	0.13
SDT	.92	-0.05	1.05	0.04	.92	-0.19	.86	-0.14	2.04	.39*
SDA	.42	-0.14	-.39	-0.07	.42	-0.12	.43	0.16	.71	0.01
STI	-.91	-0.11	-.50	0.10	-.91	-0.18	-.33	0.15	-.79	-0.09
HED	-.25	-0.09	.16	.39*	-.75	0.04	-1.43	-0.28	-.79	-0.10
ACH	-1.08	-.38*	-.17	.38*	-.08	-0.03	-.71	-0.15	.21	-0.08
POD	-2.41	-.39*	-.84	0.21	-1.58	-0.04	-1.00	0.27	-1.46	-0.18
POR	-.91	-0.12	-1.17	0.16	-1.58	-0.00	-1.52	0.11	-2.29	-0.24
FAC	-.41	-0.17	-.39	-0.01	.25	0.09	-.67	-.37*	1.21	0.19
SEP	.09	-0.03	-.06	-0.10	-.41	0.20	.05	0.09	-.12	-0.13
SES	1.25	.50**	.94	-0.01	.59	0.26	.57	-0.01	-.62	-.37*
TRA	-.08	0.08	-.17	-0.28	.59	0.24	.67	.44*	-.96	-.61**
COR	.75	0.24	.16	-0.20	.09	0.22	.48	0.23	-1.29	-0.27
COI	-.58	-0.20	-.39	-0.07	-1.08	-0.09	-.38	-0.08	.21	0.33
HUM	-.75	0.16	-.73	-0.16	-.25	0.07	-.14	0.08	-.46	0.22

Table 4: Mean scores per prototype and Pearson correlation between PVQ value type scores and fundamentalist prototype loadings

Note: Pearson correlation is significant *at the 0.05 level, **at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), N=32. The mean score is the mean of the value scores for the defining sorts. BEC=Benevolence/Caring, BED=Benevolence/Dependability, UNC=Universalism/Concern, UNN=Universalism/Nature, UNT=Universalism/Tolerance, SDT=Self-Direction/Thought, SDA=Self-Direction/Action, STI=Stimulation, HED=Hedonism, ACH=Achievement, POD=Power/Dominance, POR=Power/Resources, FAC=Face, SEP=Security/Personal, SES=Security/Societal, TRA=Tradition, COR=Conformity/Rules, COI=Conformity/Interpersonal, HUM=Humility.

The most interesting and noteworthy finding here is the contrast between the value profiles of the *Spiritual Detective* on one side and *Orthodox Theist* on the other. This seems to account for the bipolarity of the overall fundamentalist value profile. While the contrast between these prototypes is interesting when looking at just the FQS data the combination of the two instruments provides additional valuable insight. From the combined analysis we can see that *Spiritual Detectives* value freedom of thought significantly higher than the sample mean (2.04 vs. 0.86), while at the same time give lower scores for the values of societal security (-0.62 vs. 0.93) and tradition (-0.96 vs. 0.20) compared to the sample mean. This finding is also in contrast with previous studies of values of adherents of traditional religions.⁵⁶ The *Orthodox Theists* on the other hand give higher scores on the value of societal security than the sample mean (1.25 vs. 0.93). When looking at the profiles for these two prototypes this difference is understandable. With a distinctly curious and cerebral approach to life and religion, the *Spiritual Detectives* find dogma and practice of lesser value. They enjoy the challenge of finding things out on their own, and justify this by placing emphasis on freedom of thought, along with an aversion to tradition and more specifically a dislike of the collectivistic implications of the idea of security as societally provided. In contrast, the *Orthodox Theists* find sustenance in the familiar and their moral compass is set by deeply internalised, but essentially externally determined religious principles that they strive to uphold. Security comes from the familiar and the externally provided, be that the religious institution or the society. The *Orthodox Theists* also stand out with the fiercest opposition of achievement and power/dominance as priorities for self – these individualistic goals would challenge their principal source of security.

The *Dedicated Theists* is the only prototype with positive association with self-enhancement values and in hedonism. Compared to the sample mean they are less averse to the self-enhancement values and have a significant and moderately strong positive association with hedonism, with a low positive mean on that value (0.16). Based on their FQS prototype it seems that the source of pleasure for them is participation in the religious community and discussing and exploring matters of their faith. Attaining a thorough knowledge of these matters is what would bring them a sense of achievement. They also have very low negative relation with the universalistic value of nature (-0.95) and, because of that, the lowest total average of self-transcendence. This is an interesting prototype since the personal focus values in general and hedonism in particular are not the kinds of values that are generally expected to be associated with fundamentalist Christianity.

Closest to general value profile of the fundamentalist sample are the *Sick-Souled Fundamentalists*. As expected, they lean towards conservation values and report low scores in all other higher-order value types. William James's concept of the sick-soul seems to characterise this prototype well. To them the world seems

56 Schwartz and Huisman 1995; Saroglou et al. 2004.

hostile and by following tradition and rules they not only gain the promise of salvation in the afterlife, but also find this-worldly security and a safeguard against sin and evil of which they seem to have a keen sense. Fundamentalist Christianity, for them, is the harsh system of life-management they need.

The *Traditional Theists*, on the other hand are the most strongly tradition-bound of the fundamentalist prototypes (tradition: 0.67). Their motives and priorities are first and foremost geared toward following and preserving the customs and views of their family and the culture they belong to. Fundamentalism, for them, provides the right answers that others should also pay heed to. This brings them confidence and security and they are not concerned by the opinions or views of others (face: -0.67). They are distinctly in-group oriented with negative association and relatively low mean scores in the values that have been found to promote universalistic prosocial behaviour (univ./concern: 0.48, univ./nature: -0.1, univ./tolerance: 0.48) and high scores on the values promoting in-group oriented prosocial behaviour (benev./caring: 1.1, benev./dependability: 1.19).⁵⁷

In addition to the *Spiritual Detective's* high positive relation with freedom of thought and low negative relation with tradition and societal security, the *Dedicated Theist's* personal focus is clearly something worth studying further. These bring out the often neglected open, reflexive, and individualistic kind of religious fundamentalism. In previous research emphasis on collectivism – or the in-group/out-group distinctions – and the more negative aspects of religious fundamentalism seem to be more often addressed. This latter, more common typecasting of religious fundamentalism is exemplified by the value profiles of the archetypical *Sick-Souled Fundamentalists*, the *Orthodox Theists* with emphasis on societal security and rule conformity, and the *Traditional Theists* with distinctly in-group-focussed altruism at the expense of universalism. These three fundamentalist prototypes exhibit, in slightly differing emphasis, the traits more often assigned to religious fundamentalism. They positively rate the ideas of absolute truth, clear and strict rules, and a rigid authoritarian belief system. They are against openness and difference – or individualism. They have assumed a defensive position in relation to the society as a whole and the predictability of the rigid norms may be seen as a sanctuary for them from the ambiguities of life in contemporary pluralistic societies.

8. Discussion and conclusion

To start with it should be stressed that our aim has not been to falsify or confirm results from previous studies and research addressing the more defining features of religious fundamentalism. Rather, our aim has been to provide a complementary perspective or outlook on current fundamentalism by using the combi-

57 Schwartz 2010.

nation of two separate methods that better account for a potential internal diversity. With this combination of PVQ and FSQ our interest has been to find both some general patterns and some relevant variations. Furthermore, it should be taken into account that this study is limited to two specific groups in Finland, with an obvious root in the Lutheran tradition and church in Finland. This excludes, for instance, the charismatic movement and the more invisible fundamentalist groups and movements that exist within the ELCF. The strong idea of a national folk-church in Finland has probably thus far restrained further fragmentation of the religious landscape in Finland.

Our results from the FQS part show some important sides of the self-understanding of our participants. Our study points in the direction of an affirmative god-image in conjunction with a strong tendency to rely on and relate to the religious texts, in this case the Bible. The gaze is to a greater extent fixed on the life after death rather than the world here and now. In addition, there seems to be a greater emphasis on cognitive aspects of religion than on the experiential or emotional aspects of religion. Religious practice does not stand out as independently important; rather it is determined by the value of loyalty to and engagement in one's religious community. This confirms much of what has been addressed through previous research.

Furthermore, the strong religious identity means that it is on the one hand built on distancing oneself from secular positions, and on the other hand from some forms of beliefs that seem to be closer to current trends within non-institutional religion. Aspects of religiosities that address a focus of the here and now, a feminine aspect of the divine or eastern influences seem to be particularly relevant for pointing out the out-group from which the fundamentalists in our study are distancing themselves. This clearly mirrors current trends in the religious landscape in Finland where both secularist voices and post-institutional forms of religion have gained more visibility as part of the growing diversity in general. This aspect also indicates how current religious fundamentalism is shaped by its immediate context.

However, it is just as relevant to stress that our results require us to question the idea of one form of religious subjectivity that can be labelled fundamentalist. In contrast to a defining features or family resemblance strategy, we can discern several different and partially contradictory subjective positions on fundamentalist Christianity. In general, these show that fundamentalism can attract people with rather different emphases and internal motives in life, starting from a focus on firm morality, or the reliance on tradition, to a more explorative interest in religion as a mystery or a struggle with the sense of guilt; from trustfully expecting a place in heaven, to the various forms of struggling with oneself and one's access to salvation. The fundamentalist movement seems to provide space for these different subjectivities. This implies that the shared aspects of the fundamentalist position can overlap with a range of emphases

on cognition, emotion, practice and experience that has not been recognised enough by previous research.

The value survey also shows the same kind of tension between similarities and differences. Benevolence, universalistic concern, societal security, and freedom are important, but nature, personal security, and interpersonal conformity are not. Moreover power and hedonism stand out in our results as rated very low. However, differences between the prototypes were significant and revealed an unexpected range of value profiles compared to stereotypical assumptions. The presence of these individual differences in priorities, motives and religious subjectivities while tapping into the local political currents and the pluralistic context for allies and out-groups suggest that Christian fundamentalism in Finland can take very different directions in the future.

Based on this limited study, we suggest that religious fundamentalism should be understood within a more diverse scope. Our results point to a significant variety in the value priorities and the religious subjectivities within the fundamentalist groups, and one cannot, in the light of this, assume any stereotypical association between values and religiosity. On the contrary, we suggest that it is important to further pursue the theoretical implications of this. In spite of the limitations of our study, our results indicate that we need to further account religious fundamentalism as a phenomenon engaged in negotiations between internal values, religious subjectivities, and contextual cultural and societal influences. This inherent diversity is further influenced and complicated by gender and other individual and social factors as well as the power and authority implications related to these.

Finally, it is relevant to make some methodological observations. The ways we study fundamentalism produces certain forms of data and knowledge. This calls for caution, as we have argued that fundamentalism is a diverse religious phenomenon. It appears to carry some defining features from the historical development, but it also seems to provide a space for internal differences, suggesting some protocols or practices for handling and containing this variety. Without such, the groups would disassemble. The relevance of our methodology and the perspectives these provide should not be neglected. The FQS provided a good instrument for assessing some of the internal variety in fundamentalism in Finland and even suggesting potential sources of tension within the movement. The combination of FQS and PVQ revealed the characteristics of the underlying motives and subjective positions activating and feeding the in-group/out-group negotiations. Furthermore, this combination of research tools revealed an inconsistency in the reported value priorities and the importance given to social and altruistic statements in the subjective worldview prototypes, which warrants for further studies. All in all, this is a promising methodology for the future of the study of different kinds of religious and spiritual movements and worldviews in general.

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